



Frontispiece.

- 1 Stone representation of Rama Raya's head.
(By Andjanna son of the Curator of the Mysore Museum)

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

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PREFACE

FATHER H. HERAS, S. J., Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has already distinguished himself in promoting knowledge of the history of Central and South India by two original papers in the *Indian Antiquary* on "The Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh" and on the "City of Jinji." He has now set himself to elucidate the history of Vijayanagara in the time of its fourth and last dynasty, that is, during the period 1542-1770 of the Christian era—a period but lightly touched on in Mr. Sewell's well-known history of Vijayanagara—*A Forgotten Empire*.

The period is, however, a very important one in the story of Hinduism, and it covers also that of the rise of European power in India—Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French and English—and of the struggles of the various European nations for supremacy, ending in the final victory of the English over all others. It was further a period of great Jesuit activity and of the general spread of modern European Christianity in South India. These considerations alone attest the value of its exhaustive study and the interest it cannot fail to arouse in all European students of the Indian Empire.

It is, however, a period of great difficulty, owing to the constant and varying struggle between Hindu Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan on the one hand, and on the other of never-ending local difficulties of fighting caused by the Vijayanagara system of governing through Viceroys, who were practically independent kings in their restricted territories and appeared as such to visiting Europeans, while the representatives of European powers took sides and joined in the general *melée*. History thus appears as an almost hopeless jumble of local struggle, and indeed it

requires no small research to put together the pieces of the puzzle, so that the reader has before him an intelligible account of the happenings at a period of Indian history of the first importance to those who would understand the conditions of to-day

This great task Father Heras has undertaken, to my mind in the manner in which it should be undertaken. He goes into the causes which led to the conditions that brought the last Vijayanagara Dynasty—the Aravidu—into existence and then writes up the history of it from original unpublished documents, as well as from the books on the subject, and in a long appendix he gives the unpublished documents themselves in their original languages. History cannot be more fairly presented.

Such is the method of Father Heras in attacking his subject and in this first volume we find that he commences with an account of the reigns of the last rulers of the Third Dynasty—the Tuluva—so as to show how the Aravidu family stepped quietly into its place in the person of the Aravidu minister, Rāma Rāya of Sadāsiva Rāya the last Emperor of the Third Dynasty. He then gives an account of the administration of Vijayanagara under Rāma Rāya, the maintenance of Hinduism, and the foreign policy especially as regards the Portuguese. As regards Rāma Rāya's clever and tortuous dealings with the Muhammadan powers of the Decan, a whole chapter is devoted to them.

Father Heras then harks back to South Indian History to explain the early Telugu invasions of the Tamil country, ending with the establishment of Visvanātha Nāyaka as Nāyak (king) of Madura and the story of his successors—introducing incidentally the doings of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit leaders. This is followed by an account of the Nāyaks of Tanjore Jinji and Ikeri (the very name of which last once great city has since disappeared from the general Indian maps), and of the Rājas of Mysore and other

Feudatory Chiefs, including the obscure and curious Queens of Bhatkāl and Ullāl.

These minor considerations bring us back to the struggle between the Tuluva Dynasty of Vijayanagara and the Deccanī Muhammadans, ending with their victory at the battle of Raksas-Tagdī, the execution of Rāma Rāya and the end of the Tuluva Dynasty. This brings the Aravidu Tirumala, Rāma Rāya's brother, to the Vijayanagara throne and the transfer of the capital to Penukonda, giving the death blow to Portuguese commerce in India. His short reign thereafter was necessarily a time of confusion and trouble and constant struggles with the Muhammadans to the North of him. He was succeeded by Sṛī Ranga I, who kept the capital at Penukonda and fought back the Muhammadans. Under these rulers three Viceroyalties were established respectively over the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries, to the story of which Father Heras devotes two chapters, with details of Portuguese interference with their affairs.

History then deals with the affairs of Venkatapatīdeva Rāya (Venkata II), still at Penukonda, and with his struggles with his feudatory chiefs, and also with the Muhammadans and the Nāyak of Madura, giving an account of that feudatory dynasty. At this point comes in the story of Father Roberto de Nobili and his unusual behaviour, of which one is glad to have an orderly account.

Venkata II had further many dealings with the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Jinjī, the Kanarese Viceroy, the Rāja of Mysore, the Nāyak of Ikerī, and other chieftains, in which the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Jesuits were mixed up. Besides describing these Father Heras gives us an account of the dealings of Venkata II directly with the Portuguese, Dutch and English of the day, and a separate account of the Jesuits at his Court.

The volume then goes into minor but yet important matters such as those of painting at Venkata II's court, especially by Jesuit Fathers, his family affairs and literary activity under the first Aravidu sovereigns. Finally the volume winds up with a most valuable chapter on the struggle of Sri Vaishnavism with other Hindu sects.

The above very brief *résumé* of Father Heras's first volume is sufficient to show what it covers and how the writer has kept the many conflicting items of history apart, so that they can be absorbed by the student without confusion of mind.

R C TEMPLE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF PLATES	xii
INTRODUCTION	xiii
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION ...	xvii
CHAP.	
I THE REIGN OF VENKATA I	1
II SADASIVA RAYA AND HIS REGENT RAMA RAYA	13
III ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE ...	27
IV FOREIGN POLICY	54
V RAMA RAYA AND THE DECCANI MUHAM- MADANS	73
VI EARLY TELUGU INVASIONS INTO THE SOUTH	99
VII THE NAYAKS OF MADURA	131
VIII THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, JINJI AND IKERI, THE RAJAS OF MYSORE AND OTHER FEUDATORY CHIEFS ...	172
IX THE BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI ...	194
X THE END OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY ...	218
XI THE SHORT REIGN OF TIRUMALA ...	248
XII THE EMPIRE UNDER SRI RANGA I ...	264
XIII THE TAMIL VICEROYALTY ...	280
XIV THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY ...	290
XV VENKATAPATIDEVA RAYA II ...	300
XVI WARS WITH THE MUHAMMADANS ...	326
XVII THE NAYAKSHIP OF MADURA ...	341

	PAGE
XVIII THE MISSION OF FATHER ROBERTO DE NOBILI	368
XIX THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE AND JINJI	397
XX THE END OF THE KANARESE VICEROY ALTY	411
XXI VENKATA II'S RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE DUTCH AND ENGLISH	428
XXII THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VEN KATA II	404
XXIII VENKATA II AND THE ART OF PAINTING	486
XXIX FAMILY AFFAIRS DEATH OF VENKATA II	494
XXIV LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER THE FIRST ARAVIDU SOVEREIGNS	513
XXVI THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SRI VAISH NAVISM AND OTHER SECTS	582
APPENDIX A	555
APPENDIX B	567
APPENDIX C	581
APPENDIX D	689

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		PAGE
I	STONE REPRESENTATION OF RAMA RAYA'S HEAD <i>Frontispiece</i>	
II	THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGARA UNDER SADASIVA RAYA <i>to face ...</i>	54
III	RAMA RAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA „ ...	90
IV	VISVANATHA NAYAKA OF MADURA „ ...	131
V	BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI. THE HINDU ARMY. FIRST ENGAGEMENT „ ...	206
VI	BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI. THE DE- FEAT OF THE HINDU ARMY „ ...	211
VII	BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI. THE EXE- CUTION OF RAMA RAYA „ ...	214
VIII	BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI. THE RE- TREAT OF THE HINDU ARMY „ ...	216
IX	VIJAYANAGARA. HINDU-MUSLIM BATH ..	227
X	TIRUMALA RAYA. UPPER TIRUPATI „ ...	248
XI	VENKATAPATI DEVA RAYA II. UPPER TIRUPATI „ ...	302
XII	MAP OF INDIA OF SANSON D'ABBEVILLE, 1652 „ ...	313
XIII	A PORTION OF THE WALLS OF THE OLD FORT OF VELLORE „ ...	318
XIV	THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGARA UNDER VENKATA II „ ...	334

	PAGE
XV MUTHU KRISHNAPPA NAYAKA AND MUTHU VIRAPPA NAYAKA <i>to face</i>	358
XVI FR ROBERTO DE NOBILI, S J, IN THE COSTUME OF BRAHMAN SANNYASI	382
XVII INDIA AND BURMA ACCORDING TO THE 'CARTA MARINA OF 1516 BY M WALDSEEMULLER ,	488

INTRODUCTION

THE History of the Aravidu Dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire is the history of the Telugu domination over the Tamil and Kanarese people. No doubt the whole of Southern India was under the sway of Vijayanagara prior to the 15th century. But the former rules of the Tamilians had been either retained, as in the case of the Cholas of Tanjore, or restored, as in the case of the Pandyas of Madura, as feudatory kings under the powerful Telugu Empire. Now, when the star—once so bright—of Vijayanagara was on the wane, many of the old native rulers were replaced by Telugu chiefs, destined to become the founders of the royal dynasties of the South after the setting of the imperial glory. The same fate befell most of the rulers of the Kanarese country, though there several of the old native chieftains survived.

To study the history of this dynasty without relating the events that turned those Telugu Nayaks first into feudatory kings and then into independent sovereigns, would be to mutilate the history of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagara. Consequently we propose to deal with the whole history of the South of India, excepting Malabar, from the second half of the 16th century until the middle of the 18th, when the last representative of the old feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara disappeared with the usurpation of Haider Ali.

It is needless to insist on the importance of this period in the general history of India. Between the dates just mentioned, the already flourishing Portuguese commerce in India met its death-blow by the first appearance in the southern seas of the Danish, Dutch, French and English traders. Deccani Muhammadans, Marathas and Mughals successively invaded the South, and shook to its very foundations the

venerable Empire of Vijayanagara. It was also during this period that Vaishnavism was firmly established in the South as a result of the onslaughts on Jainism and Saivism, after the preaching of Ramanujacharya. Finally the successors of St. Francis Xavier, who preached Christ's Gospel on the Fishery Coast at the close of the third dynasty, were actively spreading the Catholic Doctrine, at one time protected by the very Emperors Nayaks and other chiefs, at another persecuted by them and one of these missionaries Fr. R. de Nobili, founded at this time the famous Madura Mission among the high caste people, the effects of which it is impossible to pass over in silence in a general history of the country.

As to the contents of this first volume I must justify my starting with the alternation of the reign of the two as monarchs of the third Dynasty. The end of the Tuluva Dynasty and the beginning of the Aravidu Dynasty are not marked or separated by any great fight or tremendous *coup d'état* that puts before our eyes the latter and announces the extinction of the former. The Aravidu family connected by marriage with the reigning Tuluva Dynasty, became increasingly powerful after the demise of Achyuta Deva Raya. Hence we have selected this event for the beginning of our narrative.

Thus we shall see the first appearance of the three representatives of the Aravidu family in the political world of Vijayanagara, and we shall be able to understand thoroughly the causes of its rise to power, even before the total extinction of the preceding dynasty. For, the real founder of the Aravidu Dynasty is certainly not Tirumala his brother Rama Raya, some years previous to the so-called Talikota disaster had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

Therefore this volume will contain the history of the reigns of five Monarchs of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

Venkata I, hitherto simply called Venkatadri, whose early death provoked the seizing of the capital by Rama Raya and his brothers, Sadasiva Raya, who saw patiently the rising of Rama Raya as well as his sudden fall in the national calamity at Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala, who finally succeeded in establishing the Aravidu family on the throne of Vijayanagara; Ranga I, whose short reign witnessed the increased power of the Muhammadans, who were constantly menacing the northern frontier of the Empire, and finally, Venkata II, known hitherto as Venkata I, the most illustrious sovereign of this Dynasty, who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nayaks in the South, caused the Rajas of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and the fine arts throughout his vast dominions. The civil war that followed his death hastened the decay of the Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

In any historical work, the author, besides the sources from which he has gathered his information, must have consulted many works either directly on the subject, or referring to it in some way. Hence the two parts of this Introduction : I. Contemporary Sources. II. Literature.

I CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Naturally the *sources*, in order to have the necessary authority demanded by modern history, must be contemporary. This word however has a comprehensive meaning. Under it those works or documents are also contained which, although not strictly contemporary, bear nevertheless such a stamp of antiquity and authority that they are unquestionably accepted as historical sources. Such are also those works which are based on ancient contemporary documents. In fact if history is written as it should be, it is not always possible to draw the line between sources and literature.

These sources may be unpublished or published —

1 UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

A. From the *Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.
Poona Persian Poem (P.P.P.)

We have given this name to a manuscript Persian Poem belonging to the collection of the *Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona.

It is a volume measuring 8 × 4 inches, richly bound in leather, with gilt patterns on the front cover, the binding however is badly worn. It contains 49 loose leaves of thick Daulatabadi paper sprinkled with gold, *etc.*, 98 pages numbered with Sanskrit characters in pencil, beginning from the last page of the Persian manuscript. These pages are much damaged and worm-eaten. All bear the stamp of the Mandala. Between these and the cover both at the beginning and the end there are four leaves of an inferior kind of paper, a little whiter, containing some Persian writings which have no connection with the subject of the poem. There are 12 full-page coloured paintings, some of which are reproduced in this volume by the kind permission of the Honorary Secretaries of the Mandala. Each painting is covered with modern

white paper. On the first page of the volume there is the seal of the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah. Its inscription runs as follows *Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi—1132 (A.H.)* This seal is half obliterated as well as the following lines in Persian written on the same page *Book of praise of Hassan (sic) King of Deccan. With 14 pictures, 49 leaves and 4 pages unwritten*. In the upper left corner there was another seal now totally effaced which might perhaps be the seal of one of the Ahmadnagar Sultans. Moreover on the same page two small square seals may be seen bearing the following inscription *1350 Puran Chand*. Three other impressions of this seal are found in one of the last blank pages of the manuscript.

The poem begins on page 2 with an introduction headed by a beautifully painted pattern in the middle of which, on a golden field, we read the following common inscription *In the name of God, the generous, the merciful*. Besides this introduction the poem contains 11 cantos the last of which is unfinished. The titles of these cantos are as follows —

- I Praises of God.
- II Praises of the Prophet
- III The Virtues of the Lord
- IV The Beginning of the Reign of Hussain Nizam Shah.
- V The Beauty and Nature of Humayun Shah
- VI The Marriage of Hussain Nizam Shah and Humayun Shah.
- VII The Durbar of Hussain Nizam Shah who admires the Beauty of Humayun Shah.
- VIII Praise of love and lovers.
- IX. Hussain Nizam Shah musters an army against the infidels and marches on Bijanagar
- X. Hussain Shah's fight with Rama Raja, King of Bijanagar and his victory
- XI Return of Hussain Shah from the war with the infidels and conquest of Bijanagar, to Ahmadnagar and his passing from this abode of destruction to the eternal abode.

The writing is done in very black Indian ink and with extraordinarily beautiful penmanship. The verses are always enclosed within a rectangular blank and gold border which leaves a margin of about an inch. The verses of the introduction are underlined with gold occasionally there are some

verses written in the margin. The poem was suddenly interrupted and left unfinished but the three last pages are already bordered, waiting its completion.

The poem was, no doubt, written by a Court poet of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, the history of whose reign is the argument of the poem. Though begun perhaps during his own reign, it was certainly continued during the beginning of the reign of his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, while his mother Bibi Konzah Humayun was governing on his behalf for three years¹. This is proved by the fact that there is a full canto in honour of the Sultana. Such an extraordinary piece of flattery would be unintelligible, unless written while she was the ruler of the state. Now from the fact that the last canto of the poem is abruptly cut short (so much so that even the death of the Sultan—the account of which is promised in the heading of the canto—is not narrated) we may safely conclude that the work was suddenly interrupted during the political upheaval caused by the Regent's imprisonment. The poem itself is of very little historical importance, the paintings are much more interesting.

This copy of the poem was, no doubt, intended for the library of the Sultan himself, as the richness of its execution clearly shows. When Ahmadnagar fell into the possession of the Mughals, the manuscript went, either at once or some years later—perhaps during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719—1748), whose seal appears on the first page—to Burhampur, a place which at times was the capital of the Mughal Deccan. There it was found in the possession of a private person by the late Mr. Pandurang Narasinha Patvardhan of Poona, who forwarded it to the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala.

I owe the English Translation of the three cantos of this poem published in *Appendix A*, to Mr. Mohamed Kazem Nemazi, B. A., Professor of Persian in our College.

B. From the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim.

Moncoes do Reino. These volumes measuring 10 × 6 inches as a general rule contain letters both from the Kings of Portugal to their Viceroys or Governors of Goa and from the Viceroys and Governors to the Kings. Occasionally other documents are found referring to the subjects mentioned in those letters. The King's letters are always originals, with

¹ *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 195 6 and 207, Ferishta—Briggs, III, p 250-3.

the autograph signature of the monarch himself, and sometimes still bearing his royal seal. At times two or three copies of the same letter, all signed by the King, may be found they were sent in duplicate by different vessels in order to prevent their being lost on such a long and perilous voyage. The Viceroy's letters are always copies—first copies most likely—made from the original before it was sent to Portugal. A few of the Viceroy's letters are merely drafts. In this volume use has been made of letters belonging to seven different volumes they will be found in *Appendix B*. As a general rule, only extracts referring to the subject of this history are reproduced.

C From the *Archives of the Society of Jesus*

Much use has been made of the Jesuit documents to illustrate the history of the Mughal Empire, specially during the reign of Akbar. But they have been studied very little by South Indian Scholars. Mr G. H. Nelson, in *The Madura Manual* and Prof. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar in his *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, are the only authors who have used the Southern Jesuit's letters in their works. But unfortunately they knew these letters only through the work of Fr. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madura*, in which these documents appear in a French translation which is far from accurate. Fortunately through the kindness both of Very Rev. Fr. J. Planchard, Superior of the Madura Mission and of Fr. J. Castets in charge of the Archives of the Mission, I was allowed to see and copy a number of photographs of Jesuit letters from Southern India the originals of which are preserved in Europe. These documents are of three different kinds—

(a) *Litterae Annuae*. These are the official letters sent annually from every Province or Mission to the General of the Society of Jesus residing at Rome. While narrating the state of the Mission they occasionally give precious information about the civil conditions of the country. Sometimes also specially in later years a detailed account of the civil conditions of the country in which the missionaries are working is given at the beginning of the letter.

(b) *Private Letters*. These are not official letters but are those addressed either by the Provincial or by the Missionary Fathers to the General of the Jesuits or to other Fathers in Europe. All these letters both official and private are originals. Of their historical value Mr Vincent Smith *Akbar*, p. 6-7, speaks very highly.

(c) The only other document which has been made use of in the present volume is a protest sent to the King of Spain and Portugal against the Jesuits of the South, and specially against those working at Chandragiri. The document photographed is only a copy of the original memorial. It is published at the end of *Appendix C*.

Space does not allow of a full description of all these Jesuit documents. As mentioned above, I have only worked upon their photographs, and no scale is given from which to deduce their real size.

D. From the *Archives of the Diocese of Mylapore*

By the kindness of the Most Rev. Mgr. A. Teixeira, Administrator Apostolic of the Mylapore Diocese, and of his Secretary Very Rev. Fr. Carvalho, I was able to collect only a few documents from the Diocesan Archives. The oldest of them seem to have been destroyed during the depredations of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. The two documents published in *Appendix D* are not of great importance. Both are copies made in relatively modern times. Their size is 12 x 6 inches.

E. Other MSS

(a) *Obras varias Manu-Scriptas Que comprehende todas as que constao do Index desde (sic) Tomo 1^o*. A Volume 12 x 9 inch. containing copies of documents connected with Portuguese history, most likely from the originals in the Torre do Tombo. Leaves are only numbered, not pages. The book belongs to the Satara Museum of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasins, to whose memory I am highly indebted for his extreme kindness.

(b) The Very Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, M. A., late President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, put into my hands copies of some MSS. relating to the early history of Bangalore. These MSS. are preserved in the Royal Palace of Mysore. One of them has no heading at all. The other is entitled as follows —

Memoir of Bangalore MS written in 1728, collected at Bangalore in February 1807 and literally translated from the original Maratha by Soobbarao, Brahmin.

(c) Use has also been made of the poem *Sahityaratnakara* of the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. It bears the No. 10291.

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(b) *Articles*

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Note —The author and the publishers regret to present this work to the public without diacritical marks. Such marks were used throughout the MS but the printer of the body of the book was not able to supply them. They request the readers, therefore to be lenient in their criticising this fault, which a second edition will, so they hope, not be guilty of

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF VENKATA I

SUMMARY—1. Vijayanagara at the death of Achyuta Raya—2. Enthronement of Venkata I—3. Some notes on his reign and person—4 Tyranny of the Regent Salakam Timma Raju.—5 Murder of the King and other members of his family—6 Usurpation by Salakam Timma Raju—7 Rama Raya's war against the Regent.—8 Rama Raya enters the capital

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2 Ferishta, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Basatin-us-Salatın* 3 Couto, Correa 4 *Achyutarayabhyudayam*, *Varadambika-Paṇinayam*, *Vasuchartram*, *Svaramelakalamdhi*, *Ramarajyam*, *Narasabupalayamu*, *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*

THE splendour of the Vijayanagara Empire that characterised the reign of the famous monarch, Krishna Deva Raya, and was happily maintained by his half-brother and successor Achyuta Raya¹, suffered a sudden, though brief, eclipse at the latter's demise². At this time, to quote an anonymous contemporary author, the Sovereign of Vijayanagara "ruled

1 Although in a copperplate grant of the year 1556 Achyuta is called the son of Krishna Deva Raya, Sewell, II, p 4-5, there can be no doubt that both were sons of Narasimha Raya, but by different wives Nagala was the mother of Krishna, and Obambikadevi the mother of Achyuta, as testified by both the Unamanjeri and the Kadaladi plates of Achyuta, the British Museum plates, and the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, III, p 148, XIV, p 312, IV, p 3, XIV p 230, and the Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz, Sewell, p 367

2 No worse description of Achyuta's character stands recorded than the one left by Nuniz "The King Chytarao, after he ascended the throne, gave himself over to vice and tyranny He is a man of very little honesty and, on account of this, the people and the captains are much discontented with his evil life and inclinations, for he has never done anything except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews", Sewell, p. 367 Sewell, p. 166 naturally agrees with his

over numberless people and could raise an army of a million or a million and a half soldiers; so that all the neighbouring kings and princes were his vassals thus making him master of untold wealth. There was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry for he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country because they came from both Arabia and Persia"¹ In addition, its rivers produced gold, while diamonds and other precious stones were found in its valleys. Vijayanagara was until then the same city and the same Empire that fired the admiration of the Persian Ambassador Abdur Razzak some years previously when he "saw a city exceedingly large and populous and a king of great power and dominion whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar a space of more than 1,000 parasangs"²

The last date of Achyuta available from lithic records is A. D. 1541-42 (Saka 1463)³ We may suppose that he died towards the end of 1541 judging from some inscriptions of Sadasiva relating to the middle of the following year 1542, as

chronicler And even Krishna Sastri states that Nuniz's descriptions may not be altogether far from the truth (*A. S. I. Report for 1908-9* p. 187) On the other hand we find in an inscription of the Sundararajaperumal temple at Valarpuram that Achyuta took all countries (27 of 1911) and we know from two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram of his brilliant campaign in Travancore, from the King of which he received tribute, the acquisition of Tinnevely ending with his marriage to the daughter of the Pandya King (49 and 50 of 1900) How then can the opinion of Nuniz be reconciled with these military exploits? From Sewall's *Forgotten Empire* p. 177-8 we learn that the Portuguese, who were such good friends of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, turned into foes as soon as his successor ascended the masnad. Is not Nuniz's condemnation of him a tacit apology for the Portuguese enmity?

1. *M. H. S. J., Men. Xav., I, Historia del principio & progreso de la Compania de Jesus en las Indias Orientales dividida en dos partes* pp. 61-62.

2. Elliot, *History of India* IV p. 103

3. 21 of 1900

well as from the events of the intervening period which we are about to narrate. In the Vitthala temple of Vijayanagara, there are two records mentioning King Achyuta Raya and Chikkaraya, his heir¹, viz, his son Komara Venkatadri alias Chikka Udaiyar who, according to the Tamil poem *Achyutaraya-bhyudayam*, had been anointed in Vijayanagara as his Crown Prince while his father had been crowned Emperor after Krishna Raya's demise². The contemporary Sanskrit poem *Varadambika-Parinayam* says that Venkatadri was installed Yuvaraja by his father on "observing with satisfaction the character and achievements of the Prince"³. Two epigraphical records of Kanchivaram relate that three years after the beginning of the victorious campaign of Achyuta in the South, this King, accompanied by his queen Varadadevi-Ammal and Prince Komara Venkatadri, entered the city of Kanchivaram⁴. Tirumalamba, the authoress of the *Varadambika-Parinayam*, ends her work, by praying god Venkatesa "to preserve her patron Achyuta, his Queen Varadamba and the Prince Venkatadri"⁵.

2 This prince Komara Venkatadri or Chinna Venkatadri, whom we shall henceforth refer to as Venkata I, was the one who succeeded his father Achyuta at the end of 1541⁶. We know that his mother's name was Varadadevi-

1 4 and 5 of 1904. The *Varadambika-Parinayam* describes the youth of this son of Achyuta. Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170.

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c., p 158.

3 Ibid, p 172.

4. *M E R*, for 1899-900, paras 70-77.

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l c.

6 The inscriptions that record the succession of Venkata I are to be seen in *Ep Ind*, IV, p 3, VII, p 89, IX, p 340, v 27, XIV, p 230 and 353, *Ep Carn*, IV, Ng, 58, V, Hn, 7, IX, Cp, 186, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 154, Sewell, II, p 12, 81 and 248. Much confusion has been created as to the succession after Krishna Deva Raya's death. Several authors state that his nephew, the child Sadasiva, was appointed Sovereign, but his uncle Achyuta on coming from the South took the throne, which was not restored to Sadasiva until

Ammal¹ or Varadambika² but we do not know exactly the age of the new King although we can positively state that he was not yet of age, since his uncle Salakam Timma Raju brother in law of the late king³ took over the regency of the Empire⁴ Correa states that the heir of Achyuta was a child⁵ The Regent was very ambitious and of weak intellect and at times absolutely irresponsible⁶

Achyuta's death. Cf. Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 88 Bice, *Mysore* I, p. 353 Ravenshaw *Translation of Various Inscriptions of Vijayanagara, Asiatic Researches* XX, p. 12-3 Subramiah Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature Ind. Ant.* XXVII, p. 300 Did this confusion arise from the short reign of Venkata I, so long forgotten, or perhaps from the fact of the appointment made by Krishna Deva Raya of his six years-old son Tirumalayadeva Maharayar as his Crown Prince (139 of 1896 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ma 6 and 82) who dying soon after as Nuniz narrates, (Sewell, p. 359) again left the throne vacant? After carefully reading Nuniz, I am more inclined to the latter view

1. Sewell, I, p. 182.

2. *Varadambika Parinayam* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 170

3. He was married to a sister of Achyuta, according to Correa *Lendas da India*, IV p. 276. The *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 51, says he was the son of the daughter of the Rai. I suppose that this Rai must be Narasimha.

4. He is called Bhoj Tirmal Ray by Ferishta, III, p. 81, and the *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 51, and Uche Timma Rao by Couto VI, p. 382. Sewell, p. 182, note 3 thinks that the uncle that Correa speaks of was Ranga, Sadasiva's father. We know the Regent's name from the Telugu poem, to which we shall refer later.

5. "Neste tempo aqueceo que morreo o Rey de Bimaga, de que nom ficou herdello momento hum filho menino" Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV p. 247

6. Ferishta, III, p. 81, says that he was deemed almost an idiot and Couto l. c., adds that he was mad as it is declared in his very name, since Uche means mad in Canarese. The three accounts of Ferishta, Correa and Couto contain several palpable falsehoods, but many details coincide in a marked degree with those we know from other sources while the narrative of Ferishta, although located some years earlier in his history openly refers to facts which happened at Achyuta's demise. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*,

It appears that, early during the ceremony of the coronation of the King, something unusual happened regarding the rites¹ The nobles, and specially two Queens of Krishna Raya, Chinna-devi and Tirumala-devi, wanted to have their Sovereign free from any tutelage Rama Raya and his brother Tirumala, close relations to the imperial family, were to be the ministers in charge of matters of government But Salakam Timma Raju, who had been treasurer of the court² and whose ambition did not allow him to divide the government, earnestly opposed this project³. Two parties were thereupon formed⁴ But the Regent, holding the supreme power, tried to confine in prison the two brothers and those who were most opposed to his own schemes⁵. They, however, on being made aware of his intentions fled from Vijayanagara, together with many other nobles Some of these started to assume independence in their own provinces⁶ Rama Raya and his two brothers escaped to Gutti, according to the *Sva, amclakalamdhi*, and to Penukonda, as the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* relate⁷

3 It is evident that these nobles rebelled against the Regent but not against the young Emperor All the contemporary inscriptions and grants highly extol the latter's qualities in a grant of his successor Sadasiva, King Venkata is called 'the treasury of wisdom'⁸, again he is called 'an abode XLIX, p 201-2, calls the Regent Ram Raj This is another sign of the great confusion of the Muhammadan writers on this period of Vijayanagara history

1 It is asserted in the *Vasucharitramu*

2 Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 3

3 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p 178 These facts are narrated as having happened at the death of Krishna Deva Raya, but this is an evident mistake Cf Correa, l c

4 Correa, l c

5 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* l c, *Svaramclakalamdhi*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p. 190, *Vasucharitramu*, o c., p. 216

6 Correa, l c.

7. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, ll. cc.

8. *Ep Carn*, IX, Cp, 186.

of learning' in another grant of the same, dated 1561¹ in the same grant he is also mentioned as famous for valour² and in the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva he is said to be like the flower arrowed Kama and to rule his kingdom well³ In a copper plate sasanam of Vijayanagara he is simply said to have reigned gloriously⁴ which sounds as an empty boast, when said of a Monarch who died so young But judging from the grief of his subjects at the time of his death we can conclude that he was an able and promising youth he died soon owing to the ill fortune of the people as we read in a grant of Sadasiva of 1545⁵ or to the ill fortune of his subjects⁶ or owing to the bad luck of his subjects⁷

4. In the meanwhile Salakam Timma Raju was ruling the Empire most tyrannically spending foolishly such large quantities of money from the royal treasury that his subjects could not stand him any longer⁸ Then the Queen Dowager Varadadevi Ammal begged Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur to come to her rescue and to secure the kingdom for her son promising him immense riches in return for this favour⁹ The Sultan set out for Vijayanagara but on the road he was met by emissaries of Salakam Timma, who made him lavish presents as the price of his retreat¹⁰ The Queen Mother was then left alone in the hands of the ambitious minister and it was probably this time that saw the most abominable crime committed by Salakam Timma.

1 *Ep Carn.*, V Hn, 7

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ep Ind.*, LX, p. 340, vv 23-30

4. Sewall, II, p 12, 81

5 *Ep Carn.*, IV Ng 53.

6 *Ep Carn.* IX, Op 186

7 Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind.*, I, p. 340 vv 23-30

8. Couto l. c.

9 "E por elle tomar este trabalho lhe pagaria toda sua despesa e lhe daria mais hum conto de pardaes d'ouro. Correa l. c.

10 Correa p. 247-8.

5. It is clear from original sources that Venkata I's reign did not last very long 'he soon died'¹, 'he died after a short time'², 'he soon went to the city of Indra'³, he 'before long ascended to Indra's abode'⁴ are the phrases used to announce his demise. We do not know the exact date of his end, but since there is an inscription of Sadasiva corresponding to July, 1542, we cannot suppose that the reign of Venkata lasted more than half a year. About the kind of death the unfortunate Sovereign met with, the statement of Correa gives full details. Salakam Timma, in order to strengthen his position and avoid any danger of civil or foreign war in favour of his royal nephew, caused Venkata to be assassinated together with two of his uncles and one of his cousins⁵. The aim of Salakam Timma was quite clear to extinguish the whole of the royal family, excepting his own person. One of his victims was most likely Ranga, the father of Sadasiva and uncle of Venkata, Sadasiva himself was no doubt one of the intended victims, but he fortunately escaped the violence of the bloodthirsty Regent. Ferishta relates that Venkata was strangled by his uncle⁶. Even a damaged inscription on the Garuda-mandapam of the Chennakesavasvamin temple at Markapur records this family crime by stating that Timma 'sinned against his lord'⁷.

1 Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep Carn*, IV, Ng, 58

2 British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 3

3 Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, IX, p 340, v 30.

4 Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep Carn*, V, Hn, 7

5 Correa, o c, p 276. The murder of Venkata I was already known to Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 88, Krishna Sastri, *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty*, A S I, Report, 1908-9, p 195, and Subramiah Pantulu, *Remarks on Telugu Literature, Ind Ant*., XXVII, p 300. The two brothers of Achyuta were, according to Correa, murdered in a fortress where they were imprisoned by Achyuta. This fortress was Chandragiri, according to Nuniz. See Sewell, p 316.

6 Ferishta, III, p 83

7 164 of 1905. *The Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, XLIX, p 201, does not speak of the murder of Venkata I. It only says that he was imprisoned and then the Regent usurped the throne.

6 Salakam Timma, supposed to have no rivals at all at once seized the throne of Vijayanagara and although the death of Venkata was much regretted as we read in a copper plate sasanam of Sadasiva¹ nevertheless the nobility of the capital submitted as he was a member of the royal family. But soon being unable to endure his tyranny and oppression they became disaffected and began to plot against him². One of the cruelties which most alienated his subjects feelings is narrated by Correa. Salakam Timma, in dread of the influence of the chief nobles summoned them to court, seized them treacherously as soon as they reached the city and caused their eyes to be put out. Some only of the first arrivals were caught the rest went back in great anger to their homes, and started to intrigue with their neighbours in order to put an end to the unbearable tyranny³.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was one of those whose help they sought for the moment. They urged him to depose Salakam Timma, promising him their assistance and offering him the crown of Vijayanagara if the country could be freed from that dreadful tyrant⁴. But the usurper obtaining intelligence of their designs, also despatched an embassy with a sum of six lakhs of huns and many precious gifts to the Bijapur Sultan soliciting him to march to his assistance, and promising in return to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay down another sum of three lakhs of huns for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by this offer and finally moved by the advice of the old general Asad Khan left his capital and arrived at Vijayanagara without opposition. Timma himself went to fetch him and conducted him into the city and seated him on the royal throne and ordered rejoicings

1. Sewell, II, 12, 81.

2. Ferishta Lc.

3. Correa, p. 276-7. This author says that only two of the nobles were treacherously mutilated by the Regent.

4. Correa, p. 277. The *Burhan-i Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*, XLIX p. 20^o states that the Sultan of Bijapur proceeded to Vijayanagara of his own accord.

for seven days. Some of the nobles acknowledged him as Sovereign¹ they were evidently the intimate friends of Salakam.

7. But the majority of the Grandees of the kingdom joined the three brothers Rama Raya, Tirumala and Venkatadri to work out the salvation of the country² These three great chiefs, from the day on which they fled from the capital, had seen that their army had grown after the capture of the forts of Penukonda, Adavanī (Adoni)³, Gutti, Gandikota and Kandanol) Kurnul⁴ Now Rama Raya and the confederate nobles sent letters to Salakam Timma feigning the sincerest contrition for their rebellion and assuring him of their future allegiance But, since the Muhammadans, who were introduced even into the capital of the Empire, were its most dangerous enemies, and since their stay in the country could have none but evil consequences, they asked the usurper to order the Sultan of Bijapur back to his own dominions. Timma being, after the subjection of the nobility, no longer in need of the Mussulmans, requested the Muhammadan army to return home after receiving fifty lakhs of huns, according to the conditions previously settled upon Moreover, magnificent presents were made to the Sultan, among which Ferishta mentions twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet entered his dominions when Rama Raya and the confederates hastened towards Vijayanagara in order to put Salakam to death and thus to avenge the murder of his predecessor⁵.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 83, Correa, p 278-9 Both accounts confirm each other, though they do not agree in some details The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, XLIX, p 202, does not mention the sum of money sent by Salakam to Ibrahim Adil Shah Moreover, it states that the usurper fled from Vijayanagara on the approach of the army of Bijapur, and even quotes a letter of Asad Khan to Salakam Timma Raju inviting him to return to his capital

² Ferishta, 1 c

³ *Vasucharitramu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 216, *Annals of Hancle Anantapuram*, 1 c

⁴ *Ramarajyamu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 181

⁵ Ferishta, III, p 83-4, the *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 51-2, gives the amount of 44 lakhs of huns as the sum given Ibrahim by Salakam

Neither Ferishta nor Correa mention any battle between Rama Raya and Salakam Timma and the former even seems to suppose that the bribes Rama Raya made among the troops of Vijayanagara opened to him the gates of the city¹. But the Telugu poem *Narasabupaliyanu* says that the valiant general waged war and destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma² and in the *Ramarajiyamu* we read that he defeated the armies of Salakam³ and the *Soaramelakalanidhi* states that he conquered the traitors to the kingdom⁴ and the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* record that Rama Raya and Tirumala, along with Hande Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonnalapuram, delivered the attack upon the forces of Salakam. They were helped by additional forces from Kandnavol (Karnul) and Gadwal. The battle did not last long. The *Annals* do not mention Rama Raya's bribes to the officers of Salakam, but this inference may also be drawn from their assertion that "his officers thinking that he was only a shepherd who wanted to snatch away the kingdom as he was rich, deserted in a body"⁵. This desertion by the officers might have been caused by Rama Raya's bribes. After this action Rama Raya became the lord of the capital the bribes that Ferishta speaks of became very useful on this occasion. Perhaps the final victory of the confederates was due to them. Salakam Timma and his relatives did not leave the city to defend their rights in a pitched battle, for the inscription of Markapur mentioned above informs us that Rama Rayakam Timma, on this occasion but adds according to another account not 44 but 80 lakhs of huns were given the Sultan." The *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* l.c., say that the Sultan of Bijapur remained at Vijayanagara until Rama Raya came with his army and that Barid Shah, Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah were likewise helping the usurper. This seems only intended to extol the valour of Rama Raya who dared to fight against all these chiefs allied with the usurper. Ferishta does not say a word about this alliance.

1. Ferishta, III, p. 84.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o.c., p. 224.

3. Ibid., p. 181.

4. Ibid. p. 190.

5. Ibid., p. 178.

'subdued at Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara) Timma.... .. and the whole of the Salakam family' ¹

About his end, Couto only says that his subjects killed him ², and the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Narasabupaliyamu* state respectively that 'Rama finally killed' ³ or 'destroyed the traitor Salakam Timma' ⁴ The same is recorded by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri ⁵ Finally, the *Annals* record that 'he was killed in the fight' ⁶ But Ferishta, whom I trust more on this occasion on account of the detailed account he gives, relates these events as follows "Bhol Tirmal Ray, finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and, becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails that they might be of no use to his enemy All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through, and came out at his back, thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies" ⁷ Correa agrees with this Muhammadan writer, and even says that before dying Salakam said that he wanted to die as a king of Vijayanagara ⁸

8 When the Queens of Krishna Raya heard of these happy events they ordered the nobles to hand over the city to Rama Raya and Tirumala, and their order was accordingly carried out ⁹ Rama Raya was received in the imperial city

1 164 of 1905

2 Couto, o c, p 382

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 216.

4 Ibid, p 224

5 *Baṣatn-us-Salatn*, p 52

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 178

7 Ferishta, o c, p 84-5 Cf Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 354 The above mentioned Telugu poems, in order to eulogize the virtues and might of Rama Raya, represent him as the destroyer of his rival This is a usual practice among poets

8 "Eu moyro Rey de Bisnega" Couto, p 282

9 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 178 The mother of Venkata I is not mentioned on this occasion Was she also one of the victims of Salakam Timma?

of Vijayanagara as the liberator of the country "He saved the Karnata (Vijayanagara) Empire from destruction by making war on and destroying the traitor Salakaya Timma" sings Bhattu Murti in his *Narasabupaliyamu* ¹ Probably on account of this triumph over the tyrant Salakam he was thereafter called the Protector of the Karnata kingdom ² or the Protector of the fortunes of the Karnata kingdom ³ And perhaps even from this time onwards his deeds were sung by Vidyadhari women to the accompaniment of their lutes which they made resonant by striking with their nails as we read in the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II ⁴

The subsequent attempts of Rama Raya to save the Empire will be narrated in the following chapter

1. Ibid., p. 225

2. Kanuma grant of Badasiva *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 353 vv 29-30.

3. Badasiva's grants 1561 and 1538 *Ep Carn* V Hn, 7 IX, Cp, 186

4. Butterworth I, p. 29 v 17

CHAPTER II

SADASIVA RAYA AND HIS REGENT RAMA RAYA

SUMMARY —1 The family of Sadasiva —2 His coronation as Emperor of Vijayanagara —3 The mythical and historical ancestors of the Aravidu family —4 Rama Raya and his family. 5 The family of Tirumala and Venkatadri —6. Previous deeds of Rama Raya

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants 2. Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda 3 Couto, Correa. 4 Travels of Caesar Frederick 5 *Vasucharitramu*, *Rama Raya Charitra*, *Svaramelakalanidhi*, *Narasabupatnyamu*, *Balabhagavatam*, *Ramarajyamu*

THE events recorded at the end of the preceding chapter are supposed to be merely the preliminary steps taken by Rama Raya to save the country. The young Prince Sadasiva had survived the bloody tragedy of the imperial family in which Venkata I was the chief victim. So Rama Raya's first care, after defeating Salakam Timma, was to instal this last representative of the Tuluva family on the glorious throne of his ancestors. Accordingly he marched from Vijayanagara at the head of his army, sword in hand, to rescue Prince Sadasiva hidden in the fortress of Guttu.¹

The unfortunate Prince, who was about to be fetched by Rama Raya to be anointed as Emperor of Vijayanagara, was supposed to be the son of Krishna Deva Raya, according to Couto², or the son of Achyuta Raya as given in an inscription of Hassan.³ But we now know of several inscriptions of the time of Sadasiva that call him son of Ranga Raya or Ranga

1 *Svaramelakalanidhi*, according to Mr Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A S I, Report, 1911-2*, p 178, note 2

2 Couto, VI, p 382

3 Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 228, 129, Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 353, 104 of 1906, Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Canarase Inscriptions*, p 28, pl. 246.

kshatindra and of Timmamba¹ According to some Bhatkal inscriptions² Ranga kshatindra was a son of Isvara-Narasimha and brother of Krishna Deva Raya but by a different mother The founder of the third dynasty married three wives Tippajidevi who was his Queen Nagala, the mother of Krishna Deva Raya, and Obambika, the mother of Achyuta Raya³ and Ranga-kshatindra⁴ and hence grand mother of Sadasiva. His father Ranga had probably been one of the victims of the tyranny of Salakam Timma, as we have pointed out in the preceding chapter By the author of the *Svaramelakalanidhi* Sadasiva is given at this time the appellation of helpless⁵ That seems to connote a tender age. Indeed a contemporary anonymous chronicler of Golconda says that the heir to the throne was a child in arms⁶ Caesar Frederick only says that he was 'very young'⁷ The same is implied by the probable fact that he was not yet married at the time of his coronation for there was no queen at his side, as we know from a grant we shall quote a little further on. Hence what seems to us quite reasonable, and not inconsistent with the truth, is the statement of Couto who says that Sadasiva at the time of his installation was a little more than thirteen years of age⁸ Correa affirms that he was about sixteen⁹ Ac

1 British Museum plates of Sadasiva *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 3 Krishna puram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 340 vv 28-30 Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 230 vv 28-30 Kanuma grant of Sadasiva *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 353 vv 29-30 Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep Carn* IV Ng, 58 Sadasiva's grant 1561. *Ep Carn* V Hn, " Sadasiva's grant, 1558 *Ep Carn.*, IX, Op 186 Copper plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell II, p. 12 81

2. Of. Krishna Sastri *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty A.S.I., Report 1908-9* p. 193, note 8

3 Achyuta's grant, 1537 Sowell, I, p. 30 207

4. British Museum plates of Sadasiva *Ep Ind.* IV p. 3 CL Kielhorn, p. 89 530.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 190

6 Ferishta III, p. 381.

7 Purohas, *His Pilgrims* X, p. 93

8. Couto l. c., p. 352

9 Correa, l. c., p. 281-2.

According to this author, Sadasiva and his eldest brother were living hidden 'towards the kingdom of Orissā', probably in the Telugu country. When they were found by Rama Raya's diligence, the eldest brother was crowned as king of Vijayanagara. This happened at the time of Salakam's usurpation. But the new sovereign often was out of his mind on account of an unknown disease. So, by the nobles' accord, and with his consent, his youngest brother was raised up to the masnad. This was Sadasiva, who, it seems, was crowned at Tirupati, where he received a great deal of money, both from the nobility and from the treasury of the temple for the war intended against the usurper. The present given him by the Brahmins of Tirupati was 'a hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces'. From thence they advanced against Vijayanagara. It was then that Sadasiva stopped at Guttī while Rama Raya and his army advanced against Salakam.

2 On his return from Guttī, the coronation of Sadasiva took place at Vijayanagara. Achyuta Raya was also crowned twice, according to the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* first at Tirupati and then at Vijayanagara, just as Sadasiva had been¹. According to some inscriptions, Rama Raya alone installed him on the jewel throne and anointed him². The British Museum plates of Sadasiva record that Rama Raya made the ministers instal Sadasiva³, but there is no doubt that both Rama Raya and the ministers participated in the ceremonies of the installation of the young King. This is stated in several grants of the said Sadasiva⁴. Now the first ministers were, no doubt, Tirumala and Venkatadri, the brothers of Rama Raya, but probably some others too are meant the Bevinahalli grant of

1 Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 158

2 Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, XIV, p 230, vv 28-30, Ranga III's grant, 1644-5, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 154, Copper-plate sasanam of Sadasiva, Sewell, II, p 12, 81, *Svaramelakalanidhi*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 190

3 British Museum plates of Sadasiva *Ep Ind*, IV, p 3

4 Kanuma grant of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, XIV, p 353, vv 29-30, Sadasiva's grant, 1546, *Ep Carn*, IV, Ng, 58, Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep Carn*, V, Hn, 7, Sadasiva's grant, 1558, *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp 186.

Sadasiva gives the names of several of his ministers¹ another named Venkatesvararaja, is mentioned in an inscription at Enamdala² In an inscription of the Bhairavesvara temple at Mopur mention is also made of the Mahamandalesvara Timmayadeva Maharaju, son of Narasingayadeva Maharaja and grandson of Avubhaladeva Maharaja of Nandyala³ Another grandson of the same by a different father Chinna Avubalesvaradeva Maharaju is also called Mahamandalesvara in an inscription of Gandikota⁴ Finally Ramabhatlayya son of Bhutanatha Brahma jyothisalu is also said to have been a minister of Sadasiva⁵

The solemn act of the coronation and anointment of the descendant of the great Isvara Narasimha, nephew of the most glorious Sovereign of Vijayanagara Krishna Deva Raya, was the occasion of much joy on the part of the inhabitants of the capital and the tears of joy "says one of his grants of 1558 "shed at the time of his coronation-anointing flooded the earth so as to make her appear as the queen who was anointed with him⁶ Rama Raya seating Sadasiva on the precious stone (the throne inlaid with precious stones), holding an umbrella over his head⁷ restored once more the Empire of Vijayanagara to its ancient glory⁸

Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva rayadeva (for that is his full imperial title as given in the inscriptions⁹) was recognised by everyone throughout his vast dominions as the real Emperor of Vijayanagara. We have inscriptions from every corner of the Empire which show that he was proclaimed

1. *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 212-3 Cf. 348 of 1905

2. 415 Ap. B of 1916.

3. 498 of 1906

4. 485 of 1906.

5. 60 of 1915

6. *Ep Carn* IX, Op 186

7. Inscription on a stone called Vay in the temple of Madava swami at Vijayanagara, Ravenshaw *Translation of Various Inscriptions Found among the ruins of Vijayanagara Asiatic Researches XX*, p. 35

8. *Vasucharitramu* B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 216.

9. 399 and 381 of 1904.

the Rajadhiraja of the whole of Hindustan south of the Tungabhadra¹. Some Rajas of the Karnatic however, who depended on the Emperors of Vijayanagara, did not pay homage to the new Emperor at once, since Ferishta tells us that in the year 1544 "the Karnatic was as yet by no means in a settled state, many of the dependant Rajas being still in revolt"². This is shown also by the *birudas* attributed to him in the same inscriptions. Virapratapa Kathari Saluva Vira-Sadasiva Raya Deva-Maharaya receives in them the following titles due only to the Imperial Majesty The great Emperor, the great King, the glorious great King, the King of Kings, supreme Lord of Kings, the supreme King, the famous, the valorous, the famous for valour, the brave and puissant³.

We do not know when the coronation of Sadasiva took place; but it must have been during the first half of the year 1542, since his earliest inscription hitherto known bears a date corresponding to July 27, 1542⁴.

3 Now after having seen the young Sadasiva crowned and anointed by his Regent and chief minister Rama Raya, whose object was to establish firmly among his subjects the authority of the Aravidu family, it is worth while to give an account of the latter's ancestors as well as of his brave deeds before he reached the height of his power.

The family pedigree of Rama Raya may be found, with very few discrepancies, in almost all the grants of the Sovereigns belonging to his family⁵. This vamsavalī invariably con-

1 Even the Malayalam country was one of the States from which the Emperor of Vijayanagara received tribute, but the Maharajas of Kulam refused to pay it except when compelled by the imperial armies, as we shall see further on.

2 Ferishta, III, p 94,

3 Visvanatha's inscription seven miles from Madura, Burgess, p 108-9, Banasankari Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, *Ind Ant*, X, p 67, Kanarese inscription of Sadasiva, 1547-8, *Ind Ant*, X, p 65, Sadasiva's grant, 1561, *Ep Carn*, V, Hn, 7

4 *Ep Carn*, III, Sr, 42

5. British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind*, IV, p 3 ff, Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ibid*, IX, p 329 ff, Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, *Ibid*, XIV, p 331, Kanuma grant of Sadasiva,

tains two sections one mythical the other historical. By the former they claim to belong to the Lunar race, through Buddha Pururavas and several other Puranic heroes and this is the reason why Venkata II in the Vilapaka grant professes to be Atreyagotrāja, a descendant from Atri, the Moon's father. Nevertheless not all the names given in this section are mythic; there are also some historical persons named among the Aravidu family just to exalt its nobility as it was also done by the kings of the preceding dynasties. Such are Nanda, the representative of the old Dynasty of Pataliputra overthrown by the Maurya Chandragupta and Chalukya, through whom the Aravidu Emperors boast connection with the Chalukyas and lastly Bijjalendra, who represents the Kalachuris.

The historical pedigree starts with Tata Pinnama, at whose sight the enemies were frightened and whose son Somideva

Ibid., p. 343 Sadasiva's grant 1545 *Ep Carn.* V Mj., 60; Sadasiva's grant, 1561, Ibid., Hn 7 Sadasiva's grant 1558, *Ep Carn.* IX, Cp 186 Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva Butterworth, I p. 98 ff Rama Raya's grant 1554, *M A D* 1923 p. 123 ff Penuguluru grant of Tirumala *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 254 Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep Carn.* XII Tm., 1 Mareidappelli grant of Ranga I *Ep Ind.*, XI, p. 327 Arivilli mangalam plates of Ranga I, Ibid., XII p. 356 Copper-plate inscription of Venkata II, 1589 *M A D* 1921 p. 31 Vilapaka grant of Venkata II *Ep Ind.* IV p. 270 ff Dalaway Agraharam plates of Venkata II *Ep Ind.* XII p. 185 Venkata II's grant, 1586 *Ep Ind.*, XIII, p. 225; Venkata II's grant, 1613 Ibid., p. 231 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II *Ep Ind.* XVI p. 296 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, Ibid. p. 299 ff Venkata II's grant, 1597 *Ep Carn.*, VII Sh, 83 Venkata II's grant, 1559 *Ep Carn.*, XII, Ck, 39 Mangalampad plates of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 27-31 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind.*, III, p. 251-2 Karnata grant of Venkata III, 1636 *Ind Ant.*, XIII, p. 123 Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant.*, XIII, p. 129 Copper-plate grant of Venkata III 1634, Burgess, IV p. 186 ff *M E. R.* 1891 p. 6 Utsur grant of Ranga III, Butterworth, I, p. 46, Kallakural grant of Ranga III *Ind Ant.*, XIII, p. 153 Some information on the Aravidu family pedigree is also to be found in the following poems *Vasa Raja Charitra*, Wilson, *The Macekate Collection* p. 295; *Rama Raja Charitra*, Ibid., p. 269 *Sooramelakalankidhi* B Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 190 *Narasabapaliyam* Ibid., p. 224; *Vasucharitram* Ibid. p. 216 *Balabhadra-stam* Ibid., p. 204.

'captured seven forts during the course of a single day', then comes Raghavadeva, called brave and heroic, who was the father of Pinnama, 'the lord of Aravītipura', from whose time we see the members of this family most closely connected with State affairs, Aravī Bukka, his son, who married Balambika, is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Saluva Narasimha', the founder of the second dynasty Bukka then was one of the generals and ministers of Narasimha, who supported this usurper, when he put on his head the crown of Virupaksha, in 1485-6¹ He could not have died very early, since he is recorded to have been one of the generals present at the enthronement of Krishna Deva Raya, in January, 1510 Bukka's son Rama Raya, who espoused Lakambika, is called 'a great warrior' and 'conqueror over Sapada's army' Sapada is understood to be the Sultan of Golkonda The *Rama Raya Charitra* says expressly that by the aid of his brother Venkatapati, and two chiefs of the same family, Venkatadri and Tirumala, he subdued Gutti, Penukonda and other places and defeated the King of Golkonda² The Maredapalli grant of Ranga I records that Rama Raya captured the forts of Avanagiri and Kandanavolu (Karnul) and put to flight Kasappudaya According to the poem mentioned above he had five sons Sriranga, Channa Venkatapati, Timma, or Tirumala (who distinguished himself in the service of Krishna Deva Raya), and lastly Venkatapati Of these, the first, Sriranga became the father of Rama Raya, the Regent of Sadasiva Raya

Sriranga, according to Rama Raya's grant, 1554, 'defeated many enemies' We know from Ferishta that he was one of the ministers of Krishna Deva Raya, and was succeeded in this place by his son Ramā Raya³ Accordingly in an

1 Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, p 47

2 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 270

3 Ferishta, III, p 81 He calls Rama Raya's father Timraj In two inscriptions of Penukonda, Rama Raya is called the son of Tirumalaraja 333 and 335 of 1901 Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 353, agrees with them. But we cannot doubt this point at present after the study of

inscription at Karnul he is called Mahamandalesvara Rama raju Peda Sriranga-deva Maharaju¹ Sriranga married Tiru malambika and had three sons by her Rama Tirumala and Venkatadri. The *Narasabupaliyamu* gives him five sons. Kona Tumma Rama, Yeratumma and Venkata² We can admit the existence of these five brothers but the first two had already disappeared from the stage before the other three exerted any great influence in the governing of the state. We shall proceed to describe the family and the deeds of these three brothers

4. Rama Raya also called Kodanda Rama, was the eldest of the three brothers. In the grants of Sadasiva, Rama is always called Sadasiva's brother in law the husband of his sister³ whilst in several poems and in an inscription of Venkata III as well as in Ferishta, Couto and the *Basatir us Salatin* we read that Rama Raya's wife was a daughter of Krishna Deva Raya⁴ and Queyroz even affirms that she was the only daughter of this Emperor⁵ The *Narapativijaya* says that her name was Tirumalambika⁶ and the *Annals of Hande Anan*

the records mentioned in note 5 p. 17 More startling is the opinion of Burnell *Elements of South Indian Paleography* p 55 note who calls the father of Rama Raya Virappa Nayak.

1 156 of 1905

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 254.

3 British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.* IV p 3 Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva Ibid., IX, p. 340 vv 28-30 Bevina hall grant of Sadasiva Ibid., XIV p 230 vv 28-30 Sadasiva's grant 1540 *Ep. Carn.* IV Ng 58 Sadasiva's grant, 1561 *Ep. Carn.*, V Hn 7; Sadasiva's grant, 1558 Ibid., IX, Cp 186; Sadasiva's grant 1556 7 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

4. *Sooramalakalanidhi* S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 190 *Ramarnjayan* Ibid p 184 *Rama Raja Charitra*, Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection* p 270; Venkata III's inscription, *Ep. Carn.*, III Nj 198; Ferishta III p 81 Couto o c p 382; *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 51. Correa, o. c IV p 282 says that the wife of Rama Raya was a sister of Krishna Deva Raya.

5 Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao* p. 308.

6 *Ind. Ant* XXVII, p. 333 Sowell II, p. 252 who gives the same name, says that she was the youngest daughter of Krishna Raya.

tapuram state that her mother¹ was Queen Tirumala Devi¹. We cannot reject these latter authorities, although the former seem at first sight more weighty: one of them gives the name of Rama Raya's wife, and their statement agrees with the title 'Ahya' (son-in-law)—a title often given to Rama Raya. We are not allowed to suppose two different wives, one a daughter of Krishna Raya, the other a sister of Sadasiva, because we know the names of all the wives of Rama Raya and this distinction is never made. We prefer the explanation given by Prof. F. Kielhorn. "The two statements", he says, "would in my opinion be best reconciled by taking the word *bhagini* of the present inscription to denote a cousin of Sadasiva, a daughter of his paternal uncle Krishnaraya"². This seems more probable, for it is known that, in the Kanarese country, words denoting relationship are used loosely³.

The *Ramarajiyamu* informs us that Rama Raya also married Appalamba, the daughter of Peddanandi Raju of the Jillella family, and Kondamma and Lakshamma, the daughters of Timma of the Pochiraju family⁴. As to Rama Raya's sons, the Kondyata grant of Venkata III and the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III state that "from the famous king Rama Raya there sprang five sons, who were able to protect the world, who followed the path of policy, and who longed to grant the desires of the crowd of wise men"⁵. These five sons are also mentioned in the aforesaid *Ramarajiyamu*. The first two are Krishnaraya or Krishnapa and Peda Timmaraja, they were the sons of Tirumalamba⁶. Peda Timma became a victorious general against the army of Nizam Shah, and was probably the one whose grant is recorded in an inscription of Bollavaram, Cuddapah District, under the name of 'Papa Timmayyadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya Timma Raya'⁷.

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 178

2 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 4

3 Cf Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 48, note 1

4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o c*, p 184

5 *Ind Ant*, XV, p 147

6 They are also mentioned in the *Narapat.vijyamu*. Cf *Ind. Ant*, XXVII, p 332

7. Sowell, I, p 124, Rangacharya, I, p 618, 492

By his second wife Appalamba Rama Raya had no sons. The third, Kondamma, gave him two Konda and Timma. Of these Konda became governor of Anegundi and Timma held a like office in the fortress of Raichur. I suppose that this Timma was the one whose grant is also commemorated in another inscription of Nidufuvvi Cuddapah District, under the name of Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja, son of Rama Raya ¹ Finally by Lakshamma Rama Raya begot Sriranga Raya, the old Ranga IV mentioned in an inscription of the Nellore District under the title of Rama Raya Srirangarajayya deva Maharaja ² We shall speak of him at greater length in another volume when referring to the reign of one of his sons the future Venkata III ³

Besides these five sons Rama Raya had some daughters. For the anonymous Muhammadan chronicler of the history of Golkonda, a contemporary of these events mentions two sons-in-law of the great Minister of Sadasiva. One was Jotumraj the general deputed by his father-in-law to the conquest of Dewurconda and Indracoṇḍa ⁴ and the other Buswunt Raj, the governor of the forts of Nandyal and Kalgur (Karnul) ⁵

5 The second brother of Rama Raya, Tirumala, called also Timmaraya in an inscription at the Chandeswari temple at Hampi ⁶ married Vengalamba ⁷ the sister of

1. Sewell, o c p. 125

2. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 94. The *Rama Raya Ckēṭṭra* gives only three sons of Rama Raya with different names Peddvunkata Venkatapati and Rama or Kodanda Rama. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 270. Cf. *Ravenshaw Collection of Various Inscriptions* l.c., p. 19. According to the information given by the Raja of Anegundi to Mr Sewell Rama Raya had only two sons, Krishna Raja and Tirumala Raja. Sewell, II, p. 252

3. The descendants of Rama Raya as given in the *Ramarajiyannu* may be seen in the adjoining pedigree.

4. Ferishta III, p. 408

5. Ibid., p. 453

6. *M. A. D.*, 1900, p. 39. Ferishta, III p. 135 and 242 as well as the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, III, p. 397 and 418, call Tirumala Yeltumraj

7. Arivillimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 342; Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck. 39. Venkata III's inscription, 1639 *Ep. Carn.*, III Nj, 198. *Ramarajiyannu* B. Krishnawami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 213

Sadasiva¹ Was this so-called sister of Sadasiva also a cousin of this monarch? We do not dare to affirm it. We shall only say that Tirumala had also married a daughter of Krishna Raya by his Queen Chunna Devi² "As the four Vedas Sama and the others, were produced from the mouth of the Creator" says the Utsur grant of Ranga III, "so four sons of immeasurable glory were born to Tirumala"³ From another grant of Ranga III 1645 as well as from the *Ramarajiyamu*, we know the names of these four sons. They were Raghunatha Sriranga the future Ranga I Rama Raya, and Venkata Deva Raya⁴ Moreover we know one of his sons-in-law Nagarajayyadeva Maharaya. He is mentioned by Sadasiva in one of his inscriptions at Vontinitta Cuddapah District⁵

We have very little information concerning the family of the third brother Venkatadri. In the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have married two wives Rangama and Krishnama, of whom he begot two sons Rangappa and Rama⁶ In the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II he is said to have shone on earth resembling Lakshmana in beauty⁷ Later on we shall speak of his exploits as a great general.

Siddhiraju Timma Raju a nephew of Rama Raya in his poem *Paramayagi Vilasam* informs us that his mother Konamamba was the sister of the three brothers spoken of

1 On account of these marriages of Rama Raya and Tirumala with ladies of the Tuluva Dynasty the monarchs of the Aravidu family considered themselves legitimate successors of the Tuluva Emperors.

2. *Annals of Hancle Anandapuram*, l. c.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 46 v 31

4. Ranga III's grant, 1645 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb, 60 *Ramarajiyamu*
 5. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 213-4. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda Ferishta III p. 453 mentions one Nurling Raj nephew of Rama Raya. He was perhaps an unknown son of one of these brothers.

6. 411 of 1911.

7. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 222.

8. Butterworth, I, p. 30 v 18. In the village of Maranapalli there is an inscription, probably of his, in which he mentions Rama Raya Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 5

the capital of his governorship. According to the *Ramarajyamu* he had also been Kalyana Puravaradhisvara, ruler of the city of Kalyani probably Kalyandrug in Annapur District ¹

Mr Sewell is inclined to see in Rama Raya and Tirumala those two relatives of King Achyuta to whom the whole government of the Empire was so completely handed over that the King himself dared not do anything against their wishes. "He (Achyuta) has never done anything" says Nuniz, "except those things that are desired by his two brothers-in-law who are men very evilly disposed and great Jews" ² This seems quite probable; because Fr Queyroz says that Krishna Deva Raya in his last days put the reins of government into the hands of his son in law Rama Raya and the military affairs into those of his brother Tirumala. But before dying he ordered Rama Raya to enthrone his brother Achyuta after his own demise. He did so and continued ruling the Empire under Achyuta Deva Raya ³

In another chapter we shall speak of Rama Raya's campaign in the south. When taking possession of the government of the state after the crowning of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is called an ornament of the Kshatriyas ⁴ His long career of unbroken successes had been a preparation for the great task lying before him he could dare to take upon his shoulders the rule of that great Empire which was menaced by internal and external foes. The success of Rama Raya in this enterprise was temporary. Although he resembled Ramabhadra in appearance, and possessed prosperity and majesty ⁵ he was to die in battle after having seen the defeat of his army by the irreconcilable enemies of his country

1. S Krishnaaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 18

2. Sewell, p. 367

3. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceilao* p. 308-9

4. Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p 340, VV 23-30 Sadasiva's grant, 1561 *Ep. Carn.*, V Hn, 7

5. Kondyata grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XV p. 148

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

SUMMARY—1 Rama Raya, Regent of the Empire—2 First stage of his rule—3 Wise activity of the Regent and his two brothers 4 Second stage Sadasiwa imprisoned—5 Rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri—6 Elevation of the members of the Aravidu family—7 Preparation of the forthcoming stage—8 Third stage The usurpation of Rama Raya—9 His rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara—10 Conditions of the State Finance—11 Maintenance of Hindu cult—12 Religious offerings of the subjects 13 Alms to the Brahmins—14 Jurisdiction affairs—15. Agriculture—16 The barbers—17 Other public affairs—18 State of the capital.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants 2 Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda 3 Couto, Correa 4 Travels of C Frederick 5 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Rama-rajyamu, *Svaranmelakalanidhi*, *Prapannavaritam*

SADASIWA was on account of his age unfit to manage the State affairs Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that 'Rama Raya assumed the office of Protector' 1 The Muhammadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rama Raya describes him as Regent of the puppet Sadasiwa Accordingly all power was vested in Rama Raya, as the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* recorded some years later 2 The only fact on which all the authors who have written on Sadasiwa's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing "Ramaraj", he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne" 3 Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have

1. Ferishta III, 381

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

3. Ibid.

closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadasiva's reign and discern not two but three different stages in the Regency of Rama Raya.

2 During the first stage Rama Raya is nothing but Regent on behalf of his Sovereign even the influence of Sadasiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadasiva gave orders to Rama Raya, saying and then Rama Raya makes a grant according to the King's orders¹ The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8 at Podili Nellore District, in which Sadasiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara under the orders of Srīman Mahamandalesvara Aliyagamarajayyadeva Maharajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom² Finally in 1549 by order of Sadasiva Rama Raya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri³

The titles given to Rama Raya at this time are *Mahamandalesvara* minister⁴ agent of Sadasiva⁵ agent for the affairs of Sadasiva's kingdom⁶ or at most ruler of the great Karnata Kingdom. No other trace of higher authority can be gathered from the records of the first years of his governorship.

In the meanwhile Sadasiva mostly resided at the capital. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions⁷ In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant in the vicinity of the god Vitthalesvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river⁸ viz. at Vijayanagara⁹

3 From the very beginning the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the State affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadasiva in 1558 exalts the virtues of Rama Raya as

1 *Ep. Carn.* XI, Hk, 110

2. Butterworth, III, p. 1195-7

3 *Rangacharya*, II p. 1051, 17

4. 472 of 1906, 5 of 1900

5 *Ep. Carn.* XII, Tp, 126, *Rangacharya*, II p. 1073 199

6 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk., 13

7 Sadasiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ng, 58.

8. Butterworth, II, p. 931-2.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV p. 333 v 43 p. 231, vv 43-45

a ruler, 'possessed of valour, liberality and mercy'¹; moreover he is said to be 'versed in politics'², or 'well versed in politics'³, 'skilled in politics'⁴ conversant with politics⁵, and to have 'studied politics'⁶. One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast Empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation of his two brothers in the minister-ship, the administration of justice was assigned to Tirumala while Venkatadri took over the supervision of the State finances⁵. Several inscriptions justify the statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahamandalesvara Tirumalarayadeva Maharasu granted to some person the village of Kotanahalli together with its hamlets⁶. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jangamayya, the *Dalavay* or general of Timmaraja, younger brother of Rama Raya"⁷,

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule, this was Udayagiri, called 'the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara'⁸, owing its proximity to the Muhammadan frontier. Formerly it had almost always been governed by Princes of the Royal family, as Viceroys on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri⁹, and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office¹⁰, however, he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Sangam, the governor of Udayagiri was

1 *Ep. Carn*, IX, Cp, 186

2 Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 29, v 15

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 13-40

4 *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

5 Kuniyur Plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 13

6 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

7 Couto, VI, p 383

8 *M A D*, 1920, p 39 .

9 *Ibid*

10 Butterworth, III, p 542

11 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 242

12, Butterworth, II, p 867,

Chivvakkaluri Bayacha Rajayya¹ who ruled on behalf of Tirumala. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6?² His appointment at that time was not due to his brother but either to Achyuta or to the ministers of the latter

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rama Raya was at all times exemplary: an inscription of Kalamalla records the remission of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala with the permission of Rama Raya³

As to Venkatadri the *Ramarajiyamu* mentions the town of Kandanol, Karnul district, as the seat of his government⁴ Accordingly in 1547 he remitted the tax on the Brahmuns in the villages of Kanala,⁵ Damagatla⁶ and Bannum⁷ These places are all situated in Karnul district This probably was in the first stage of Rama's governorship for we find Venkatadri governing the Chola country during the second stage.

Rama Raya, shortly after Sadasiva's coronation showed his prudence as well as his decision, in an event related by Correa. Once when marching against the Sultan of Bijapur a number of captains and nobles discontented with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate, that they might proceed to a new election Rama Raya apparently agreed, and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be held. Then he assembled them in the royal palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. Once the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates of the palace were shut the insurgent nobles were then seized by the partisans of Rama Raya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes⁸

1. Rangacharya II p. 113 477

2. *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr 95

3. 380 of 1904.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 222.

5. Rangacharya, II, p 964, 532.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 947 395

7. *Ibid.*, p. 945, 385

8. *Correa*, IV p. 439

4. Some years later, probably as soon as the King was old enough to assume the government of the Empire, Rama Raya put him in prison¹ and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick states that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto blames Rama Raya alone. Couto's statement seems to be more probable, for it explains the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkatadri to which reference will be made later. Sadasiva's prison was, according to Couto, a strongly fortified tower with iron doors and surrounded by sentries, nevertheless, his treatment while there was such as befitted a king².

Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadasiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof, because even supposing he was imprisoned at Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still at Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give, and on account of the events subsequent to the disaster at Raksas-Tagdi. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch King Sadasiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552, and since he subsequently states that Sadasiva remained in this prison thirteen years³ before the beginning of the third stage of Rama Raya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second stage was

1 Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93, Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 289, Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques, Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

2 "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey moco, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey, mas com todas as despezas, gastos, e apparatus que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre" Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king, says "C'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l'egard des descendants de Sevaji renfermes a Satara, et d'Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

3. Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

in 1550 and lasted till 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate Sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year¹. This was the only occasion for them to realize that there still was at Vijayanagara a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty seated on the jewelled throne. But as a matter of fact, Sadasiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rama Raya, who was practically the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rama Raya on an equality with that of Sadasiva. In 1551 a private grant is made for the merit of Sadasiva and Rama Raya². Another inscription of Dasandoddi, dated 1554, states that 'Badme Maluka-Odeya granted one village which he had been presented with by Sadasiva and Rama Raya'³. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva (1551) gives both genealogies that of Sadasiva and that of Rama Raya, in detail⁴. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later in 1554⁵ Mangala Timmoja Kondojugaru having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king obtained a grant according to his petition⁶. In 1557 the same Mangala Timmoja made a grant to the god Bhire, in order that merit might accrue to Rama Raya⁷.

5 But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on a level the influence of Sadasiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire are three members of the Aravidu family. Rama Raya and his two brothers. They ruled at their pleasure as they liked says Frederick⁷. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkatadri rebelled against the authority of their brother at the beginning of this stage say about 1551 presumably because they disliked Rama Raya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other

1. Frederick, Purohas, o. c., p. 93.

2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV Gu, 54.

3. *M. A. D.*, 1920 p. 39.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV p. 210.

5. Butterworth, III p. 1195 7.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1.

7. Purohas, o. c., p. 93.

reason can be given for this disagreement between Rama Raya and his brothers. Precisely one year before, in 1549-50, Tirumala had requested and obtained from Sadasiva the Mamidipundi grant¹ his gratefulness towards the sovereign was no match for the audacity of his brother

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, and although some authors consider his narrative untrustworthy², we cannot but admit its truthfulness considering the fact that in his own day several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here

“ During the absence of Ramraj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijapur against that of Ahmadnagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timraj and Govindraj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence, not only usurped the control of Adoni, but, collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Ramraj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own strength, and he, being unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah immediately despatched Qabul Khan, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Ramraj. On reaching Vijayanagara, Ramraj ordered his own troops into the field, and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khan and Bijly Khan, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary forces, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months, when, being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara. Ramraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital, whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khan

1 Butterworth, I, p 102, v 62

2. Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A S I, Report, 1911-2*, p 178

Ain ul Mulk " received permission to return to Golkonda where the King honoured him with the title of Ain ul Mulk ¹

The pardon so graciously granted by Rama Raya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out— by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives " ² On the first point we shall touch in the following chapter but this is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

6. In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Kochchar lakota-sima ³ Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made, while Sadasiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and Tirumala ruling at Kondavidu ⁴ This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadasiva, that is by Rama Raya in the name of Sadasiva as we are informed by Ranga, son of the same Tirumala in one of his grants dated 1565-6 ⁵ But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondavidu. We frequently find him in Vijayanagara for instance an inscription at Munelli, Badvel Taluk shows that Tirumala in 1557-8 was in the capital ruling the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva ⁶ In a copper plate grant of the same year Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahipati Yerrammanayaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the villages of Gutti Tadpatri Vellalura, Singanamala and Siyyada ⁷ In 1552 he made a gift of ten villages to the temple of Chennak-savaraya of Markapur Karnul ⁸ This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala took personal charge of the Government of the State, whenever Rama Raya was absent for war or on business. He had an agent at Gudur of whom we

1. Ferishta III, p 397-8.

2. Ibid., p. 381.

3. 156 of 1905

4. Butterworth, II, p. 652-5 Rangaacharya II p 786, 354.

5. Ibid., p. 946-50

6. Brackenbury *Cuddapak Gazetteer* p. 37

7. *Catalogue of Copper plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p. 53.

8. 156 of 1905

have two charitable edicts of the years 1555-6¹ and 1559-60² respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatadri ruled the country around Tiruvaiyar near Tanjore in 1559³. A year or two before the disaster of Talikota, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom", and in this capacity to have conferred the government of Barakura-rajya (Barkur) on Sadasiva-aya-Nayaka, the founder of the Ikkeri Nayaks⁴.

One of the relations of Rama Raya elevated by his power was his cousin Vitthala⁵. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadasiva in the southern country and Ceylon⁶. In another chapter we shall speak at length of his activity in the territory of his Viceroyalty. A nephew of Rama Raya, Kondaraja, was also exalted. He was the grand-son of Peda Kondaraja, the brother of Rama Raya's father, Ranga⁷. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahamandalesvara Komara Kondarajayyadeva maharasa"⁸. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Badami⁹. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadasiva, recorded in the British Museum plates, for fostering the cult of Vishnu. The grant had been requested by Kondaraja from Rama Raya¹⁰. In 1558, Sadasiva made another grant on the application of Rama Raya, Kondaraja having again made the petition¹¹. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Koneti Kondarajadeva to the spiritual preceptor¹², Jillela Rangapatirajayyadeva Maharaja, related to the Aravidu family on his mother's side,

1 Butterworth, I, p 458-60

2 Ibid, p 456-8

3 256 of 1894

4 H Krishna Sastri, o c, p 179

5 *M E R*, 1911, p 86, 1912 p 82 ff

6 129 of 1905

7 British Museum plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 4, vv 125-40

8 *Ep Carn*, I, p 19, 12

9 *Ind Ant*, X, p 64

10 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 2

11 *Ep Carn*, IX, Cp, 186

12. *M. A D*, Report, 1920, p 39.

was also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahamandalesvara and governor of Ramadurgam-sima, where he had an agent called Amarinayani Vengala Nayaningaru¹. A nephew of Tirumala, and probably also of Rama Raya, is called in 1554, Mahamandalesvara Madraju Nagappadeva Maharaju². Moreover Rama Raya "was so generous according to Manucci that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record on golden plates. The fame of this Emperor's liberality spread far and wide, and many men of different nations entered his service, principally foreigners"³.

7 This elevation of relatives had in view not only the strengthening of his present power but the preparation of the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coup d'état* for such indeed was the imprisonment of the sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual presentation of the puppet Emperor coupled with rumours purposely spread by the agents of Rama Raya about the supposed demise of the sovereign were quite enough for everybody to acknowledge Rama Raya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara seeing that he was practically the sovereign and also the closest relative of Sadasiva although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage, which prove that this final step was long contemplated. In 1551 in the Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva, Rama Raya is already given the title King of Karnata⁴. The same is the case in another grant of Sadasiva of the year 1556-7⁵. In 1554 Mangala-Timmoju Kondojugaru calls himself a feudatory of Rama Raya without mentioning Sadasiva at all⁶. In the same year Rama Raya himself made another grant to some Brahmans in the same form as the old grants of

1. 445 of 1911.

2. 161 of 1905.

3. Manucci, *Storia de Mogor* III, p. 97.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV p. 230 v. 30.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

6. Rangaoharya II, p. 1098-379.

Empire and does not mention Sadasiva¹. An inscription in Krishnarajapet Taluk records a grant made while the Rajadhiraja Raja Paramesvara Vira pratapa Maharaya Rama Deva Raya ayyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda². There is still another inscription, dated 1565 (the same year as the battle of Raksas Tagdi) that gives Rama Raya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadasiva at all it is a grant made when the Master of Kuntala (Karnata) lord of the throne of Vidyanagari (Vijayanagara) the Rajadhiraja Raja paramesvara. Virapratapa Vira Rama Deva Raya maharaya seated on the jewell throne, was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom³. Even in an inscription of 1581 during the reign of Ranga I Rama Raya is called Rajadhiraja⁴ and in another of Venkata III, 1639 he is recorded to have governed the whole world⁵. Along with the lithic records, Anantacharya in his poem *Prapannamritam* calls Rama Raya Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Krishna Raya⁶.

Now if the Hindus who were under the Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadasiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rama Raya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder if Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speaks of the latter as the sovereign of the rival Empire⁷. When detailing the so-called battle of Talikota we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rama Raya on the battle field. The *Burhan-i Ma'asir* speaks always of Rama Raya as the Vijayanagara sovereign but under the name of Sadasiva

1. Ibid. Tk. 44.

2. Ibid., IV Kr 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date, 1543 and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Ranga I or Venkata II. Nevertheless even a forgery proves that Rama Raya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Or 62.

4. Ibid., IV Kr 15.

5. Ibid., III, Nj 198.

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 202.

7. Ferishta, III, p. 117, 118, 131 etc.

Raya¹ Faria y Sousa speaks of Cidoca (Sadasiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara), but in 1559 the only king of Vijayanagara known to him is Rama Raya²

9 The following information, given us by his Minister and favourite Ramayamatya Todaramalla in his *Svaramelakalanidhi* probably refers to this time "He had a palace called Ratna Kuta", says he, "constructed by his minister Ramayamatya, and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans"³

Rama Raya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature "Seated within this Palace (Ratna Kuta)" says Ramayamatya, "he spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts"⁴ Accordingly, a grant of Venkata II, 1589, informs us that Rama Raya took great pleasure in music on the vina and in singing⁵ With these years is probably associated the trip of Rama Raya with his Guru Tatacharya, the son of Srinivasa, to the fortress of Chandragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the Sastras⁶ These last years of Rama Raya spent in leisure, are also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later "After this division", says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on"⁷

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole Government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last

1 Only twice Rama Raya is called by his own name 'Rama Raj' in this work, *Ind Ant*, L, p 7, and p 101. That Rama Raya himself is meant by the name Sadasiva Raya is proved by this fact, that Sadasiva Raya is said to have been beheaded after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.

2 Faria y Sousa, II, p 189 and 327

3 Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 190

4 Ibid

5 - *Ep Carn*, XIII, Cy, 39

6. *Prapannamrtam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 202

7 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p 99.

days preceding the battle of Raksas-Tagdi¹ The titles given him at this time are Mahamandalesvara Ramaraya Yaram Tirumalarajayyadeva Maharaja² The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondavidu and it was then probably that Rama Raya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Ramayamatya, thus enabling him to grant many agraharas to Brahmins³ At the poet's death Siddhiraju Timma Raju, another nephew of Rama Raya was appointed in his place⁴

Tirumala combined the office of Minister with the Governorship of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country⁵ We know an inscription of his dated 1564 allowing Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore to make grants to the temple of that place⁶

In the new order of government, Venkatadri was Commander in Chief of the army⁷ The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the choice had not fallen on the wrong man. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior'⁸ and in the *Ramarajiyamu* he is stated to have been a veritable Arjuna on the battlefield⁹

Now after having described the three stages of the government of Rama Raya we may turn to consider some of the Government affairs.

10 It seems that during the reigns of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta, the sources of revenue were finally fixed and reduced to a regular form The judicious system of accounts and the management introduced were instrumental in gradually improving the revenues without oppressing the subjects of the

1. *M. E. R.*, 341 Ap. B of 1816

2. Anquetil du Perron, o.c., p. 163

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o.c., p. 180

4. *Puramayogi Vilasam* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o.c., p. 211.

5. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 69-75 Nos. 43-8.

6. *Ibid.* p. 69

7. Anquetil du Perron, l.c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI p. 319 v 19

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 222.

Empire. Hence, the State finances were by no means impoverished when Rama Raya began ruling. The Nayaks and other feudatory chiefs regularly sent to the court their annual tribute, still realising that the Empire was strong enough to obtain payment by force if necessary, but many of these same chiefs acted otherwise when they saw the Empire defeated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi.

II One of the first and most important matters the Government took in hand was the maintenance of the Hindu cult. Sadasiva himself and his Minister Rama Raya were the first in encouraging their subjects to foster the national religion, as the lithic records and the copper-plate grants of his reign prove. No doubt, several gifts recorded in these monuments are presented by Sadasiva himself, and not precisely by his Minister, even during the second period of his reign, when he was in prison. "When Sadasiva was seated in the jewelled throne ruling the kingdom of the earth", we read in an inscription of 1557, "he, sending for a copy of the stone sasana at the temple of the god Vitthala, set up in the righteous administration of Aliya Rama Raya, found that according to that sasana, Krishna Deva Maharaya in the year 1519 having granted the customs dues in certain villages, and these not being sufficient to provide for the offerings, which had fallen into abeyance, Sadasiva Raya.. made a grant of taxes for the god Bhire"¹

But the majority of these religious grants, although made on behalf of Sadasiva, were probably ordered by Rama Raya. We read for instance that the old temple of Bhairava in Nallacheruvupalle was enlarged and beautified by Sadasiva in 1544², that he exempted the god Gopalakrishna from tax³, that he made a grant of a village to the temple of Markapur in the very year of his accession⁴, that the village of Pudur was given to the god Sachchidananda⁵, while three other villa-

1 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk, 1

2 Sewell, I, p 127

3 Rangacharya, II, p 915, 65

4 Sewell, p 86

5 Rangacharya, I, p 584, 93,

ges including Pulupatum in Pottapinadu (and some land in Vontimitta were granted to the Kodandaramaswami temple of the same place¹ and a grant of many villages was made to the Krishnapuram temples for the worship of Vishnu². The village of Kagallu surnamed Timmasamudra, Hindupur Taluk was likewise given to the temple of Mallikarjuna³ and that of Kosanepalle Jammalamadugu Taluk, to the Chernuri-sima for the festival of Tiruvengalanatha⁴ and the one of Puliyangulam to the goddess of Srivilliputtur Ramnad⁵ then the pagoda of Durga at Koduru was allowed to levy contributions from the pilgrims towards the annual festival of the deity⁶. Finally Aliya Rama Raya granted the village of Gadigarelu to the gods Siddhesvara and Bhojesvara⁷ and made some grants for festivals⁸. Of the same Rama Raya is the following edict, by which he provides a good income in perpetuity for the festivals of Sri Ranganatha's temple "The income which is derived from sundry articles in the villages situated in Udayagiri durgam, which belong to us and were formerly attached to (the temple of) Sri Raghunayakulu, should be utilised for always providing daily offerings worship with lights and miscellaneous offerings in the temple. While speaking these pleasant words, we have presented on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse with libation of water and gift of gold, this endowment to the accountant in the temple of the deity to last as long as the sun and moon endure"⁹.

12. The example of the throne was followed by the subjects. During the reign of Sadasiva new temples were erected, and others enlarged and richly adorned. Amannayan Vengala

1 412 of 1911.

2 *Ep Ind* IX, p. 341, vv 67-9

3 84 of 1912.

4 410 of 1904.

5 Rangacharya, II p. 1181 178 L

6 *Ibid.*, I p. 574, 7 In the *M. A. D.* 1920 p. 39 there are two other religious grants of Sadasiva

7 Rangacharya II, p. 963, 520-521

8 *Ep. Car.*, XII, Sl 31.

9, Butterworth III, p. 1363-5

Naraningaru, the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Jillella Rangapatirajayyadeva-Maharaja, repaired the central shrine and the sugnasi of the Viresvara temple of Rayachoti¹, one Desantari Narasingadasa vastly improved the Parthasarathiswamin temple at Triplicane, Madras², Jangammya, dala-way of Tirumala, erected a temple in 1545³, Gutti Tirumalarajayya erected a mantapam in the Chennakesava pagoda at Mannur⁴, Tima Ranga dedicated a building called Ranga Mantapam or public resting place, with 25 partitions, to the god Mahadeva Deva at Vijayanagara⁵, Chinna Aubalaraja erected a pagoda at Arakata-vemula Agraharam, placed there the image of Gopala Krishna Deva, and granted hamlets of the above agraharam and an allowance of 31½ pagodas on the tax of the Gandikota Durgam, to the aforesaid god Gopalakrishna Deva⁶, Aubala-rajayya installed the metal images in the villages of Veludurti, Cuddapah, and granted twelve pagodas for offering food to Chennakesava Perumal⁷, Rachirajadeva Maharaja of the lunar race of the atriya-gotra, set up an image of Sir Madanagopala, constructed a temple and performed the consecration ceremony and made certain gifts of land for providing sacred food and all means of enjoyment to the deity⁸, Jakkannaganda constructed several lamp-posts for the service of the temple⁹

Moreover, various villages and lands were given to different temples by the feudatory chiefs or by private people Chinna Timmanayadu, son of Pemmasami Nayadu, granted the village of Yenumalachintala to the god Tiruvengalanatha at Tadpatiri¹⁰,

1 445 of 1911.

2 239 of 1903, *M E R*, 1904, para. 25.

3 *M A D*, 1920, p 39.

4 605 of 1907

5 Ravenshaw, *Translation of Various Inscriptions, Asiatic Researches*, XX, p 35

6 Rangacharya, I, p 617, 487.

7 Ibid, p 616, 484

8. Rangacharya, II, p 1131, 604.

9. *M A. D.*, 1924, p. 83.

10. Rangacharya, I, p 607, 397

Nage Nayaka son of Mahanayakacharya Ralakote Aravinda Nayaka gave the village of Gottakunte to Bairaya gauda's son Tammayagauda, for the service of daily worship of god Sriranganatha at Yaldur¹ one Gundurti Papayya granted three villages to the goddess in Velpucherla, Cuddapah² Nandyala Tirumayyadeva granted to the god Chennakesava some land in Nandapadu³ and the village of Kodur⁴ another of his subjects granted 30 kuntas of land for planting a nandavanam (flower garden) for the god Tiruvengalanatha⁵ Gangayya Raja and Chinna Timmaraja, son of Aubalaraja, gave 30 puttis and 16 tums of land to the gods and brahmins of the village of Vellala, Proddatur⁶ Venkataya and his brother Appayya disposed of their land to the god Chennakesava in Vanipenta⁷ Chinna Timmaraja son of Konda Raja, gave a village to the god Ahobala Narasinha⁸ Nagarajayya granted to the god Raghunayaka of Vontumitta the village of Gangaperuru⁹ Tirumalarasu gave some land to the god Varadaraja¹⁰ the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Avubalesvaradeva-Maharaju made a gift of land to the temple of Raghunayakalu of Ghandikota¹¹ to the same temple another gift was made by Nandyala Timmayadeva Maharaju¹² the same chief built the village of Potladurti Cuddapah, and granted it to the god Chennakesava¹³ Vobalaraju son of Nandyala Abubalaraju gave the piece of land to the Suamyanathasvamin temple of Nandalur for the

1. *M A D* 1924 p. 845

2. *Rangacharya* I p 606 383

3. *Ibid.*, p. 612, 440

4. *Ibid.*, p 612, 443

5. *Ibid.*, p 649 831.

6. *Ibid.*, p 629 594.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 628, 591.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 637 581

9. *Ibid.*, p. 660 914.

10. *Ibid.*, p 652, 853

11. 485 of 1906

12. 486 of 1906

13. *Rangacharya*, I. p. 616 480.

god's ablution, out of his 'Nainkarum' ¹, Papa Timmayya-deva Maharaja granted a village to the Venugopalaswami temple at Bollavaram ², Immadi Basavanayadu gave 15 tums of dry field to the god Tripurantaka ³, lands were also given to the dancing women of Tiruvannamalai for temple service ⁴. Finally in a Kanarese book of the Mackenzie Collection there are various copies of inscriptions of grants of land made in the reign of Sadasiva to the temple of Chinna Kesava ⁵.

Many gifts in money are likewise recorded in the inscriptions of Sadasiva's reign a chief granted a tax to the Somesvara temple at Peddamudiyam ⁶, Vipravinodi Viramushti Virappa granted the allowance he had been receiving from the village to god Visvesvara ⁷, Vipravinodi Siddhayya granted the allowance due from the agraharam Brahmins for the festival of Chennakesava Perumal ⁸, Virupana Nayaka presented 50 varahas to the temple of Mallikarjuna-deva at Kambaduru ⁹, the Viramushti people granted away their allowances in the village to the god Visvesvara ¹⁰, the Vipravinodins made a gift to the Chennakesava temple at Kalumalla ¹¹, to the same temple another gift was made by Rachiraju ¹², the jugglers granted the allowance of Valamore to the god Chennakesava ¹³,

1 605 of 1907

2 Rangacharya, I, p 618, 492

3 Ibid, p 617, 485

4 Sewell, I, p 207

5 *Chinna Kesava Swami Sasana Patra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 344 We cannot cite here all the gifts presented to the temples during Sadasiva's reign we wanted only to give a specimen of the offerings. More grants of land will be found in 27 of 1900, 61, 63, 78, 81, 82 of 1915, Rangacharya II, p 976, 603, p 766, 160, p 977, 610-A and 610-F, p 853, 64, p 1130, 599

6 349 of 1905

7 Rangacharya I, p 601, 326

8 Ibid, p 601, 327

9 94 of 1913

10 Rangacharya, I, p 601, 325

11 379 of 1904

12 376 of 1904

13. Rangacharya, I p 633, 632.

some Vipravinodins granted their local allowance of two villages to the same god in Vanipenta¹ the Mahamandalesvara Chinna Timmaraja Kondayadeva Maharaja made a gift of the proceeds of certain taxes collected in the village of Jillala to the temple of Virabhadradeva of the same village² Chinna Timma Raja and Kondaraja granted a tax to the deity of Virabhadra pagoda at Idamadaka³ Papatimmaraja granted his own share of taxes of Bollavaram petta, Cuddapah to the daily ceremony of the Gopinatha temple of the same village⁴ the Vipravinodins gave away to the deity the annual allowance they had been receiving from a village⁵ Rangapa Rajayyadeva made a grant to the god Sri Raghuna yakulu of Chadaluvada⁶ the Vipravinodi Brahmins gave away the annual fees they had been receiving from the Brahmins of Chamalur to god Chennakesava⁷

13 The generosity of the King did not forget the Brahmanic precept of giving alms to the Brahmins. In 1545 he made a grant to some Brahmins⁸ the village of Govinda-Vamapuram was given by him to a Brahmin⁹ two years later two other villages were also given to several Brahmins¹⁰ It seems he had a special predilection for learned Brahmins. A grant of the village of Kanuma to several learned Brahmins was recorded in 1548¹¹ the Bevinahalli village was given to

1. Ibid., p. 628, 592

2. 471 of 1906

3. Rangacharya, I p. 620 515

4. Ibid., p. 618 493

5. Ibid. p. 606 384.

6. Ibid., II, p. 786, 354.

7. Ibid., p. 589 144. Other private grants to different gods in the reign of Sadasiya may be found in Butterworth II, p. 867-8 p. 868 70; p. 945-50 p. 952-5 III p. 1175-8 *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN, 108 8r 149 IV Ch, 121 Ch, 202; Ng, 28 VII, Hl, g XI, Hk, 113 X, Gd 53, 72 and 58 of 1915 Rangacharya II, p. 931, 254 p. 247 396; p. 964, 531 p. 1113 478.

8. *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ng, 58.

9. Rangacharya I, p. 557 347

10. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras* p. 52. Cf. Rangacharya, II p. 877 5.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV p. 353 vv 43-57

several Brahmins 'who are well versed in the Vedas'¹; from 1544 to 1546 three villages were granted in perpetuity 'with gift of gold and libation of water as an agrahara' to Chinna Koneti Tiruvengalanathayyagaru, a Brahmin of Ongole, son of Srimad Tallapaka Tirumalayangaru, called in two inscriptions 'the establisher of the path of the Vedas'², and in a third one 'the establisher of the school of the Vedanta'³. All these grants were most probably made by Sadasiva himself because all, excepting one, the date of which is quite doubtful, belong to the first period of his reign. But none is positively assigned to the other periods during the time of his imprisonment. From this time we know only of a grant made in 1554 by Rama Raya himself to some Brahmins⁴.

We have found only a few private grants to the Brahmins in Sadasiva's time. A not very rich gift was made to some Brahmins of Krishnarajapet Taluk⁵, then a grant of 5 puttis and 13½ tums of land to the learned Brahmins of Pandilapalli⁶, lastly another grant for daily feeding three Brahmins⁷, such are the private donations to the Brahmins during this reign. On the other hand, the Brahmins met on several occasions with serious difficulties created specially by the Muhammadans not only in the recently conquered towns but also in the old territory of the south. In 1555 the Brahmins of Ahobilam granted some lands to a local chief, probably in payment of their protection against the Muhammadans⁸.

14 Various quarrels over jurisdiction arose between neighbouring villages during this reign. In 1553 Rama Raju Konappa-deva Maharaja, probably Sadasiva's Regent, settled a water

1 Ibid, p 231, vv 43-5 and p 216

2 Buterworth, III, p 1131-2, II, p 784, 343, p 930-1

3 Ibid, II, p. 783, 337, p 921-2

4 *M. A. D.*, 1921, p 125-7

5 *Ep Carn*, IV, Kr, 79

6 Rangacharya, I, p 615, 467

7 *Ep Carn*, VII, Sk, 55 Other grants may be seen in Rangacharya, II, p 914, 51, p 926, 212, p 927, 227, p 950, 421, p 979, 629, and p. 980, 633

8, Sewell, I, p. 101.

dispute between two villages of Anantapur District¹ in 1555 the village boundary stones were set up in Peddamallepalli in the same district through the influence of Dasappa Nayadu no doubt to finish a dispute between this village and a neighbouring one² for the same reason and about the same time the limits between Vijaya Bulkarayapuram and Brahma napalli were measured and definitely established³

15 Agriculture was not greatly fostered during Sadasiva's government. We know of a canal dug in the village of Pottapi but this was done through the generosity of Varadarasu and Yellamarasu who gave sixty kuntas of land for that purpose⁴. Another irrigation canal called Antarangakalva was dug in the same village by the munificence of Varadayya, a Matla chief⁵. The only occasion in which the name of Sadasiva is associated with any agricultural work is when in 1551 he made a grant free of rent to the salt dealers of Molakalmuru Taluk for the the removal of the saline earth⁶.

16. No other subjects of Sadasiva got more inscriptions about themselves than the barbers⁷. The origin of this predilection of the King and his Minister for the barbers was it seems, the skill of one of them named Manggala Timmoju Kondajugaru or Kondoja of the town of Badami⁸. As far as we know he was the barber of Rama Raya, who was much pleased with his skill in shaving the chin⁹ the Minister introduced him to the Sove-

1. 327 of 1901.

2. Rangacharya, I, p. 29 199

3. Ibid., I, p. 602, 338

4. Ibid., I. p. 653 860.

5. 434 of 1911.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk 8 and 9

7. The importance of the barbers in the religious life of the Hindus in the south of India is so great that many rites and ceremonies could not be performed without them. Correa, *Lendas da India*, IV p. 301, who once attended the sacred fair of Tirupati says that every pilgrim to the Tirupati hill had to have his head shaved. The barbers were sitting under some large trees and hiding themselves behind the heaps of hair

8. Sadasiva's inscriptions at Badami, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 65

9. H. Krishna Sastri *The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty A. S. I.* 1908-9, p. 186, note 5

reign himself¹ This was the beginning of that series of rewards bestowed upon him and all his fellow-workers Early in 1545 Rama Raya, already pleased with Kondoja's work, remitted to him the caste tax, customs-dues and other taxes payable by barbers², then Sadasiva's agent in Shimoga District, following the example of the Regent, granted to the same man the Chanagiri Barbers' tax³. In 1554 Kondoja 'having done service to Rama Raya and having made a request to the king, obtained a royal decree exempting the barbers from taxes'⁴, in the following year he obtained the remission of forced labour, birada, fixed rent and other taxes for himself and his family throughout the four boundaries of the kingdom⁵, then, by order of Sadasiva, Rama Raya granted another gift (illegible in the inscription) to the lucky barber⁶ About the same time an agent of Sadasiva at Gudur issued a charitable edict to the same 'to last as long as the sun and moon exist', and in order to drive home the importance of the reward, ended his donation with this warning "Those who cause obstacles to it, will incur the sin of killing a cow and a Brahmin"⁷

Timoja Kondoja was not the only favourite barber of Rama Raya A record from Hirekerur states that Rama Raya was pleased with the work done by the three barbers Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja Hence, he exempted them from all taxes⁸ Another inscription of Badami speaks again of Kondoja and two other barbers, who are not easily identified with the two mentioned above "These three men Timmoja, Kondoja and Bhadri having propitiated the King", etc⁹

The friendship of Rama Raya and Sadasiva with Kondoja and the four other barbers was the cause of their benevolence towards all the barbers of the Empire An inscription of 1545

1 Butterworth, II, p 664-6, *Ep Carn*, XI, Mk, 6

2 *Ep Carn*, VI, Tk, 13

3 Ibid, XII, Tp, 126.

4 Butterworth, II, p 664-6

5 *Ep Carn*, XI, Mk, 6

6 Ibid XI, Mk, 11

7 Butterworth, I, p 420-2

8 H Krishna Sastri, l c.

9 *Ind Ant*, X, p 65.

says that Rama Raya, being pleased with the barber Kondoja, exempted the barbers of the country (Tumkur District) from caste-tax, customs and all other imposts whatever¹ then, on account of Timmoja, Hommoja and Bharroja, Rama Raya requested Sadasiva to extend the privileges granted to them to all the barbers throughout the kingdom² and, because of Timmoja and the other two Sadasiva allotted a tax as a manya, grant to the barbers of the village of Ulabi³ Subsequently all the barbers of the Empire were the recipients of many favours from the central Government. In 1546 Sadasiva states in an inscription in the Chitaldroog District that he and Rama Raya have given up to the barbers tax, fixed rent, forced labour birada, customs toll for watchmen these and other dues, free of all imposts⁴

Then Sadasiva himself remitted the tax on the barbers of Utukur⁵ and Rama Raya granted the same favour to the barbers of the Karnataka country⁶ Gundlaunta⁷ Nagama ladine⁸ the three sumas of Cuddapah⁹ Ghandikotasima¹⁰ Tallamarapuram¹¹ Utukur¹² and Battepadu¹³

The other Ministers and feudatory chiefs followed the example of the King and his Regent. Timmaraja, probably Tirumala Raja remitted the tax on the barbers in several villages¹⁴ the Mahamañdalesvara Tirumalayadeva Maharaja

1. *Ep Carn.*, XII, Tp 126

2. H. Krishna Sastri L c.

3. *Ind Ant.*, X, p. 65

4. *Ep Carn.*, XI, Hk, 110

5. Rangacharya I, p 637 890

6. 318 of 1935

7. Rangacharya I, p. 593 184.

8. *Ibid.*, p 601, 322

9. 399 of 1904.

10. 514 of 1906.

11. 472 of 1906

12. Rangacharya, I, p. 651, 851. In *Ep Carn.*, XI, Hr 29 mention is made of another grant of Rama Raya to the barbers in 1544. cf Rangacharya, II p. 924, 192 p. 1073, 199

13. Rangacharya II p. 1051 17

14. Rangachariar I, p. 626 568, II p. 915 69; p. 968 563 p. 978 613; p. 979 624.

of Yeragudi exempted from taxes the barbers of Kalamalla ¹, Rama Raya Vitthalesvara, the cousin of Rama Raya, relieved of certain taxes the barbers of Penukonda ², Guruvaraja and Chinna Singaraja ³ released from taxes the barbers of Bommavaram ⁴, Obasamudram ⁵ and Pottappi ⁶, Timmayadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the barbers of the whole of Ghandikota-sima and three villages belonging to the Indianatha temple ⁷, Pendlimarri ⁸, Bondalakunta ⁹, Lingala ¹⁰ and Nallapalli ¹¹, Nagarajaya Devamaharaja did the same with the barbers of Jonnavaram ¹², and Ramarajayya Pinnaraju Garu with those of Chinna Mudiya ¹³, and even a private man issued in 1847-8 a charitable edict for the barbers of Podili ¹⁴

17 Nor were the barbers the only persons who received such favours from the throne, other people were also exempted from payment of taxes or other tribute. Thus Rama Raya exempted the Karnams of Nindujuvvi from their taxes ¹⁵ and Timmayadeva of Nandyala remitted the tax on the jugglers of Lingala ¹⁶

1 381 of 1904

2 340 of 1901

3 This chief is called otherwise in other inscriptions Chinna-sunga, Chinna Singarasu Choda Maharaju

4 Rangacharya, I, p 636, 658

5 Ibid, p 638, 677

6 Ibid, p 652, 858

7 318 of 1905

8 Rangacharya, I, p 581, 70

9 Ibid, p 588, 136

10 Ibid, p 612, 438

11 Ibid, p 602, 331

12 Ibid, p 660, 915

13 Ibid, p 589, 145

14 Butterworth, III, p 1195-7 Other grants to the barbers will be seen in Rangacharya, I, p 612, 438, II, p 915, 69, p 949, 421, p 961, 499, p 1098, 379, p 1133, 616

15 Rangacharya, I, 614, 458

16 Ibid, p 613, 450 Achyuta Raya had already given up the marriage tax throughout his kingdom (1540), and other chiefs had done the same after his example. *Ep Carn*, XI, Hk, 111.

During the reign of Sadasiva in 1554 the outer petha or Bagur Chitaldroog District, which was in ruins, was rebuilt and name Krishnapura, after the name Ere Krishnappa Nayaka, the founder of the Belur family. Special inducements were held out to settlers in the new petha, such as freedom from taxation for one year and confirmation of the exclusion of old claims if they took possession¹. We are not told what those claims were about, but we venture to suppose that they were jurisdiction quarrels with neighbouring villagers.

The weakness of the royal power and authority was the immediate cause of the downfall of the Empire in the disastrous battle of Raksas-Tagdi and of the subsequent calamities of the Sovereigns of the fourth dynasty. But the glory of Vijayanagara remained apparently as fresh and brilliant as ever during the whole reign of the puppet king as the successful campaigns we shall relate in the two following chapters will show. An inscription in the Shimoga District on the eve of the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi informs us that the Empire was in extent one lakh and twenty six thousand provinces.²

18. The capital was still the wonder of its visitors and even more than before, on account of the new buildings erected during Sadasiva's rule. We know for instance, that a splendid palace was constructed for Rama Raya. Caesar Frederick who visited the city one year after the great battle that caused its ruin was impressed with the magnificence of the huge buildings and wide streets. His description deserves our attention because it shows us what the city was like during the reign. "The circuit of the City is foure and twentie miles about, and within the wals are certaine Mountaines. The House stand walled with earth and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I have seene many Kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in great nesse like to this Bezeneger." The apparell that they use in Bezeneger he continues, "is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI Hk, 112.

2. *Ibid.*, VII G, 62.

with long Hats on their heads, called Colae (kullayı), made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth. they have breeches after the order of the Turkes. they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold " 2

1 Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p 97-8

2. Ibid , p. 99.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY—1. Conquests of Sadasiva and Rama Raya.—2. Their campaigns in the Karnatik and Ceylon.—3. Previous relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese, specially during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya.—4. The Portuguese intend to plunder the temple at Tirupati.—5. The treaties of alliance between Sadasiva and the Portuguese.—6. Text of the treaty of 1547.—7. Expedition of Rama Raya against Sao Thome, in 1558.—8. Trading in Sao Thome.—9. Trade between the cities of Goa and Vijayanagara.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—Firishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque* Barros, Couto Faria y Sousa.—4. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier.—5.—Travels of O. Frederick.—6. *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* Lisbon, *Tratados* L.—7. *Sivatattovaratsakara*.

WHEN studying the relations of Sadasiva with foreign nations the flattery associated with the inscriptions and grants of the old Hindu Sovereigns is noteworthy. In a Tamil inscription at Madambakkam we are told that that Sadasiva took every country'¹ A grant dated 1546 goes so far as to state that he subdued all the enemies in Suragiri (Penukonda) and brought the whole land from Setu to Himadri into subjection to his commands"² But this eulogy is probably inspired by the fact narrated in the beginning of the second chapter when the young Prince was rescued by Rama Raya and placed on the throne of Vijayanagara after the defeat and death of the usurper Salakam Timma. The early date of the inscription suggests this suspicion. That the Kamboja³ Bhoja⁴

1. Rangacharya, I, p. 397-685

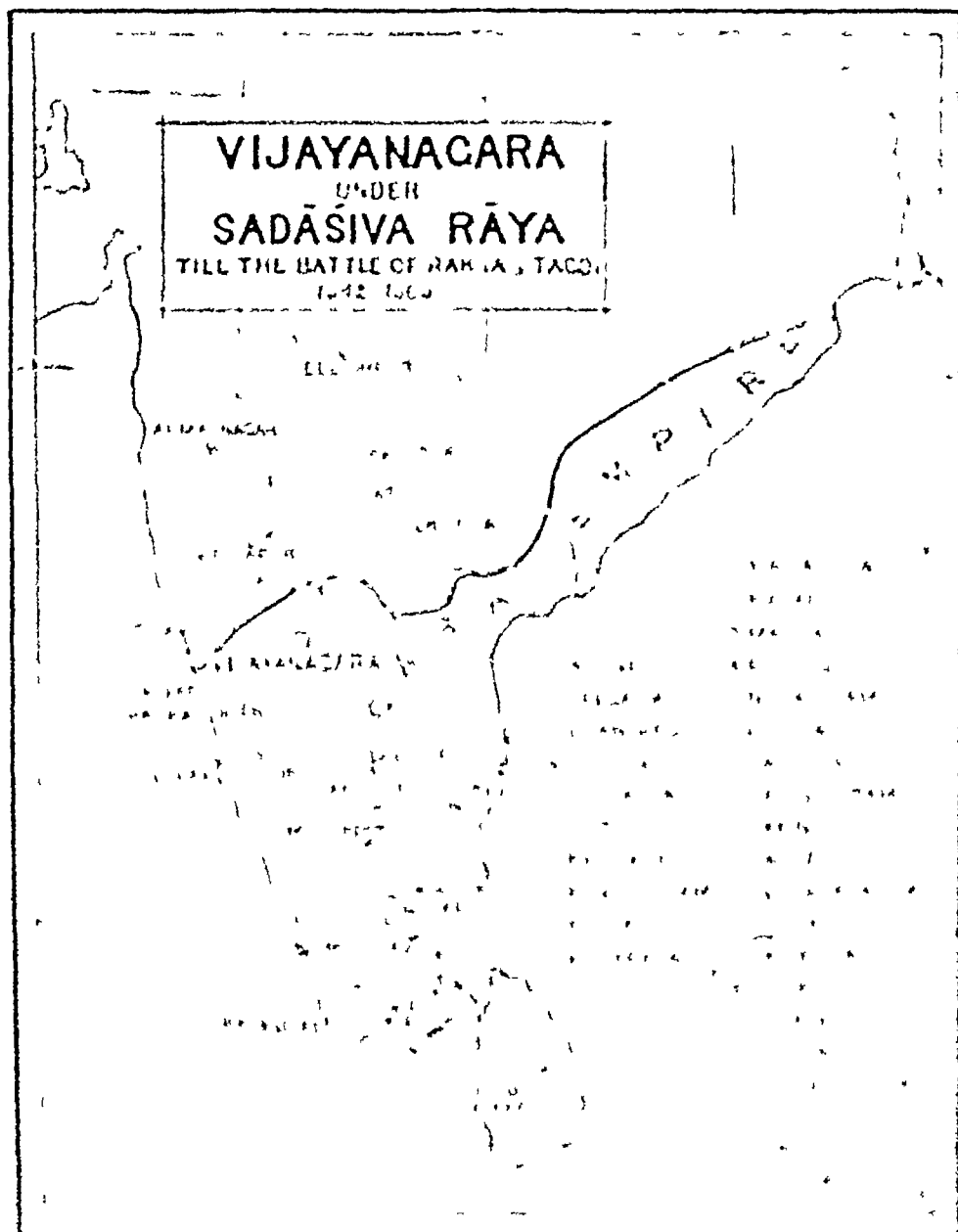
2. *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ng 58.

3. One of the sixteen pre-Buddhist kingdoms in the North of India probably in the Punjab, mentioned in the *Anguttara-Nikaya*, I 313.

4. Two Kings of Kaauj were called Bhoja, Mihira Bhoja (c. 840-90 A. D.) and Bhoja II (c. 908-10 A. D.) In Malwa there was one famous king of the Paramaras named Bhoja (1018-60 A. D.). Moreover there was in the 4th and 5th centuries a tribe of Bhoja in Berar whose sovereigns belonged to the Vakataka Dynasty.

UNDER
SADĀŚIVA RĀYA

TILL THE BATTLE OF RAKIA, TACON
1-42 1000



Kalinga¹, Karahata² and other kings acted as servants for his female apartments³, is even a less trustworthy boast, more akin to an exaggerated reproduction of the inscriptions of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya, who are represented as being attended by the kings of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga⁴. It seems, however, that the king of Orissa, one of those conquered by Krishna Deva Raya, acknowledged the sovereignty of Sadasiva, as we may deduce from the grant of 1558 of Timma Raja, described as son of the king of Orissa⁵.

On the other hand, we cannot doubt that many neighbouring Rajas and petty chiefs were brought under the control of Sadasiva, since we have the authority of the Muhammadan chronicler of Golkonda for stating that Rama Raya strengthened his power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours⁶. The supreme Minister is called, in an inscription of the time of Venkata III, 'an ocean of valour'⁷, a praise that appears confirmed in several grants either contemporary or of latter date, which specify, to some extent, the heroic deeds of the Regent. It is said in the Vellangudi Plates of Sadasiva that Rama Raya 'destroyed his enemies who were a pest to the world'⁸, the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II state that he had 'slain in battle his enemies, who were a scourge of the earth'⁹, the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III affirm that he 'killed in a battle all dangerous enemies in the world'¹⁰, and a grant of Ranga III, dated 1645, records that 'all his

1 The Chalukya kingdom of Rajahmundry

2 I was unable to identify this kingdom

3 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 3, *Ep Carn*, IV, Ng, 58, V, Hn, 7, IX, Cp, 186

4 About 1533 Luigi Roncinotto, in the account of his travels through India, wrote that the Emperor of Narsinga, or Vijayanagara, "had 200 kings under him" *Gubernatis, Storia*, p 127

5 Sewell, I, p 75

6 Ferishta, III, p 381 Cf Correa, IV p 438

7 *Ep Carn*, III, p Nj, 198

8 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 17-8

9 *Ibid*, XII, p 186, vv 13-40

10 *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v. 14.

enemies, the thorns of the world did the heroic Rama Raya slay in battle ¹

2. Who were these chiefs that were defeated and killed by Rama Raya? Ferishta relates that Rama Raya had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatik to his yoke ² The whole Canara country south of Vijayanagara was the original Karnatik of those days. The *Svalatavaratanakara* of Keladi Basavabhupala confirms the statement of Ferishta in the description of a campaign planned by Rama Raya in the present Shimoga District. It says that the Regent sent Sadasiva Nayaka the influential chief of the Keladi family to subdue the barbarian Nayakas of Chandragutti the strong hill-fort was successfully captured by Sadasiva and the Dasyu nayakas thereafter acknowledged the Emperor of Vijayanagara ³ Accordingly he is said in one of his inscriptions to be ruling over Araga ⁴ the capital of one of the early Viceroyalties of Vijayanagara, comprising some districts of the present kingdom of Mysore and the Canara country from Goa to Mangalore ⁵

Rama Raya's expeditions into the kingdom of Travancore will be dealt with in another chapter but we must here observe that Sadasiva is called the conqueror of all countries and Ceylon ⁶ and in another inscription he is said to have looted Ceylon ⁷ which probably refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, as we shall narrate later on No other traces of this campaign of Sadasiva in Ceylon have come to our knowledge but the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda supposes that Ceylon was under the

1. *Ep. Cana.*, X, Mb, 60 These phrases cannot be ascribed to the Muhammadans exclusively because Rama Raya was finally killed in battle by them.

2. Ferishta, I.c., p. 125.

3. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 195

4. *M. A. D.*, 1923 p. 83

5. Cf. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire* *Q. J. M. S.* XIII p. 621-2.

6. 129 of 1903

7. 451 of 1905.

sway of Vijayanagara, when, in narrating the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, he says "that Rama Raya summoned all his dependants from the banks of the Krishna as far as the Island of Ceylon" ¹.

3. Of the relations between Rama Raya and the Portuguese we have quite authentic information. But for the better understanding of their intercourse, it will be convenient to narrate briefly the relations between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese from the time of their first appearance on the shores of India. To begin with, it seems that the origin of these relations must be looked for as far back as about 1507, when the first Portuguese Governor, Dom Francisco d' Almeida made the acquaintance of Timoja. This Timoja was practically and in effect the commandant of the Vijayanagara fleet entrusted with the task of waging perpetual war with Goa, which city had been captured some years before from the power of Vijayanagara by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur ². When the Bijapur Sultan died in 1510, Timoja persuaded Affonso de Albuquerque, the then Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in the East, to attack Goa, a former possession of the Hindu Empire. In doing this, Timoja took advantage of the tender age of the new Sultan Ismail Adil Shah ³. This enterprise was completely successful, and Timoja, who was then called the most faithful ally of Portugal ⁴, helped Albuquerque by land when the city was taken—so much so that the Sultan of Bijapur despatched a messenger to Vijayanagara complaining that Timoja had given his aid to the Portuguese fleet in the capture of Goa ⁵.

Before the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had sent a

1 Ferishta, I c, p 413-4. When Luigi Barthema visited India, in 1507, Ceylon, or at least some of its kings, acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Gubernatis, o c, p 295. Faria y Asia Portuguesa, c, p 183, says that in 1517 the three largest kingdoms of Asia were Siam, China and Bismaga.

2 Danvers, Report, p 4, Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes*, I, p 213-4.

3 Faria y Sousa, I, p 136.

4 Ibid, p 136-40.

5 *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalboquerque*, II, p 100-11. Cf Danvers, *The Portuguese*, I, p 193.

Franciscan Friar named Frey Luiz to the court of Vijayanagara, to get the Emperor's assistance in attacking the city of Calicut by land whilst the Portuguese operated by sea with a view to avenging the violation of his promise by the Sovereign of that place¹ It appears also that Frey Luiz invited Krishna Deva Raya to become a Christian and the Sovereign gave no negative answer to the priest's request. In an anonymous letter of a traveller written in Venice to *ser Zuane di Santi* dated November 10th, 1511 and kept in the *Biblioteca Magliabecchina* of Florence, we read the following words "It seems that King Narsinga was very near becoming a Christian" Frey Luiz remained at Vijayanagara, and was finally murdered there in 1511 by a Turk it seems by order of the Sultan of Bijapur² Albuquerque gives this piece of news to his Sovereign in a letter of April 1st, 1512 as follows "At Bisanagar (Vijayanagara) one Rume (Turk) murdered Frey Luiz there is nothing extraordinary in this event"⁴

The result of this legation of Frey Luiz was an Embassy from Vijayanagara that reached Goa in the following year 1511 Both the *Commentarios* and Faria y Sousa that give this information, do not mention the name of the ambassador nor the nature of his business with the Viceroy But we are sure that this was the origin of the official friendship between the two powers. In the anonymous letter mentioned above it is stated that "the King of Narsinga (Vijayanagara) has sent ambassadors in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the King of Portugal on the other hand, this King has done the same for he also wished to establish this alliance"⁵ Moreover Krishna Deva Raya proposed, no doubt, through his ambassador to the Viceroy his desire of getting horses

1. Dom Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II, p. 283 Laftau o c., I p. 262-3

2. Gubernatis, *Storia*, p. 383-4.

3. *Commentarios* III, p. 46.

4. From Alfonso de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel Goa (?) April 1, 1512 Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas* p. 32. Cf. Horas. *Early Relations Between Vijayanagara and Portugal* Q J M S., XV p. 67-9

5. *Commentarios* III p. 41-2

6. Gubernatis, *Storia* p. 384.

from Arabia and Ormuz, of which he was in much need for his campaigns against the Muḥammadans¹ As a matter of fact the second Ambassador sent by Albuquerque to Vijayanagara, Gaspar Chanoca by name, was charged to inform Krishna Raya that the Viceroy would willingly send him all the horses available at Goa, rather than to the Sultan of Bijapur²

The success of this Embassy encouraged the lucky Emperor, and in 1514 he sent another Legation, at the head of which, was one Retelim Cherim (Cheti), Governor of Bracelor (Basrai) who offered the Viceroy £20,000 for the exclusive right of buying 1,000 horses The ambassador was kindly received by Pero Mascarenhas, Captain of the fortress, and an escort went specially to meet him, but Albuquerque courteously declined the offer on the ground that such a privilege would destroy trade³ In spite of this, Vijayanagar and Goa remained as friendly as ever For when in 1515, Krishna Deva Raya captured the fortress of Rachol, among his soldiers there was also a detachment of Portuguese soldiers under Christovao de Figueredo; who rendered great assistance in the storming of the fort⁴ The Hindu Sovereign was so grateful to the Portuguese on account of these events, that subsequently, perhaps in

1 Cf *Commentarios*, III, p. 46

2 From A de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Goa (?), April 1, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p. 33

3 From A de Albuquerque to Dom Manuel, Cananor, November 27, 1514, Costa, o c p. 51, *Commentarios*, IV, p. 139-41; *Cartas de Simao Botelho*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, p. 343

4 Faria y Sousa, I, p. 196, Barros, p. 438-43, Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 320-1 I do not know why Mr Sewell, p. 334-5 identifies Rachol with Raichur, perhaps because of Ferishta, III, p. 49, who represents the river Krishna as flowing in its neighbourhood But I rely more upon the Portuguese historians who placed this city in the vicinity of Goa Faria y Sousa, after relating the defeat of the Bijapur Sultan, says "Ruy de Mello, who was then at Goa, seeing the Idalcao (Adil Khan) discouraged on account of that disaster and perhaps distracted while thinking how to recover from it, and besides knowing that many people were fighting and robbing the mainland (*la tierra firme*) around he seized it at the head of two hundred and fifty

the following year he presented the Portuguese Viceroy with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift¹. This friendship between both powers still subsisted in the year 1526 since Faria y Sousa affirms that Lope Vaz de Sampayo in that year forgave a rebel city because it belonged to the territory of Vijayanagara².

4. But after the death of Krishna Raya, and when Sadasiwa became King, the old alliance was no longer respected, at least by the Portuguese. Faria y Sousa narrates that in 1544 the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa thought of sending a fleet of 45 ships under 27 captains to the eastern coast to plunder the temple of Tremle (Tirupati)³ "that is in the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" in which, it was said, heaps of cavalry and eight hundred Kanarese foot-soldiers" (l. c., p. 199). This writer whose work appeared a whole century after these events, supposes Rachol located in an island, since he speaks of the *terra firme* around. How could it be Raichur in the centre of the Deccan? Moreover we know that Krishna Deva Raya, probably in the following year gave the whole territory of Salsette, which had belonged to Bijapur just a little before, to the Portuguese for ever and no other conquest of Salsette is mentioned in the old chronicles but this. Finally Anquetil du Peron, l. c., p. 197 says clearly that Krishna Raya conquered the fortress of Rachol, that is in the island of Salsette and refers to La Fitau, *Conquete des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde* I, p. 587 and Botero *Della Relazione* I, p. 304-6. (Rome, 1595). During the Viceroyalty of Nuno da Cunha the Sultan of Bijapur sent two expeditions to Salsette in order to recover Rachol, but both failed. Cf. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II, p. 237.

1. Correa II, p. 658.

2. Faria y Sousa I, p. 246.

3. Tirupati was known to the Portuguese under the name of Tripati or Trepeti. Tremle, a corruption of Tirumala, sounds like Trepeth; and although the distance of twelve leagues from St. Thome given by Faria y Sousa is not suggestive, nevertheless the likeness of the name and the celebrity of that temple in the whole of southern India inclines me to identify the place that Martim Affonso de Sousa contemplated plundering with Tirupati. Even Thevenot *Travels* p. 92, wrote in the second half of the 17th century that "the famous Pagod of Trapety is not far from Cape Comor"⁴.

gold and riches were stored. But the fleet did not achieve its purpose.

The aim of this expedition was suddenly changed, and some temples of the kingdom of Travancore were plundered instead of that of Tremele. Correa says that the reason of this change of plan was because the governor had been informed that his purpose was known at Vijayanagara, and accordingly many soldiers had assembled at Tirupati to resist the Portuguese attack.¹

5 Nevertheless two years later the friendship was renewed by a treaty of February 26, 1546. The Emperor of Vijayanagara swore eternal friendship to the King of Portugal, confirmed the donation of the territories of Salsette and Bardez, and promised that he would never wage war against those Provinces.² And in the following year, Rama Raya on behalf of Sadasiva dispatched to Goa another ambassador, who was one of the most famous captains of his army, with a remarkable train of nobles and servants to confirm specifically this treaty of alliance. He went to Goa via Ancola (Ankola) whence he was fetched by two sloops sent there from Goa.³ The then Governor of Goa, Dom Joao de Castro, caused a great reception to be given to the ambassador. He was received by the Governor in a big hall with great pomp, and after the usual salutations, the ambassador gave the Governor the credentials of his King along with some precious jewels as royal presents. Nothing else was done that day, but on the next they had a long talk. The ambassador told the Governor that "the King, his Lord, was desirous of having perpetual peace and friendship with the Governor; and that they were always ready to do everything for the Portuguese, provided it was just and honest, because the Kings, his predecessors, had

1 Faria y Sousa, II, p 135, Correa, IV, p 300 and p 324-8, Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p 548

2 *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p 116 Cf Danvers, *Report*, p 50. To crown this treaty Garcia de Sa, Governor of Goa, concluded on August 22, 1548, another treaty with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who renewed the agreement, by which the territories of Salsette and Bardez were to be the property of the King of Portugal for ever. Cf Danvers, *Report*, p 51

3. Correa, IV, p. 601

always fostered this mutual peace and friendship with the former governors. The Governor replied that "he greatly appreciated the King Sadasiva Raya's desire to be a friend of the King of Portugal his Lord. But as he, the Governor was just then about to leave for some of the fortresses of his dominions he would, in order to finish the business of the legation as soon as possible, be much pleased to depute the Veedor de Fazenda (Finance Member) and the Secretary to treat with the ambassador on the matters concerned, and to come to a mutual agreement for he was very pleased to give all pleasure to the King of Vijayanagara"

6. On the following days, the ambassador met the two officers appointed by the Governor more than once, and the result of these meetings was the following treaty —

Both parties, the King of Portugal and the King of Vijayanagara, oblige themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other and, when called on to help each the other with all his forces against all kings and lords of India, Nizam Shah always excepted

"The Governor of Goa will allow Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagara, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur nor to any of its parts and the King of Vijayanagara will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports on quick and proper payment.

"The King of Vijayanagara will compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast, to send their goods through Onor (Honavar) and Barcelor (Basrur) wherein the King of Portugal will send factors who will purchase them all and the Governors of India will be forced to send the Portuguese merchants there in order to buy them. On the same way the King of Vijayanagara will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the kingdom of Adil Shah from any port or town of his own and his merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbours of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, where they will be quickly purchased by the Governors of India, not to cause them loss.¹

¹ Sewell, p. 187, note misunderstood this term of the treaty which on the other hand is not given in full

"All the cloths of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Adil Shah, but either to Ancola or to Onor (Honavar), and in the same way the Governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermillion, mercury, China silks and all other kinds of goods which come from the Kingdom, and he, the King of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them

"The King of Vijayanagara will allow no Moorish (Muhammadan) ship or fleet to stop in his ports, and if any should come, he will capture them and hand them over to the Governor of India, whosoever he may be

"Both parties agree to wage war with Adil Shah, and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagara, except lands to the West of the Ghats, from Banda to the Cintacora river, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa, and will remain attached for ever to the crown of Portugal"

On September 19th, 1547, the Governor Dom Joao de Castro, being now back at Goa, gave his signature and oath to all the items of this treaty, so too did the ambassador of Sadasiva, then the treaty was published and announced throughout the city with much rejoicing by a flourish of trumpets. Dom Joao de Castro gave the ambassador a rich present of several beautiful horses and precious cloths for his Sovereign, and some other gifts for himself. Freire de Andrada in his *Life of Dom Joao de Castro* says that the league was intended by Rama Raya to secure assistance from the Viceroy against his neighbour the Sultan of Bijapur, who, "understanding the Governor's resolution retired his inland garrisons, as if avoiding the blow of the first invasion, endeavouring to weary out the State with a sudden and incursive War"² This state-

1 Botelho, *O Tombado Estado da India*, Lima Felner, *Subsidios* p 255-7, Couto, VI, p 372, Faria y Sousa, II, p 189. The treaty, or rather a copy of it, is preserved in the *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, *Tratados*, I, p 118 Cf Danvers, *Report*, I c, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas*, p 102

2, Freire de Andrada, *The Life of Dom Joao de Castro*, p 226-7,

ment of Freire de Andrada is confirmed by a letter of Dom Joao de Castro himself to King John III, dated December 16th 1546. According to it the Vijayanagara Sovereign wanted an alliance to wage actual war with Bijapur. Castro agreed to all the terms proposed by the ambassador but was not ready to commence a campaign against the Sultan of Bijapur with whom an alliance had recently been made.¹

Another legation of Vijayanagara to Goa in 1549 is mentioned by Faria y Sousa² but no details are given. It was undoubtedly intended to revive the old friendship.

7 We have no more information about the intercourse between the two nations until 1558, when a war suddenly broke out, on Rama Raya marching with an army against the Portuguese of St. Thome. A forged account of the discovery of the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas in the neighbourhood of the old Mailapura³ was the cause of a Portuguese settlement in the eastern coast of Vijayanagara, in the year 1522.⁴

1. "Ha 25 de Junho me mandou El rey de Bisnaga hum Embaixador escreuendo-me muito apertadamente, que quizessemos eu e elle fazer ha guerra ao Ydalcao, e leuantar Micalé (sic) Rey dondome muntas (muitas) razoes pero (sic) iso. Eu me escuzei de ho fazer per caso das pazes que ora nouamente tinha feito como o Ydalcao e certos contratos porem lancei munto (muito) de sua amizade e lhe ofreci a minha pera de da uolta que tornase da guerra de Combaya nos tornassemos a escrever e ulstiar para entao tratar mos de muntas (muitas) cousas que pertenciao ha elle e a mim. Eu lhe concedi algumas das cousas que me mandou requerer e com ellas e minha resposta se tornou o embayxador muy contente
Obras Varias Manuscriptas fol. 42.

2. Faria y Sousa II, p. 216.

3. Mandelalo a traveller and a native of Holtstein who visited the Coromandel Coast in 1639 says that Mylapore was once the capital of the kingdom of Narsinga. He was, no doubt, misinformed by the Portuguese of the place who, believing in the existence of the old King of Mailapura, a contemporary of St. Thomas, thought he was one of the old kings of the Empire of Narsinga or Vijayanagara
Mandelalo, *Voyages and Travels* p. 84.

4. We cannot admit the authenticity of the account of the finding of St. Thomas Tomb by the Portuguese in 1517 as given by Faria y Sousa I p. 222-4 and by Fr. Francisco de Souza Oriente

It was an appreciable distance from Mailapura, known to the Portuguese as Melapor, to St Thome, although we believe that Faria y Sousa was wrong in stating that the distance between

Conquistado, I, p 152 It obviously presents all the elements of a forgery The inscription of the supposed tomb "When Thomas founded that temple, the King of Mailapura granted him the rights over the goods which arrived at the city, that was ten per cent," evidently shows the intention of the Portuguese merchants to reclaim those rights given to one of their ancestors in the faith of Christ by the Sovereign of the place 2 The very find of the relics and their description as white bones, next to a broken lance, may be regarded as the most barefaced imposture, because there is no doubt that the holy remains of the Apostle were removed to the city of Edessa, in Syria, before the 6th century, as stated by St Gregory de Tours in his book *De Gloria Beatorum Martyrum*, a work revised in 590 Cf Migne, *PP LL*, LXXI, p 733 Another account states that his stick was also found next to the relics *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p 13 3 The fact that his relics were put into a China chest or into a silver box, according to others (Cf *Historia Chronologica*, l c) and hidden next to the altar, but never subsequently discovered, clearly shows that the forgery was carefully concocted to explain the fact of the empty tomb carved by their care 4 The account of the martyrdom sounds like a pious legend of the middle ages, as well as the story of King Perumal of Ceylon going to adore our Lord in the manger at the request of the Indian Sybil 5 Finally, the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is supposed to have been brought over from Palestine by the aforesaid King Perumal, is another unmistakable sign of the forgery of this narrative

When St Francis Xavier passed through St Thome, in 1545, he was told that the body of the Apostle was kept in the place, but from his own letter we may conclude that he did not believe it "Ay en Santo Thomae mas de cien portugueses casados a una iglesia mui deuota, y todos tienen que esta alli el cuerpo del glorioso Apostol" (There are at St Thome more than a hundred Portuguese all married, they have a very devout church and all think that the body of the glorious Apostle is lying there) *M H S J, Mon Xav*, I, p 387 The famous Dutch traveller Nieuhoff passed through St Thome in 1662, and while describing the city, he says "Here yo see

the two cities was seven leagues¹ Around the so-called tomb of the Apostle, the Portuguese built a small city not independent but subject to the King of Vijayanagara which City (St Thome) says Frederick "although it be not very great, yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies

Although the reasons given by Fr Sousa for the founding of the city are two *viz* the devotion to the Apostle and the convenience of that locality for trading with the natives of the east coast of the Vijayanagara Empire² nevertheless the main purpose of the settlement was commerce, just as was that of the other Portuguese settlements in India and, even in this, they were not allowed to build any fort, as William Finch a

also the famous church of St. Thomas this Apostle *as the Portuguese pretend being buried here* (Italics are mine) Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels* p 198. Finally Mandelslo who was at St. Thome during the same century heard from the Portuguese another legendary account of the preaching of St. Thomas and his martyrdom at St. Thome which may be read in his *Voyages and Travels* p. 94.

1. Faria y Sousa I p 224.

2. Purchas o o p 109 In a letter of one Fr Froes to Fr Quadros, both Jesuits, dated Goa November 1559—one year after Rama Raya's expedition—we read the following lines "On enulamos, says Froes, "las copias de ciertas provisiones que un rey antiguo de Bisnaga gentil, suscribio en fauor de la casa del glorioso Apostol S. Tomas sobre ciertas que alli dijo las cuales copias ouio aqui el P Cipriano algunos meses antes de su muerte *Nuev avisi dell Indie* f. 101 v Were these *provisiones* any grant of Rama Raya to St. Thomas church made on this occasion? The fact is that Manucci speaks of it some years later Up to this day said he in 1688 "the Portuguese preserve one of these plates for a gift to them by the said Ram Rajah, of the city of Sao Thome." *Storia de Mager* III p. 97 Was this goldenplate grant of Sao Thome made by Rama Raya when the Portuguese first settled in the place or after the expedition we are going to relate? Or was it perhaps a forgery of the Portuguese themselves? The inscription on the memorial stone in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, according to which it was built by the Franciscan Friar Fr Pedro da Atougia in 1516, must be rejected as not authentic. Cf Davison Love *Vestiges of old Madras*, I, p 289-90.

3. Sousa I p. 153 36

traveller of the beginning of the 16th century, informs us ¹ The town grew very rapidly, St Francis Xavier, in one of his letters to the Jesuits of Europe dated Malaca, November 10th, 1545, says that in Sao Thome "there are more than one hundred Portuguese, all married" ²

Against this Portuguese town, in the vicinity of Mailapura, marched Rama Raya in the year 1558, and the motive of this expedition was this The Franciscan Friars, who from the beginning were established at St Thome and at Negapatam, caused several Hindu temples to be desecrated and the idols destroyed, building in their stead many Christian churches and chapels In the year 1542, they had built at Negapatam two churches, one dedicated to St Francis and the other to Nossa Senhora da Saude, and about three thousand people had embraced the Catholic Faith ³ The Jesuits who came shortly after, followed the example of the Franciscans The Brahmins naturally represented these facts to the Regent of the Empire, who took no action against the Portuguese, because, no doubt, of the necessity of their friendship to obtain horses for war purposes ⁴ But, on this occasion a Portuguese fidalgo, a traitor to his nation and faith, whose name is not given in the Portuguese chronicles, invited Rama Raya to proceed against the Portuguese town, the inhabitants of which were 'most rich' he said, and from whom he would be able to get more than two millions of gold pagodas Rama Raya was in need of money, on account both of the frequent wars with the Muhammadans and of his imperial designs This invitation he soon accepted, and after collecting an army of more than five hundred thousand soldiers and a great deal of ammunition, set out from Vijayanagara towards Sao Thome

We fortunately have a short contemporary description of the town and population of Sao Thome at the time of Rama Raya's attempt The anonymous author of the life of St

1 Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p 182

2 M H S J, *Mon Xav*, I, p 387

3 *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*
p 86

4 The account of Sewell, p 193-4, is not accurate

Francis Xavier quoted above says that Sao Thome is a very rich and noble city inhabited by Portuguese, who being tired of the hardships of military life, retired to that place, wherein they found great convenience and opportunity for earning their life. Thus the city was formed which besides the wealth and food that the land produces, is nicely fitted for trading and sending its goods to any part of the world " 1

When the news of the approach of Rama Raya reached the inhabitants of the city Pero de Taide Inferno a noble merchant from Goa who happened to be in Sao Thome at the time, assembled all the chief men of the town and tried to persuade them to resist Rama Raya and his army an enterprise he thought pretty easy as the enemies were short of cannon. Moreover they had the additional advantage of the sea. But most of the inhabitants of the town thought otherwise, because the town being in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, they were not allowed to offer resistance to their Governor and Regent of the Empire and further they were unable to stand a long siege. This annoyed Pero de Taide, who at once left the city and made for Goa in a ship that had just then come from Bengal.

Four of the principal inhabitants of the town were then deputed to receive Rama Raya even before he reached the place they were to welcome him and offer him a present valued at about four thousand *crusados*. The Regent was delighted with this gift from the Portuguese. In the meanwhile the streets of the city were decorated, and the windows and balconies festooned with rich-coloured cloth.

When Rama Raya came within sight of the city he encamped on a vast plain, and dispatched several of his captains with orders to bring to his presence all the inhabitants of the town men and women old and young, bond or free. When they came they were entertained by his order in a separate place, while other captains were sent to the city to search for all the riches of the town these were brought over to him, all furniture not excluded. Couto says that the value of the whole property of the inhabitants of Sao Thome would not have reached the sum of a hundred thousand *pardaos* Rama Raya was furious on realiz

ing that he had been deceived by his friend, the Portuguese fidalgo, and determined to inflict a severe punishment upon him. But the shrewd fidalgo made good his escape from the army. He was finally found in the town of Caleture, at a distance of six leagues. Brought before the Regent, he was put to death and trampled on by elephants.

Then Rama Raya decided to send the citizens back to the town after exacting a tribute of a hundred thousand pagodas, half to be given at once, and the other half a year later. Fifty thousand pagodas were paid down to him on the spot, and he took with him five of the chief citizens as hostages for the other half. Then, before leaving, he caused all the property to be returned to their owners. A silver spoon was found missing. Such diligent enquiries were made by his command, that the spoon was finally discovered and returned to its owner. This episode is mentioned by the two chroniclers who relate the history of this campaign.¹

Rama Raya at once left for his capital. On reaching Vijayanagara he released the five hostages and sent them back to Sao Thome, in recognition of their services during the retreat. Such was the end of the expedition, which would have been fatal to the town of Sao Thome if the advice of Pero de Taide Inferno had been followed.²

8 This was only a passing cloud brought on by the cupidity of Rama Raya, for the intercourse between Vijayanagara and Portugal continued in the following years as friendly as ever. Caesar Frederick, who was an eye-witness of the trading of the Portuguese in the city of Sao Thome at the end of the reign of Sadasiva, says to this effect: "It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seen the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe it is a place

1 With these details, given by both Couto and Faria y Sousa the account of Fr. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, does not agree. According to it Rama Raya robbed the Catholic Church of St. Thomas (p. 309) and even stole the very relics of the holy Apostle (p. 310).

2 Couto, VII, p. 54-60, Faria y Sousa, II, p. 327-8, Lafitau *Histoire des Decouvertes*, II, p. 553-4.

so dangerous that a man cannot be served with small Barkes neither can they doe their business with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces but they make certain Barkes (of purpose) high which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards one board being sowed to another with small cordes and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to row out against the huge waves of the Sea that are on that shore untill that they carrie them to the ships and in like manner they lade these Masadies at the ships with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Bark into the Sea to keep the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can bee no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the Merchandise they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme

The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier quoted above informs us that Sao Thome traded specially with the kingdoms of Pegu and Bengal with the first in gold and sealing-wax, and with the second in eatables particularly sugar. The trade of Sao Thome was also famous throughout Portugal for the beautiful cloths of different kinds coming from the Coromandel Coast. In the month of September they used to send to Malacca a ship laden with these coloured cloths, for which they obtained yearly great quantities of money.¹

9. Trade continued to flourish between Goa and Vijayanagara itself. In 1585 the Italian traveller Philippo Sassetti sent from Goa to Giambatista Strozzi at Firenze, the following information on the Portuguese commerce between both cities previous to the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. He says that before

1. Purchas, o. c., p. 109

2. *M. H. S. J., Men Xav.*, I p. 59

that disaster, Vijayanagara "had such great traffic going through its streets that it was beyond imagination, and that there dwelt in it very rich people not as rich as the people of our country but as Ciesus and other rich of days gone by. Large quantities of goods that came from our possessions via Alexandria and Soria were then consumed, and all the cloths and linen, which were made in such a large quantity, could be disposed of there. The traffic was so great that the road going from here (Goa) to that town was always as crowded as the roads leading to a fair, and the profit was so sure that the only trouble was to bring the goods there. Anything that was carried there by the merchants after a fortnight of walking, was sold there with a profit of 25 or 30 per cent. Besides they came back with other merchandise, and what a merchandise! diamonds, rubies, pearls. In these things the profit was even greater¹. And finally the tax on the horses that came from Persia to go to that kingdom yielded in this town a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty thousand ducats"¹.

There were always Portuguese merchants at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that they used "to sleepe in the streets, or under Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night"². The same traveller gives a list of the different kinds of cloths and other goods that

1 A letter of Simao Botelho, Veedor de Fazenda, to the King of Portugal, dated Cochim, January 30th, 1552, confirms this information of the Italian traveller, "O visorei", says he, "detremina mandar hum aluaro mendez ourivez, que dizem que entende em pedraria, que de la veo o anno passado, a bisnaga (Vijayanagara), asi para vemder algumas joias das que se ouuerao em ceilao, por non serem pera mandar a Rainha nosa senhora, segundo a todos qua pareceo, e poderem se vender por muito mais em bisnaga, por serem da laya que eles muito costumao e ystimao, porque sao topazios e olhos de gato, e, tambem pera do dinheiro disto se averem alguns diamas bons pera vosa alteza o aluaro mendez promete fazer nisto grandes servicos, e pede que lhe faca merce de feitor da pedraria, la o devem de conhecer se he ele para ysto, e avendo laa de ir alguen, milhor he portugues que estrangeiro, e comtudo ha d ir com ele hum homem honrado, e de confianza, for scripvao *Cartas de Simao Botelho, Lima Teiner, Subsídios*, p 39

2 Purchas, o c, p 98.

were commonly sold at Vijayanagara by the Portuguese merchants "The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of gold."¹

Of all these goods the horses from Arabia and Persia were the merchandise most profitable to Goa, as they were absolutely necessary to the imperial army. Again the author of the life of St. Xavier mentioned above, who was a contemporary of these events, says that this King (of Vijayanagara) is on friendly terms with the state of His Highness (the King of Portugal) on account of horses. For all the horses that are sent to his country from Ormuz pass through Goa and as both cities belong to His Highness, he cannot get them if the Viceroy of India is not pleased and this is the reason why all the Portuguese do safely go from Sao Thome to Goa, that is, they cross one hundred and fifty leagues, almost all of which belonging to him"²

1. Ibid., p. 99

2. *M H S. J. Mon. Lav.*, I p. 63

CHAPTER V

RAMA RAYA AND THE DECCANI MUHAMMADANS

SUMMARY—1 Policy of Rama Raya with the Muhammadans of the Deccan—2 First encounter of Venkatadri with Ibrahim Adil Shah—3 Bijapur and Ahmadnagar against Vijayanagara and Bidar—4 Successful campaign of Rama Raya against Ahmadnagar—5 Bijapur attacked by Vijayanagara, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda—6 Capture of Kaliyani by Vijayanagara from Bidar—7 Friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah—8 Last expedition of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur—9 First campaign of Vijayanagara and Bijapur against Ahmadnagar—10 Second campaign Siege of Ahmadnagar Depredations of the Hindus in Muhammadan territories—11 Rama Raya's intervention against the pretensions of Abdulla Adil Shah to the throne of Bijapur—12 End of the friendship between Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah—13 Rebellion of the Naigwaris against the Sultan of Golkonda fostered by Rama Raya—14 Concerted plans of the Muhammadans against Vijayanagara Rama Raya's preparations

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Ferishta, Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*—2 Couto, Faria y Sousa, Souza—3 *Ramarajiyamu*, *Vasucharitramu*, *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*

THE policy of Rama Raya in his relations with the Deccani Muhammadans was that of a shrewd diplomatist of the modern type. He always tried to keep his opponents divided so as to weaken their power. To attain this, he used to ally himself now with one, now with another sovereign, for the purpose of waging war against the rest, so that during the twenty three years of his rule, he successively made war against all the Sultans of the Deccan, and always returned home victorious over the followers of the Prophet.

The *Vasucharitramu* states that "the Nizam (of Ahmadnagar), Kutupasahi (Kutb Shah of Golkonda) and the Sapada (Adil Shah of Bijapur) fled to the forests before his march"¹. And in the *Svaramelakalamudhi* it is said that with his brothers'

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 216

aid he conquered all Parasikas that is the Muhammadans ¹ The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that "the dust raised by his armies appears like smoke that drives away those gnats" viz., the Muhammadans ² And probably also his wars with the Mussulmans inspired the statement of the Mangalampad grant of Venkata II that Rama Raya had slain in battle all his enemies" ³

2 The struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans started early in the reign of Sadasiva, almost on the very day of his coronation. Ferishta says that when Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur heard of the revolution that took place in Vijayanagara to dethrone the usurper Salakam Timma Raju and of the subsequent election of Sadasiva as Emperor of Vijayanagara, he thought it a good opportunity and despatched Asad Khan with the bulk of his army to reduce the important fortress of Adoni No sooner did this news come to Vijayanagara, than Rama Raya likewise sent his brother Venkatadri with a strong force to relieve the fort which was on the point of surrendering. On his approach Asad Khan raised the siege and moved towards him A sharp engagement ensued and the Muhammadan general, finding that he was likely to have the worst of the action by reason of the vast superiority of the enemy retreated in good order followed by Venkatadri at a distance of about twenty one miles. In the evening Asad Khan encamped, and Venkatadri, with a view to obstructing further retreat halted likewise at a distance of about eight miles. On the following day before sunrise, Asad Khan with four thousand chosen horse surprised the camp of Venkatadri, whose self confidence had thrown him wholly off his guard against this manoeuvre. The Muhammadans penetrated the Hindu tents before the alarm was given Venkatadri had scarcely time to make his escape and left his treasures, family and elephants in the hands of the victors ⁴

1 Ibid., p 190.

2. Ep Ind., IV p. 3.

3. Butterworth, I, p. 29 v 16. Rama Raya's campaigns against the Muhammadans are recorded in the *Rama Raya Charitra*. Cf. Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 263.

4. This defeat is perhaps the one referred to by Correa IV p. 440

At daybreak Venkatadri collected his scattered troops, and drew them up as if to give battle, but seeing Asad Khan prepared to maintain his advantage, and growing apprehensive of the consequences to his wife and children, he declined battle, and retiring some miles away, pitched his camp there. From thence he wrote to Rama Raya, told him of his disaster and requested reinforcements. The Regent at once sent supplies of men and money, and gave out his intention of carrying on the war. He privately informed his brother, at the same time, that he had reason to think Ibrahim Adil Shah had not been induced to besiege Adoni of his own accord, but that he suspected the zealous mindars of that quarter had urged him to make war, and that many of Venkatadri's officers were likewise secretly in the enemy's interest, therefore, he finally advised him to exercise prudence, by making peace with the Mussulmans for the moment and obtaining the release of his wife and family from Asad Khan.

In consequence of this advice, and having procured the mediation and influence of Asad Khan himself by means of a heavy bribe received for this purpose from his brother Rama Raya, Venkatadri made overtures to Ibrahim Adil Shah for peace. This was at once granted. The terms of peace were settled to the satisfaction of both states. Ferishta does not specify these terms. After this, Asad Khan joined his master, the Sultan, and proceeded to Bijapur whilst Venkatadri retired to Vijayanagara after the rescue of his family.¹

3 But not long after he had reached the capital, Ibrahim Adil Shah, invited by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, entered whole-heartedly into a confederacy with him against Bidar and Vijayanagara. It was then agreed that the Ahmadnagar Sultan should invade the country of Amir Barid Shah, and leave the Sultan of Bijapur unmolested in any attack he might choose to make on the territory of Vijayanagara. This scheme was soon carried out. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kandahar, whilst the Bidar Sultan, unaware of the secret treaty formed between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, left a strong garrison to defend Bidar and fled to his old ally Ibrahim Adil Shah, by whom he was seized and kept

prisoner. The Sultan of Bijapur then marched to the south to accomplish the second part of the treaty. Fertshta says that he succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindu state of Vijayanagara¹ but we are sure there is great exaggeration in this statement because, for one thing, we are not aware of any territorial loss to Vijayanagara about this time and, secondly because we find Rama Raya engaged in a war with Ahmadnagar subsequent to these events.

4 Rama Raya perhaps suspected that the real promoter of the war waged by Adil Shah was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. Hence he left Bijapur alone and, being resolved to establish division between these two allies, marched against Burhan Nizam Shah. To reach his dominions, however he had to cross the states of Golkonda and Bidar so, section sent to attack the Sultan of Golkonda his brother Tirumala was at the head of the troops despatched against the Sultan of Bidar and Hanide Hanumappa Nayudu of Sonala puram was sent with the rest of the army against Ahmadnagar². The actions in this war are recorded in the Hindu poems the capture of the city of Kalyani, and the sack and destruction of the city of Ahmadnagar. The *Vasudhara* does not give any information about the capture of Kalyani, which belonged to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar³ but the *Annals of Hande Annapuram* give a short but precise account of the battle. It seems that the three sections of the army were again united that day while the three Sultans had likewise joined their forces. The battle resulted in a tremendous defeat for the allies the three Sultans fled from the battle-field after seeing the rout of their troops while the Hindu army followed in

1. Fertshta, III, p. 387
2. It is evident from the sources that we shall refer to that the object of the campaign was the defeat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar the war against the other two Sultans being a necessary means to reach Ahmadnagar state.
3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 216.

pursuit in the course of which Hande Hanumappa Nayudu took Burhan Nizam Shah prisoner ¹ After such a disaster the city of Ahmadnagar could not resist the might of the victorious army It was probably then that Rama Raya captured the capital of the Nizam Sultans, razed it to the ground and sowed castor seeds there, a fact recorded in the *Ramarajyamu* ² On account of this victory, Rama Raya is given in the same poem the title of 'Destroyer of the fortifications of Ahmadnagar' ³

After this Burhan Nizam Shah, now in the hands of Rama Raya, was forced to repudiate his alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur ⁴ This was the main object of the Regent of Vijayanagara for the time being As a result of this, Burhan Nizam Shah was promptly set at liberty

5 And he kept his promise to Rama Raya very faithfully, because Ferishta informs us that at the end of 1543 or in the beginning of 1544, that is shortly after these events, Burhan Nizam Shah appointed Shah Tahir ambassador to the court of Jamshid Qutb Shah of Golkonda, in order to make private overtures to induce him to form a league with Rama Raya of Vijayanagara against the state of Bijapur ⁵ The pretext given by Nizam Shah was his desire to recover from Bijapur the five districts he had been compelled to relinquish to Adil Shah, probably in his previous alliance The three princes agreed to wage war against Bijapur Rama Raya was to attack the Bijapur territories on the South, the Sultan of Golkonda on the East, while Nizam Shah, with his own army and with troops of Ali Barid and Kwaja Jahan, was to invade them on the North-East Shortly after he entered the Bijapur territory, laid waste many districts, and on more than one occasion defeated the troops of Adil Shah In the meanwhile the Golkonda Sultan entered Bijapur on the East, seized the whole district of

1 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, I c

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 182

3 Ibid, p 183

4 *Vasucharitramu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, p 216 I differ from the opinion of Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who thinks that the Ibhamam mentioned in the poem is Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda

5 Ferishta, III, p 230

Kakni in which he built a strong fort, occupied the whole country up to the walls of Gulbarga, and laid siege to the fortress of Etgir near the city of Sagar. Finally Rama Raya deputed his brother Venkatadri to reduce the fort of Raichur and he defeated the Sultan near the river Bhima, and drove him from the field. This action is recorded in the *Narasabupaliyamu* ¹

The kingdom of Bijapur thus attacked simultaneously by three powerful armies, was really at stake. Ibrahim Adil Shah at once sent for his best counsellor Asad Khan who was in Belgaum, and asked his advice. This experienced general suspected that the Sultan of Golkonda was the real enemy who had instigated the others to hostility and that if he could be removed, the rest would be easy. He therefore advised that peace should be concluded with him, by resigning the five districts dependent on Sholapur—which had furnished the pretext for the war. At the same time he recommended that separate overtures should be made to Rama Raya, offering him presents to propitiate his friendship. He stated finally that when free from the attacks of these two enemies, Asad Khan would himself undertake the chastisement of Qutb Shah and promised that in a short time he would recover all the places the Sultan of Golkonda had taken from Bijapur.

Ibrahim Adil Shah acted upon this advice, and peace was concluded separately with Burhan Nizam Shah and Rama Raya. Asad Khan then marched against Jamshid Qutb Shah, who was finally defeated in a severe action under the walls of Golkonda. Such was the end of the first campaign of the allies against Bijapur ²

But this peace did not last long. Some time after this campaign" says Ferishta without recording the exact date,

Burhan Nizam Shah was instigated by the same Rama Raya to march for the purpose of reducing Gulbarga, and naturally Ibrahim Adil Shah moved from Bijapur to oppose him. After a campaign of several months, in which both armies lay inactive for a long period in sight of each other with the river Bhima

1. S. Krishnaaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 224.

2. Ferishta, III p. 92-4.

between them, the Nizam's army was totally routed with heavy loss" ¹ Thus the purpose of the Machiavellian policy of Rama Raya was obtained it was to weaken the Muhammadan power by fostering wars among the Mussulman Sovereigns

6 During the following years Vijayanagara was not engaged in war with the Muslim powers of the Deccan But about the end of 1548 or the beginning of 1549, Burhan Nizam Shah, as soon as he was made aware of the death of Asad Khan, the great general and counsellor of the Sultan of Bijapur, despatched ambassadors to Rama Raya, inviting him to a confederacy with the purpose of making another attack on the Bijapur dominions Rama Raya was much pleased with the proposal, so dear to his heart, and accordingly presents and professions of good will were interchanged between him and the Ahmadnagar ambassadors News of this alliance came to the ears of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who on that account treated the ambassadors of Vijayanagara resident at his court with marked disrespect, hence they quitted his capital with great indignation, without even taking any leave ² On arriving at Vijayanagara, they told Rama Raya about the behaviour of Ibrahim Adil Shah after the league between Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar; and concluded by saying that had they not made their escape, they would probably have been put to death Rama Raya, enraged at this affront, at once wrote to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar that as Ali Barid Shah of Bidar had preferred the alliance of Ibrahim Adil Shah to his, it would be desirable to take from him the fort of Kaliyani which had been recovered by him after the campaign narrated above

We have two different versions of the siege of this fortress the narrative of Ferishta and the minute account of the Hindu poem *Sivatattvaralnakara* But neither does Ferishta say a word concerning the deeds of Rama Raya and the Hindus

1 Ferishta, III, p 94-5.

2 This conduct of the Bijapur Sultan was a tacit reply to the treatment given by Rama Raya to his own ambassador who went to Vijayanagara for the tribute requested by Adil Shah, Correa IV, p 601, relates that the Muslim ambassador was stoned to death by order of Rama Raya

during this action nor does the Hindu writer even mention the part taken in the capture of the fort by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar.¹ From both accounts we shall presently draw conclusions.

Both allies moved without delay towards Kaliyani. Burhan Nizam Shah was at the head of his troops while Rama Raya, being unable for the present to command his own army placed it under Sadasiva Nayaka, the Ikeri ruler. The Sultan of Bijapur sent his army against the Hindus to oppose their entry into his territory but Ibrahim Adil Shah's forces were defeated and driven from the field by the valour of Sadasiva Nayaka who captured the valuable spoils of the enemy's army. It seems that after this battle Rama Raya met his troops and under the two chiefs the Vijayanagara army proceeded towards Kaliyani.

The allies met under the walls of this fortress and, having surrounded it, effectually cut off all communications from without. Ibrahim Adil Shah himself then marched to relieve it and, advancing within sight of the allies pitched his camp and entrenched himself. The allies, unwilling to raise the siege also fortified their lines. The Bijapur Maratha horse were employed to block the roads leading to the allies' camp and to cut off their supplies and they were so successful that they caused the greatest distress through want of provisions to the Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar troops. A council of the nobles of the allied armies was held at this stage. Some of them proposed to raise the siege, and that they should retreat and make peace while others recommended a sudden and vigorous attack on the enemy. Ferishta mentions two Muhammadans who supported this opinion Shah Jafar and Qasim Beg and we are sure that Sadasiva Nayaka was one of the Hindus who sided with them—encouraged as he was by the victory he had obtained

1. It is very strange of Ferishta to say that Rama Raya was invited to this war by Burhan Shah, and to record their mutual agreement, and yet not speak at all of the Hindu chief while relating the happenings of the campaign. This shows Ferishta's hatred towards the Hindus. After a careful examination of both sources, it is evident that these two different accounts need reconciling.

a few days earlier over the Bijapur army. The latter opinion prevailed. The allies surprised at dawn the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The Sultan himself, who was then in a warm bath, had scarcely time to make his escape, and to fly towards Bir and Parenda, while his troops were so completely surprised that they deserted their tents, baggage and artillery, all of which fell into the hands of the victors.

At the same time an attack was made on the fortress, which surrendered without much opposition. There is no doubt that Sadasiva Nayaka greatly distinguished himself in this final attack, but the achievements narrated by the author of the Hindu poem evidently bear all the signs of a poetic episode introduced to extol the figure of the old ancestor of the poet's chief¹. The capture of the city of Kalyani by Rama Raya is recorded, without of course mentioning the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II², and in the *Ramarajyumu*, the glorious Regent of the Vijayanagara Empire is given the titles of 'capturer of the fort of Kalyani'³ and 'ruler of the city of Kalyani'⁴; from which we may conclude that Rama Raya remained in possession of the captured fortress.

7 In the following year, 1550, a sudden event took place that influenced for several years the relations between Rama Raya and the Deccani kingdoms. Jamshid Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda, had been for two years in a failing state of health. On this account his temper grew worse, his disposition become morose, and he put many persons to death on the most trivial charges. His cruelty excited the terror of his subjects, his two brothers, Haidar Khan and Ibrahim, fled to Bidar, where Haidar Khan, the eldest, died shortly after.

It happened that not long after the demise of Haidar Khan, somewhat before 1550, the Sultan of Bidar, Qasim Barid Shah, was engaged in a war with the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and

1 Ferishta, III, p 233-5 and 102-3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 195

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 293

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o c*, p 183

4 *Ibid*, p 182

Golkonda and while in retreat before the advance of his enemies, he took advantage of the situation of Prince Ibrahim, but so far forgot the rights of hospitality as to attempt to seize the elephants and private property belonging to that Prince. The latter discovering his intention immediately left him retreated to Vijayanagara and claimed the friendship of Rama Raya.

When Ibrahim reached Vijayanagara he was accompanied by Syud Hye, by an Abyssinian called Raihan who bore the title of Hamid Khan by a Brahmin named Kanaji and by a few personal attendants. The Prince was received in Vijayanagara according to his rank and treated with the utmost respect and attention. Rama Raya whose power had at this time considerably increased by reason of the imprisonment of Sadasiva realized at once that his friendship with the brother of the Sultan of Golkonda could be employed as a valuable means for attaining his political aims. Hence he assigned for the support of the Prince an estate, which was at that time possessed by Ambar Khan the Abyssinian an officer in Rama Raya's pay. And this was precisely the cause of a singular duel, in which Ibrahim showed what a skilful swordsman he was.

It would appear that Ambar Khan much enraged at the alienation of his estate, once met Prince Ibrahim in the streets of Vijayanagara and charged him with depriving him of it. Ibrahim replied that monarchs were at liberty to dispose of their own property and that Rama Raya had chosen to give him the estate. The Prince proceeded on his way whereupon the Abyssinian called him a coward for refusing to dispute his title with the sword. Ibrahim Qutb Shah warned him of his imprudence but the Prince's coolness only added fury to the anger of Ambar Khan who proceeded to abuse him all the more. At this the Prince dismounted and drew the Abyssinian rushed upon him but Ibrahim killed his antagonist. The latter's brother standing by insisted on taking up the cause, and he also fell a victim to his temerity.¹

1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda instances another duel of Ibrahim Qutb Shah in the streets of Vijayanagara. Cf. Ferishta, III, p. 382. Perhaps both facts are the same, although some of the circumstances vary.

In the year 1550 Jamshid Qutb Shah died, and the nobles of the court elevated his son Subhan Kuli, a tender child ¹, to the throne, under the regency of Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk, at the request of his mother the Dowager-queen. The nobles however were not pleased with the appointment of the Protector, a man who had been exiled to Ahmadnagar by the late Sultan. They finally became so obstreperous that Mustafa Khan, the Prime Minister, immediately wrote to Ibrahim Qutb Shah at Vijayanagara, inviting him to court. On receipt of this letter his two friends in adversity, Syud Hye and Hamid Khan, advised him to proceed instantly to the capital and proclaim himself king. He also consulted his friend Rama Raya, who not only acceded to Ibrahim's wishes, but even offered to send his brother Venkatadri with ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to support him ². Ferishta says that Syud Hye and Hamid Khan advised the Prince to decline this large force, which might in his name effect anything to favour the views of Rama Raya, even the usurpation of Government, if it chose. But the *Narasabupaliyamu* states openly that Rama Raya 'helped him (Qutb Mulk, viz., Ibrahim Qutb Shah) to get back his lost kingdom' ³. Knowing the tendency of Ferishta, we are inclined to believe that the Qutb Prince left Vijayanagara accompanied by Venkatadri's forces ⁴, during the journey he was advised by his friends to dismiss the Hindu troops and he actually did so, perhaps on reaching the town of Pangul, where he was met by Mustafa Khan on whom he bestowed the office of Mir Jumla.

1 Ferishta says he was ten years old, but according to the anonymous chronicler he was seven.

2 We cannot admit the story of Ferishta who says that in the beginning Rama Raya "would by no means consent to his quitting his service to set up vague pretensions (as he termed them) to the throne of Golkonda." Such a statement disagrees with the character and policy of Rama Raya and with the subsequent events.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224.

4 The emphasis of Ferishta on this point is striking: "The Prince Ibrahim, therefore, having left Vijayanagara *without any Hindu auxiliaries* proceeded" etc. This emphasis strengthens my doubt as to his veracity in the matter.

and a dress of honour. Here he was shortly after joined by Salabat Khan with three thousand foreign cavalry and many other officers who now deserted the infant King. On his arrival at Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah was enthroned without opposition in consequence—says Ferishta—of the extreme popularity of his minister Mustafa Khan.¹

8. After the last campaign of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar against Bijapur apparently no peace was established for as a matter of fact, by the end of the same year 1551 the Sultan of Bijapur began to make preparations for retaking the fort of Kaliyan. Burhan Nizam Shah, on receiving intimation of this design sent ambassadors to Rama Raya who agreed to meet him in the vicinity of Raichur in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing year. Rama Raya accordingly moved with a considerable force to that place, where it was resolved that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal should be conquered for Rama Raya, and that he should aid in reducing the city and dependencies of Sholapur and the town of Gulbarga. The allies took Raichur and on its falling into their hands, the garrison of Mudgal also surrendered without opposition. Then Rama Raya left his younger brother Venkatadri with an army to assist Burhan Nizam Shah, and returned to Vijayanagara. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar with Venkatadri's aid, captured Sholapur in a short time, and having strengthened it returned to his capital. Ferishta, in the history of the Sultans of Bijapur makes no mention of the purpose of the allies in conquering Gulbarga but in the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar he states that Nizam Shah could not conquer the city because he was abandoned by his Hindu ally. Possibly some misunderstanding arose between the Sultan and Venkatadri. The latter having left for Vijayanagara, Nizam Shah could not accomplish his desires and as he died shortly after his successor Husain Nizam Shah, concluded peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur.²

1. Ferishta, III, p. 327-9. Anonymous chronicle. Ferishta I. c. p. 360-3 and 392. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.* L. p. 4-5.

2. Ferishta III, p. 104-5 and 235. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*, L. p. 78.

In one of these campaigns with Ahmadnagar, Rama Raya captured the fortress of Turkal¹ This was the last expedition in which Rama Raya joined the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur On account of all these campaigns he is said, in the *Narasabupaliyamu*, to have helped the Sultan of Ahmadnagar², and in the *Ramarajiyamu*, he is called 'the terror of the city of Bijapur'³ But we shall presently see the Regent of Vijayanagara in close alliance with the Sultan of Bijapur against the Sultan of Golkonda

9 This happened in the year 1555, when the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Husain Nizam Shah, and the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, met in the vicinity of Gulbarga, and Kutb Shah promised to aid the army of Ahmadnagar in capturing that fort "The fort of Gulbarga", says Ali ibn Aziz, "although built on the plain, is yet very strong, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch full of water - It is so constructed that the walls cannot be damaged by artillery, for the ground at the top of the counterscarp of the ditch rises so high that all shot fly above the walls, while the depth of the ditch and the fact that it is always full of water prevent running" The old Bahmani capital was accordingly besieged after a while, but it resisted every effort of the allies for a whole month Then at last, after two breaches had been effected, an assault was made in which, after the loss of many of the best officers of the Ahmadnagar army, the allies were repulsed "The fighting before the fortress and in the breaches continued not only throughout the day, but for a whole month more. At length the garrison were reduced to great straits, and having no more strength to fight, sent a messenger to Adil Shah setting forth their desperate circumstances." The Sultan of Bijapur, to whom Gulbarga belonged, unable any longer to cope single-handed with the united forces of the allies, sent an ambassador with magnificent presents to Vijayanagara, to beg the aid of Rama Raya, who immediately marched in person at the head of his

1 Ferishta, III, p 135

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 224

3 *Ibid*, p 182

army to the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah. On the way he addressed the following letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah preserved for us by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, who perhaps saw the original in the archives of the court —

"Be it known to Your Majesty that it is now many years since the two courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar have been in constant state of warfare and that the balance of power between them was so equal that although every year each of these Sovereigns had been in the habit making a campaign on the other's frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that Your Majesty (whose ancestors never interfered in these disputes) has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Husein Nizam Shah without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur who has accordingly sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between our court and Your Majesty we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you, to induce you to relinquish the offensive alliance which Your Majesty has formed and by returning peaceably to your capital show a friendly disposition towards both parties who will afterwards conclude a peace, and put an end to this long protracted war

Such was the letter of Rama Raya to his old friend and protégé, Ibrahim Qutb Shah who also received letters from Ibrahim Adil Shah himself at the same time. "The letter and the news of Sadasiva Raya's (Rama Raya's) approach" says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* "reached Ibrahim Qutb Shah at the same time." Then he heard also that Tirumala, the brother of Rama Raya, with a body of cavalry accompanied by some of the Bijapur officers, was laying waste the Pungal district. Accordingly the above mentioned work states that Ibrahim Qutb Shah at once violated the solemn treaty with Husain Nizam Shah and left Gulbarga for Telangana in the middle of the night. The news of his flight was brought to Husain Nizam Shah in the morning [who] perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and so marched to Ahmadnagar" ¹

1. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda *Ferishta* III, p. 398-7 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.* I, p. 101-2. The account of the flight of Ibrahim Qutb given in the work seems more reliable than the

After this, Rama Raya again helped the Sultan of Bijapur by sending him his brother Venkatadri with a considerable force to expel from the Bijapur territory Ain-ul-Mulk, who had rebelled against the Sultan. This chief was thoroughly defeated and, having fled to Ahmadnagar, was put to death by Husain Nizam Shah.¹

10 Shortly after this meeting, in the year 1557, Ibrahim Adil Shah died and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah, then a youth. The new monarch, intent on adding to his dominions and repairing the losses sustained by his father, entered into close alliance with Rama Raya. But it happened that Husain Nizam Shah, suddenly taking advantage of the youthfulness of the Bijapur Sultan, invaded his dominions with a great force. Ali Adil Shah, unable to defend himself, evacuated his capital and, attended only by a small body-guard of one hundred horse, proceeded in person to the court of Vijayanagara.

It is mentioned by Ferishta that about this time Rama Raya had lost one of his sons, and that the young Sultan of Bijapur took the opportunity of offering him his condolence in person, thus hoping to get immediate reinforcements to oppose the victorious army of Ahmadnagar. Rama Raya received him with the greatest respect. The Sultan "with the kindest persuasion," says Ferishta, "prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning." The wife of Rama Raya, on this occasion, adopted the Sultan as her son, and at the end of three days spent in an interchange of friendly professions and presents, Rama Raya was induced to march with his whole army, accompanied by Ali Adil Shah, towards Ahmadnagar.² They at once invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, "with an army more numerous than the raindrops," says the *Burhan-*

narrative of the Golkonda chronicler evidently concocted to please the Sultan.

1 Ferishta, l c, p 110-1

2 Ferishta relates that Ali Adil Shah left Vijayanagara alone and that Rama Raya did not attend him out of the city, for which the Sultan of Bijapur was offended and treasured up the affront in his mind. This is evidently a slanderous statement of the Muhammadan writer against the Hindu chief, whose subsequent conduct cannot satisfactorily be explained if we grant the truth of

r-Va asar They laid waste the invaded kingdom so thoroughly that for miles not a vestige of population was left. Husain Nizam Shah, declining any opposition in the field, retired to Pailham and after some time, purchased peace by giving the fort of Kalyani to Ali Adil Shah. Nevertheless Sadashiva Nayaka, one of the chief officers of the army of Vijayanagara, seems to have once been severely defeated by the Ahmadnagar army.

Now the allies had no sooner retired from Ahmadnagar than Husain Nizam Shah entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and marched to retake the fort he had just surrendered. Ali Adil Shah, on receiving intelligence of this league again despatched Kishwar Khan and Abu Turab to Vijayanagara to solicit aid from Rama Raya, who marched at once with a mighty army to join the Bijapur Sultan. Then the two Sovereigns sent a letter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, calling upon him in pursuance of the late treaty to join them. Ibrahim Qutb Shah however unwilling to act against Husain Nizam Shah, considered it politic not to incur the imputation of a breach of treaty and thus perhaps draw on himself the vengeance of the allies. He accordingly joined them at the city of Gulbarga, when the whole army including Ali Barid Shah, the Bidar Sultan, Vijayanagara troops laid waste all the towns and villages on their route. Husain Nizam Shah, unable to resist their united forces left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions in his capital and retired to Junar. In the meantime, Ibrahim Qutb Shah wrote to him privately informing him of the political necessity which had induced him to join the allies but at the same time he assured him that he would endeavour to assist him, and would do all in his power to induce his enemies to this statement. The *Narashapur* states that Rama Raya left his kingdom to Ali Shah on his agreeing to pay him tribute. This information probably refers to this occasion. Cf. S. Krishna swami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 224.

1. The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda says that Husain retreated to Daulatabad. I prefer the authority of both Ferishtah and Ali Ibn A'izi, who wrote their works in Ahmadnagar itself.

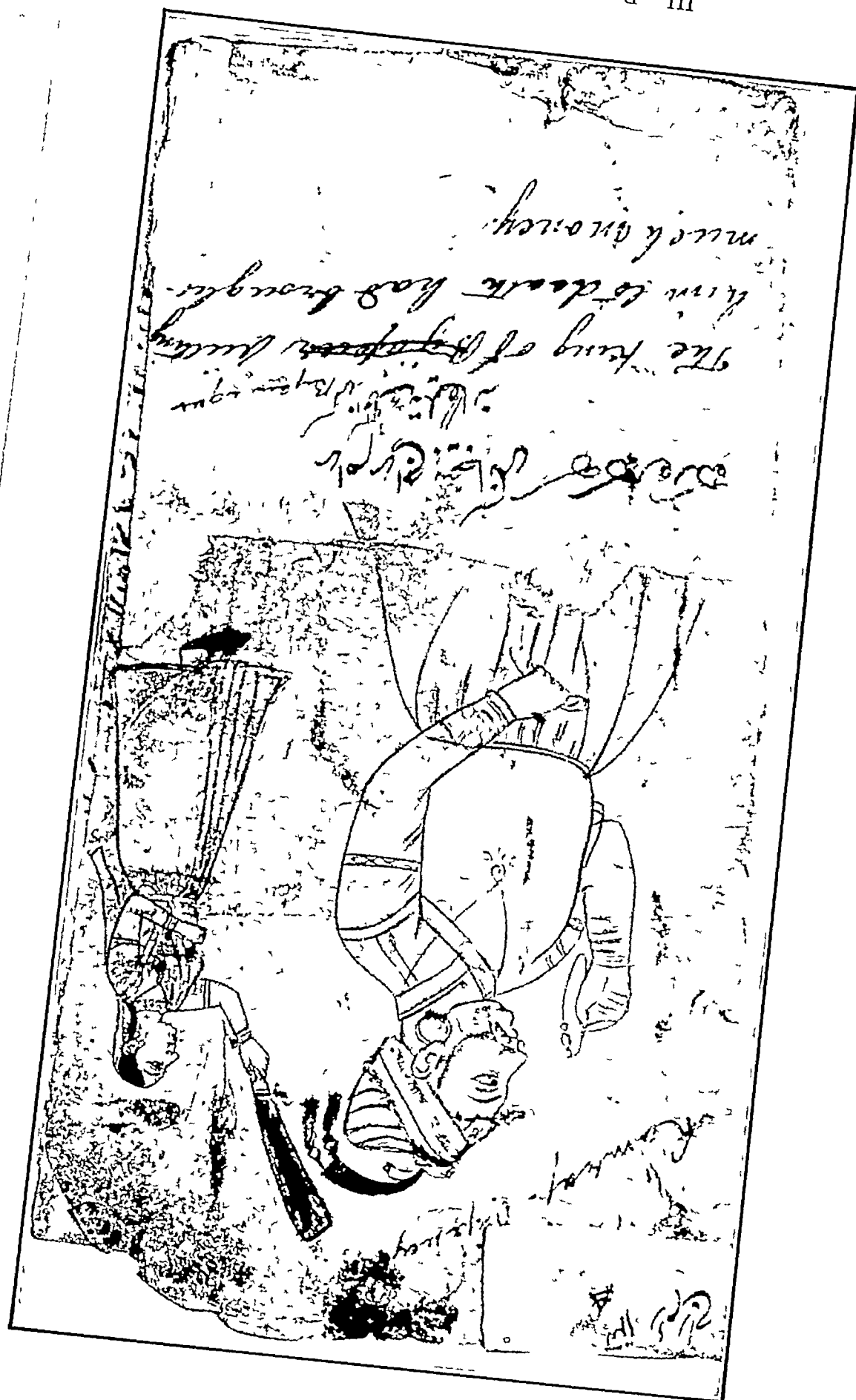
1. Ferishtah, p. 224.
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retreat and abandon the war. He also made the same communications to the officer commanding the fort of Ahmadnagar, advising him to make every possible resistance, and to hold out till the last. The allies besieged the place with vigour for two months. The garrison were beginning to lose their spirits, when Ibrahim Qutb Shah with seasonable donations bought over some of the principal nobles of Vijayanagara and induced them to propose the return of the troops to their respective capitals, specially now that the rainy season was approaching and they were very far from Vijayanagara. Rama Raya, convinced of the truth of their remonstrances, consented to retreat, but Ali Adil Shah, who knew that the besieged were suffering from lack of provisions, had a conference with Rama Raya, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell. He promised to cede to him the district of Indgi if he would only continue the siege for a month longer. Ferishta states that the Sultan of Bijapur 'suspected the causes of the obstinacy of the besieged', Rama Raya consented. The siege was prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile Ibrahim Qutb Shah permitted supplies for the garrison and a number of artillery-men from Ahmadnagar to pass through his camp into the fort. But the approaches of the allies were brought closer to the walls, and the speedy reduction of the fort appeared so certain that Ibrahim Qutb Shah was induced to try, if possible, to avert that extreme evil. He accordingly deputed his minister and commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan, to wait on Rama Raya, and to endeavour to persuade him to raise the siege, if he did not succeed in this, he was to inform him that the Golkonda troops had to return immediately to their capital. Mustafa Khan in his conference with Rama Raya made use of every argument he could devise in order to gain his end. He also engaged secretly, on behalf of the king his master, to cede the fort and district of Condapalli to Rama Raya, if the latter would return to his capital. This last motive was perhaps the most weighty. For Rama Raya immediately consented to retreat, and sent a message to Ali Adil Shah to that effect. The three Kings then retired to their respective capitals.

1 Ferishta, III, p 117-22, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, I o, p 402-5, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir, Ind Ant*, L, p 104-6, 141-2.

But in the following year 1558, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar deputed Maulana Inayatullah to Golkonda to effect a marriage alliance with the family of Qutb Shah. It was agreed that the two kings should meet the following year for that purpose in the neighbourhood of Kalyani and that after celebrating the proposed marriage, their armies should proceed to recover that fortress from the hands of Ali Adil Shah. Accordingly at the stated period Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah collected their respective forces, and met at Kalyani, where the former gave his eldest daughter Bibi Jamali in marriage to Ibrahim Qutb Shah and after one month employed in celebrating the nuptials, the Kings laid siege to Kalyani. Ali Adil Shah upon hearing this proceeded to Vijayanagara, and again solicited the aid of Rama Raya, who marched with his army to his support. On the road he was joined by Ali Band Shah of Bidar and Burhan Imad Shah of Berar who had been invited by him to enter the confederacy. In the meanwhile the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda had marched, with seven hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibres and five hundred elephants to within twelve miles of Kalyani. It happened that they had scarcely encamped, when a violent storm came on which blew down all the tents, the rain pouring down in torrents, cattle and heavy guns in particular were rendered almost useless, for the latter were immovable in the heavy black clay on which the camp stood. At the same time on the approach of the allies, Ibrahim Qutb Shah received information that Rama Raya, taking advantage of his absence, had sent his brother Venkataiah accompanied by Jagdeo Rao and Ain ul Mulk, at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry to invade his southern districts. On receipt of this news Ibrahim Qutb Shah consulted Husain Nizam Shah. It was resolved that they should raise the siege of Kalyani and return to their respective capitals. Husain Nizam Shah however deputed Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah to Rama Raya to sue for peace. This was granted on the following conditions—

1. Perhaps here relates another siege of Ahmadnagar but as the anonymous chronicler does not say a word about such a siege



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First, that he should cede the fortress of Kaliyani to Ali Adil Shah

Secondly, that he should put to death Jahangir Khan, the commander of the auxiliary troops of Durra Imad-
Mulk, who had been extremely active against the enemy

Thirdly, that Husain Nizam Shah should submit to pay Rama Raya a visit and to receive a pan or aromatic leaf from his hands in token of the superiority of the donor

The Sultan of Ahmadnagar, to save his kingdom, accepted the terms, and fulfilled the second article by employing a band of assassins to put to death Jahangir Khan in his tent. "Thus," Ferishta says, "at the instigation of an infidel he murdered one of the faithful, and verified the proverb, that 'there is no faith in princes'" Then he proceeded to the camp of Rama Raya, who rose on his entering his tent and took him by the hand Husain Nizam Shah, who was very haughty, called for a basin and ewer and washed his hands as if they had been polluted by the touch of the Hindu Sovereign, who, according to Ferishta, on seeing that said in his own language "If he were not my guest, I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck", and calling for water he also washed his hands, and such was the bad feeling which prevailed that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot The treaty of peace was concluded by Qasim Beg and Maulana Inayatullah on the part of Ahmadnagar and by Tirumala and Venkatadri on the part of Vijayanagara

Ferishta relates that during these two expeditions of the Vijayanagara army through the territories of Ahmadnagar, the religious feelings of the Muhammadans were much excited on account of the damage done by the Hindu soldiers to their mosques and sacred objects "The infidels of Vijayanagara,"

during this second campaign, it may be a chronological mistake on the part of that author The treaty of peace, the terms of which, as given by Ferishta, may be read somewhat lower down, must be placed after the second campaign, because neither Ferishta nor the chronicler of Golkonda speaks of any treaty at the end of the first Moreover, such humiliating terms cannot be conceived at a time when the allies' armies were retiring from Ahmadnagar, not having captured this city

says he, "who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity left no cruelly unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Kuran. They committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in the holy places".

At about the same time, the intervention of Vijayanagara put an end to a long family dispute that had annoyed the Sultan of Bijapur. During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah the Prince Abdullah having effected his escape to Goa from the harsh treatment of his brother was induced, by the advice of some of the nobility who attended him, to proclaim himself Sultan of Bijapur. One of those nobles was Asad Khan, the lord of the fortress of Belgaum, the most powerful subject of Adil Shah. This chief entered into correspondence with the Captain of Goa, Dom Garcia, who was governing in the absence of Dom Martin Alfonso de Souza, then in the South. Asad Khan offered to give to the Portuguese the whole of the Konkana that belonged to him if Garcia would dare to fetch Prince Abdullah who had retired to the kingdom of Gujarat and set him up against the power of Ibrahim Adil Shah as the real Sultan of Bijapur. Dom Garcia was much pleased with this proposal and at once sent a letter to Cambay in which Abdullah with the whole of his family reached Goa some time after. He was received as a king, and entertained by the Captain in a magnificent house near the Jesuit College of St. Paul. Dom Martin Alfonso de Souza reached Goa shortly after Ibrahim Adil Shah at once

L. Fortesque, III, p. 180-1, 239-43 and 331, Anonymous chronicle of Fortesque, I, c. p. 406-7. The *Burhan-ul-Ma'ad* does not say a word on this treaty so humiliating to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar.

2. This Prince is always called by the Portuguese Mealeo or Mealeo Khan, and they call him nephew of the Sultan. I prefer Fortesque's authority in this case.

3. Fortesque states that the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda fostered the ambition of Prince Abdulla and invited Asad Khan to join him.

From Brevet-Major J BONTIN, Commanding Depot of Musketry to Major A. H. Ross Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division Barrack pore —dated Dum Dum 2nd March 1857

I am sorry that it should be my duty to report for the information of Major General Hearsey, Commanding the Division, an unwillingness on the part of some of the sepoys (Hindus belonging to the Dum Dum School of Musketry) to bite the cartridge according to the established regulation for loading the rifle musket.

2. This unwillingness has not manifested itself in any decided form for the course of instruction has not yet arrived at that period when the cartridge is brought into practice, however as the feeling of objection has been expressed in my presence, I feel it my duty to bring the circumstance to notice

3 During the past week the European and native officers belonging to this depot have been learning the process of cartridge-making which forms a portion of the course of instruction at the Hythe School of Musketry The native officers performed this duty with perfect readiness, accordingly I ordered No 2 section, composed of sepoys belonging to the 2nd Regiment Native (Grenadier) Infantry and 7th Regiment, Native Infantry to attend the lecture room for similar instruction.

A sepoy of the name of Petum Singh of the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry stated his objections to the process. I immediately called upon him in the presence of the other men to explain his reason, he was quiet and respectful in his manner He said that individually he had no objection, but that on rejoining the men of his regiment would consider that he had forfeited caste if he put the cartridge to his mouth. I replied that he had not *then* been required to bite the cartridge. I gave him the option to obey my orders and take his place amongst the other men at cartridge making or I should not allow him to join his section at instruction and should punish him for disobedience. My order was of course immediately attended to and thus to the extent of cartridge-making no difficulty exists.

4. This sudden and very unexpected participation in a feeling which I had heard existed elsewhere has induced me to make further enquiry and in venturing to offer the following suggestion I trust that I may not be suspected of inclining to favor a groundless caprice, or yielding in the smallest degree to an unwarrantable spirit of opposition on the part of the Native soldier Amongst the men of this depot there never has been the least tendency to insubordination, my orders have on every occasion been implicitly obeyed, and even in the

instance now brought to the notice of the Major-General there was not a symptom of disrespect nor unsoldierlike remonstrance.

5 The question with which I now venture to trouble Major-General J. B. Hearsey, and further to solicit a reference to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is whether the existing regulation for loading the firelock or rifle musket may not, with increase of efficiency and advantage to the service, be slightly modified.

6 Permit me to quote the regulation as it now stands—The firelock being at the word "*Prepare to load*" placed on the ground six inches in front of the body, and held *at the full extent of the left arm*, the recruit receives the order "*Load*," upon which the regulation says—

"1st—Bring the cartridge to the mouth, holding it between the fore-finger and thumb with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top, elbow close to the body"

7 The above regulation is at present in force, but I would submit that the practice of biting the cartridge is a mere remnant of the platoon exercise introduced in the days of the flint and steel firelock, when the musket being brought to the right side with the left hand, for the purpose of *priming*, it was almost impossible to use the cartridge without the aid of the teeth. However, as the system was of long standing, and no objection could be pointed out to the materials employed, beyond an absurd dislike to the new quality of cartridge-paper, I very naturally enquired why they should not adhere to the old established practice. If I may trust the statement of the native officers belonging to this depot, it would appear that, notwithstanding the existence of the *rule*, it has been always more or less evaded throughout the service. The *form* of biting the cartridge has been duly observed, but the *practice* has been to tear it immediately afterwards with the left hand.

8 The truth of this statement will doubtless be disputed by most commandants and adjutants of regiments. I give the information as it has reached me, and with every deference to my superiors in rank, I would respectfully observe that it is quite as probable as it is practicable.

9 Having thus entered upon the present state of feeling with regard to biting the cartridge, and having ventured to point out the peculiar character of the existing regulation, I beg permission to bring to the notice of Major-General J. B. Hearsey a plan whereby all difficulty may be accommodated, and the same end attained in a manner more military and (under certain physical difficulties) more effectual.

10 I would suggest that at the third motion of the order "*Prepare to load*," the left hand instead of holding the musket at the full extent of the arm should, after placing it on the ground in front of the body, slip up and seize the rifle at the brass band or tip to the stock. It will then be in a position to meet the right hand which conveys the cartridge from the pouch to tear off the cartridge paper in place of using the teeth and (at the fourth motion of the word "*load*" when the right hand seizes the head of the ramrod) to return to the centre part of the stock ready to throw up the firelock into the *capping position* at the sixth command of the platoon exercise.

11 The above suggestion I offer with every deference to the judgment of superior experience I do not in the least intend to consult the caprice of the native soldier My motive is an *increase of efficiency* and I venture to believe that if Major General J B Hearsey will be pleased to forward my letter with his recommendation to His Excellency the Commander in Chief the plan proposed will be found to contain all that is desirable in the process of loading either the Enfield rifle or common firelock

12 In conclusion to return to the state of feeling upon this question at the Dum Dum School of Musketry I beg that I may be favoured with such instructions as the Major General may deem best suited to the occasion

13 I do not anticipate any positive refusal to bite the cartridge in the first instance but I am prepared to find that the Hindu sepoys will as above described go through the *form* only, adopting at the same time their old practice

14 I can either tacitly overlook this pending the decision of authority or I am prepared to obey the orders of the Major General and enforce the due observance of the regulation In the latter case I may possibly have prisoners for disobedience of orders.

From Major General J B HEARSEY C.B. Commanding the Presidency Division to Colonel C CHESTER Adjutant-General of the Army—No 11 dated Headquarters Presidency Division, Barrackpore 6th March 1857

I beg that you will do me the honor to submit to His Excellency

1. Letter No. 96 dated 5th March 1857 from the Major General Commanding the Division to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department.

2. Letter dated 2nd March 1857 from Major J Bontein Commanding Musketry Depot t Dum Dum to th Assistant Adjutant-General, Presidency Division.

the Commander in Chief the accompanying copies of letters as per margin which I yesterday forwarded to Colonel Birch, for the information and orders of the Right

Hon'ble the Governor General of India in Council,

Dem. official from Lieutenant-Colonel W. ST L MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, Berhampore, to Major A H. Ross, Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 16th February 1857

I received your letter of the 13th February 1857 yesterday, by the same post I received a letter from Colonel Buch, Military Secretary to Government, dated Council Chamber, Fort William, 13th February 1857, informing me that a *kossid* had been sent to my regiment from some men in the 2nd Regiment, Native (Grenadier) Infantry, at Barrackpore, requesting the men of my regiment to support them in raising a disturbance. This morning early I went to the lines of my regiment and made private enquiries of the sergeant-major, the subadar-major and the diull-havildar, each separately, and they declared positively in the presence of my adjutant that no *kossid* had arrived in the lines if any *kossid* had arrived and tried to create a bad feeling towards Government in the minds of the men of my regiment, they would certainly have heard of it and reported the circumstance to me. At eleven o'clock this day I assembled all the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers (pay and color havildars) of my regiment at the mess-house, and questioned them as to what reports they had heard regarding the Enfield rifle and ammunition about to be served out to the Bengal Army the subadar-major replied that the report was that the cartridges about to be served out to the army were made up with cows' and pigs' fat, so that when the sepoy bit off the end of the cartridges they would lose caste. I asked all present if they believed such a report, they said they did not believe that Government would serve out anything with cows' and pigs' fat to Hindu and Mussulman soldiers, as both were contrary to their religious prejudices. There has not been the slightest appearance of uneasiness in the minds of the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry. About a fortnight ago a Brahmin pay-havildar, a man of good character, and in whom I have great confidence, said to me—"What is this story everybody is talking about, that Government intends making the native army use cows' and pigs' fat with the ammunition for their new rifles?" I asked him if he believed there was any truth in the report, he replied he could not believe it. I assured him he might set his mind at rest on the subject, for if the men of the regiment had any doubts on the subject, I would apply to the Major-General Commanding the Division to allow the pay-havildars of companies to provide any grease that was required for their companies, so that the men of the regiment

might see what grease they used and how it was prepared. This conversation was circulated through the regiment, and nothing more was thought of it

If any *kossid* was sent from Barrackpore, whatever message he may have brought has had no effect upon the men of my regiment

I have desired the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of my regiment to report to me without delay any rumours connected with the army that may reach the regiment from any quarter. At the close of this meeting I had paras. 6 7, 8 and 9 of section 9 of the Standing Orders for the Native Infantry read and explained to all present.

I have now been nearly sixteen months in command of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry and I consider the men as a body are quiet orderly and obedient, and some of the native officers very superior to the generality of native officers, I mean they are well educated men for their rank in life

If anything occurs here to make me change my opinion I will immediately report the same to you for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Division.

From Major-General J B. HEARSEY C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel R J H. BIRCH C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department Fort William—dated Barrackpore, 21st February 1857

I deem it my duty to forward the accompanying letters to be laid before the Governor General of India in Council being very desirous that every matter connected with the ill feeling or discontent of the *sepoys* of the Barrackpore brigade should be laid before Government

It is evident to me that having failed in the first attempt a second is being or is about to be made on the men to induce them to misbehave

Who the authors are I can only suspect, but my suspicion leads to the followers of the King of Oudh.

From Major-General J B. HEARSEY C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major W A J MAXHEW Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army Calcutta—No 83 dated Barrackpore 1st March 1857

I have the honor to forward for submission to Government, the enclosed demi official letter from Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry dated the 27th ultimo reporting the mutinous conduct of that battalion on the night of the

26th idem, and the measures which he consequently adopted for the restoration of order and discipline.

2 I have directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell by this day's dāk to exert his utmost endeavours to discover the ringleaders of this disgraceful outbreak, and particularly whether the party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, alluded to were the originators of such.

3 I have despatched a copy of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's letter to Army Head-Quarters for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel W. ST. L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, to Major A. H. ROSS, Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore, 27th February 1857.

On the 25th a detachment of European invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Ferris, Her Majesty's 29th Regiment, arrived at this station, bringing with them a guard of one havildar, one naick, and twelve sepoy of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, which was relieved the same day by a guard of the same strength from my regiment. The havildar's party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are encamped on the left of our lines, about a hundred yards. Yesterday I ordered a parade for this morning for exercise, each man to be served with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition. It is the custom in this regiment to serve out the copper caps to the men in the afternoon and the blank cartridges in the morning, the men refused the caps, saying there was a doubt how the cartridges were prepared, this information was given to me by my adjutant between seven and eight o'clock. I went down with him to the lines, and called up all the native commissioned officers in front of the quarter-guard and explained to them that the cartridges about to be served out in the morning were cartridges made up by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, upwards of a year ago, and that they had better tell the men of their companies, that those who refused to obey the orders of their officers were liable to the severest punishment. The native officers said they would speak to the men of their companies, and they had no doubt everything would pass off quietly. I ordered a general parade in the morning of all the troops in the station. Between ten and eleven o'clock at night, as I was about to sleep, I heard the sound of drums and a shout from the direction of the lines. I dressed immediately, went over to my adjutant's quarters, and directed him to assemble all the officers at my quarters quietly. I then went to Captain Alexander and directed him to

bring his cavalry as soon as possible into cantonments, and to be ready at some distance on the right of our lines. I then went to the artillery lines and got the detachment of artillery guns and ammunition ready for immediate action. I must explain that by the time I got to the adjutant's quarters the drill havildar of the regiment was making his way to the adjutant's quarters. I asked what the disturbance was in the lines, he said the regiment had broken open the bells-of arms and had forcibly taken possession of their arms and ammunition and that they had loaded their muskets. As soon as I got the cavalry and artillery ready I marched down with the officers of the regiment to the lines. I found the men in undress formed in line and shouting. Some voices among them called out—"Do not come on, the men will fire."

I loaded the two guns with grape, dismounted some of the troopers and marched down on the men (leaving the guns within range behind). I called a bugler sounded the officers call on which the native officers and a number of men surrounded us and I asked them the meaning of all this disturbance. The native officers made all kinds of excuses begging that I would not be violent with the men. I then addressed the men and asked them what they had to complain of. I told them that I had explained to the native officers some days ago that if grease was required to be used for the new cartridges I would apply to the Major General Commanding the Division to allow the pay havildars of companies to make up what was required for their companies, the men said they were never told so by the native officers.

I told the officers they must immediately call upon their men to lay down their arms, the native officers told me the men would not do so in the presence of the guns and cavalry but if I would withdraw them they would go off quietly to their lines. This was about three o'clock in the morning. I ordered a parade at sunrise and retired sending the cavalry to their lines and the guns to the magazine. This morning at sunrise I went to parade, the regiment turned out as usual. I inspected the arms and examined the pouches, several of the men had not their ten rounds of ammunition in pouch, some had nine rounds and a bullet with the mark of the screw in it as if a charge had been drawn. The parade this morning was quiet and orderly, after inspection I had the Articles of War read to the men, saluted the colours, and dismissed the parade. I have ordered an European Court of Inquiry to assemble at the mess-house at eleven o'clock the proceedings of which I will forward without any delay to you. It is 9 A.M. I have just returned from parade. All is quiet. I must close as the dāl is going out.

P.S.—I will detain the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, until I hear from you. On second thoughts I countermanded the general parade, and had only the parade of my own regiment.

From Major-General J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, to Major W. A. J. MAYHEW, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Calcutta,—No. 86, dated Barrackpore, 2nd March 1857

In continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, No 85, I have the honor to forward another demi-official communication in original on the same subject, dated the 28th ultimo, from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at Behampore, which I request may be at once submitted for the information of Government through the Military Secretary.

2 A copy of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's letter will be transmitted to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief by this day's dak.

Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel W. ST. L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major A. H. ROSS, Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Behampore, 28th February 1857.

Yesterday, after my letter to your address was despatched, a Court of Inquiry was assembled at the mess-house at eleven o'clock, the proceedings of which will be continued to-day, and these proceedings will, in all probability, elucidate the whole matter.

Yesterday evening the adjutant reported to me that the men, instead of sleeping in their lines, had assembled for the purpose of sleeping by the bells-of-arms, they were however quite orderly, and made no noise, but appeared to dislike leaving their arms. I did not think it right to do anything further last night than order a parade this morning. I formed a hollow square, had out the four senior sepoy from each company, and asked them their objections to the cartridges, they said that they were doubtful about their being greased. I opened cartridges of all sorts, service and blank, left us by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and some ball practice lately received from Calcutta. I burnt them before the men, but as amongst the blank cartridges there were some made with a more highly glazed paper, they accepted the other paper as all right but mistrusted the glazed, they said they would be satisfied if both papers equally stood the test of water, of course the unglazed paper took up water readily, and they expressed their

opinion the other was greased. I enclose the two different sorts of paper, one of each kind has been wetted and one not. I told the men that I would not allow them to seize the kotes and that if they did it to night, I would put a section of each company on duty over the kotes with double sentries. I write to you in a demi-official form for the information of the Major General Commanding. When the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry are closed I will then send you a statement of the whole business. I have kept a copy of this letter. I don't enter it into the letter book as the contents would soon be spread over the lines. I had not time to take a copy of my letter to you yesterday but will thank you to send me a copy at your leisure.

Telegram from Captain S H BROKER, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army to Major W A J MATHEW Deputy Adjutant General of the Army—dated Roorkee 10th March 1857

Your letter No 140 with enclosure. Received also from Major-General J B. Hearsey copy of Colonel Mitchell's letter, dated 28th February, to Major A. H. Ross. The Commander in Chief thinks the Government may already have issued instructions about the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry so inform Government and state His Excellency recommends removal of this corps as soon as possible by land to Dinapore and the 8th Regiment Native Infantry to be sent to Barrackpore by water but not to start until 19th Regiment Native Infantry has quitted the station. In the possible event of 19th Regiment, Native Infantry refusing to march a European force must (the Commander in Chief observes) be sent from Dinapore and this station reinforced from the provinces. If Government approves this measure will of course be carried out direct from Calcutta. A reply by telegraph to Meerut requested.

From Major General J B HEARSEY C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH C.B. Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department Fort William—No. 94 dated Barrackpore 5th March 1857

I have the honor to forward herewith a letter in original dated the 2nd instant with two enclosures, from the Officer Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry at Berhampore, which I beg you will do me the favor to submit for the information of Government.

time the Madura Sultanate became every day more and more enfeebled. This period witnessed the separation of the southern provinces from the old kingdom of Madura. On the eastern coast particularly the extensive districts of Ramnad and Marava had given up all allegiance both to the Pandyas and to the Muhammadans.¹

When the Haysala Empire became extinct, as a result of this continuous fighting with the Muhammadans, five princes feudatory to that family retired northwards. They wished to oppose any Muslim invasion coming from the Deccan, in order to isolate the Muhammadans of Madura. Thus "through the influence of Vidyanatha, the Kingdom of Anaikondri (Vijayanagara) was established".² Prince Bukka, by the foundation of Vijayanagara, became "an elevator of the Haysala Empire".³ This glorious event may be placed about 1340. The Vijayanagara Empire had inherited from the Haysala Emperors the war traditions against the Madura Muhammadans, and faithfully carried them on.

One of the founders, Bukka, sent his son Kumara Kampana Odeyar towards the South in order to drive the Muhammadans from Madura.⁴ We know from lithic records that this prince⁵ conquered Tondai-mandalam⁶, took possession of

1 Wilson, *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandyas, The Madras Journal of Literature and Sciences*, VI, p. 199

2 Koyilungu, *Ep Ind*, VI, p. 323 Cf S Srikanthaya, *The Haysala Empire*, Q J M S, VIII, p. 74, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 181, the same author in his *Introduction to Satyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 1, Krishnamachari, *The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire*, Ind Ant, LI, p. 233, H Krishna Sastri, *The Haysalas in the Chola Country*, A S I, 1909-10, p. 159

3 M E R, 1918, sec 47

4 Sewell, p. 27, and, after him, Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 48, say that Bukka conquered all the kingdoms of the South but Nuzvid, whose authority Sewell refers to, only says that "he conquered many lands which, at the time of the destruction of that kingdom, remained rebellious". Sewell, p. 300. Were these lands the southern kingdoms? If so, perhaps these words of Nuzvid also refer to the conquest of Kampana.

5 Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Satyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p. 3, says that the local chronicles of Madura assign him the task of 'door-keeper of the last great Haysala King, Viraballala'.
6 *Ep Carn*, III, NJ, 117, IV, VI, 64, and Gu, 32. It seems that at Kancheivaram and Tiruvannamalai there are inscriptions confirming the same. Cf Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer*, p. 36.

the kingdom of Rajagambhira, (the Pandya kingdom) ¹ and captured a portion of the Ramnad zamindari. This is stated in two inscriptions of his in the old temple of Vishnu at Tirupullani? The *Kamparavacharitham* a historical poem written by Ganga Devi one of the wives of Prince Kamparana, informs us that while proceeding to the South, he reduced the city of Kanchiwararam, after defeating the forces of the Tamilian King Channarayana and killing him in a duel. The poem likewise states that in the battle with the Muhammadans previous to the capture of Madura the Sultan ruling in the place was also killed? The *Pandyan Chronicle* also gives a very interesting account of the conquest of Madura and of subsequent events. It says Kamparanadhuvar (Kamparana Odayar) a native of Karnataka, having conquered the Muhammadans, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples, which had been locked up. He opened the god's temple at Madura, and obtained a personal view of the god. Things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut the lamp that was lighted on that day the sandal wood powder the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days, were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them in the evening of such festival days? The general seeing this miracle was glad, struck his eyes, and with great piety made the customary offerings he gave many villages to the temple and many jewels, and established ordinances for the regular performance of worship. ² The *Supplementary MSS* inform us that he removed the covering of sandal paste from the images of the Siva and Vishnu temples. Since the time of the Muhammadan invasion the performance of *pujas* had been discontinued.

1. 18 of 1889 *Cl. Ep. Ind.*, VI p 334, and *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 289
2. Sewell, I, p. 301 and 302.
3. 8 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 23-4; *Kamabharatam*, Ibid., p. 32.
4. Evidently these facts are exaggerated by the chronicler
5. Taylor *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 35-7
6. Ibid. p. 305

The Hindu cult was likewise restored in Srirangam as a

result of Kampana's campaign. In the *Papanamirnam* it is

related that when Gopanarayana, Prince Kampana's minister¹

and Governor of Jinji, learnt of the progress of his master in

the Pandya country, he went to Tirupati, took with him the

idols of the god Ranganatha and of his two queens, which had

been sent there from Malabar and Mysore², and proceeded

to his own town of Jinji, where for a time he kept the idols in

a rock-cut temple at Singavaram. Staying at Jinji he obtained

information as to the strength of the Muhammadans, and at a

favourable moment set out for Srirangam with his army. The

Muslim forces were defeated by Gopana, who replaced the

three images in their shrine at Srirangam, after re-consec-

rating the god and his two consorts³. Saluva Mangu, one

of the ancestors of Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second

Dynasty, was also one of the generals who took part in this

expedition against the South. He was an intimate friend of

Prince Kampana⁴

As to the date of Kampana's expedition Dr S Krishna-

swami Aiyangar⁵ puts it prior to 1358. Certainly, if the

date of the inscription referred to by the learned Professor, and

those of the above mentioned inscriptions at Ramnad are

correct, we must perforce assign that early date to the

military exploits of the son of Bukka I. But since this is not

yet proved, we cannot explain how, if he and his successors

were Viceroys in Madura, the Muhammadan Sultans could

have struck money in the same capital. We have coins of the

last Sultan Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, dated A. H. 779, which

1 250 of 1901

2 An inscription on the Ranganatha temple at Tiruvasi states

that Gopanarayana himself recovered the images of Ranganatha and his

consorts from the Muhammadans 55 of 1892

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 35-6. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI

p. 322-3

4 *Jainam Bharam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 29,

Saluvabhayadaya, Ibid., p. 30 and p. 90, *Ramabhyudaya*, Ibid., p. 32

5 *South India*, p. 182

14

corresponds to A. D. 1377. And since we know that Kumara Kampana drove out of Madurai the followers of the prophet, we think it reasonable to assign this final date for the completion of his conquest in the South?

After his conquest Prince Kumara fixed his residence at Madurai. He ruled all over the South as a semi-independent Viceroy. We know from epigraphical records that "he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne". His prime minister Somappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Melipadi, and at Achcharapakkam. He was succeeded by his son Jammanna Odayar, called sometimes Embana Udaiyar, or Ommanna Udaiyar. It seems that his brother in law Portkasa or Prakkasa succeeded him and he ceased to reign in 1404. During this length of time the Emperors of Vijayanagara always remained the over lords as a Saravangam inscription of Hanbappa II, dated 1379 or 1399 evidently shows.¹⁰

4. One of the most transcendental acts of Kumara Kampana in the South was the restoration of the Pandya monarchs. He made inquiries concerning persons of their race and their respective rights. The result of these inquiries was the coronation of Soma Sekhara Pandya as the Pandya 1. Brown *The Colas of India*, p. 82.
2. Mr. Rangaswami, *The Life and Times of Sri Velamala Dattika* J B R A. S., XXIV p. 308 states that the whole conquest of the South was over in 1355. The fact that the date assigned for the restoration of the Pandya Saravangam was 1371-2, according to a local inscription does not prove that the conquest was finished at that time, since such a restoration could take place before the final conquest of the whole country.

3. 18 of 1899
4. Ibid.
5. 250 of 1901.
6. Hultsch *South Indian Inscriptions* I 72.
7. Nelson, *Madurai Country* III p. 83
8. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 335 of *Pandya Chronicle* Taylor O. H. MSS. I p. 357
9. Nelson I, a, Sewell, II, p. 233
10. 29 of 1890

1. Nelson
2. O. H.
3. Taylor
4. Ibid.
5. 250 of 1901
6. Hultsch
7. Nelson
8. Ep. Ind.
9. MSS.
10. 29 of 1890

sovereign. The *Supplementary MSS* mention fourteen of his successors until the conquest of Visvanatha Nayaka.

These Pandya chiefs were probably content to be dependent on Vijayanagara. They maintained a modified subordinate authority in at least a part of their dominions. But when the dynasty founded by Kampana was tottering, they began to think of independence, and actually, more than once, tried to expel from their country the officials of the Emperors of Vijayanagara. There is good evidence of a successful Pandya incursion as far as Kanchivaram in 1469. This explains the subsequent military expeditions sent by the sovereigns of Vijayanagara from time to time.

The Alampundi Plate of Virupaksha informs us that this Prince, son of Harihara II, conquered the kingdoms of Tundira, Chola and Pandya in the beginning of his father's reign and brought the booty to him. And this same Prince in his poem *Narayana Vilasam* calls himself the governor of the Karnata, Tundira, Chola and Pandya Mandalas, and even claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon.

Two officers of the Empire were again governing in Madura during the reign of Devaraya II. Their names were Lakana and Madana. The *Pandyan Chronicle* gives forty-seven years as the period of their governorship. In this case, the time of their rule lasted more than the reign of the aforesaid Emperor. We may take it, however, to be a mistake on the part of the *Chronicle*, since it is quite evident that the dates and especially the figures given are inaccurate. Probably Madana died before Lakana or was deprived of his post earlier, because the *Chronicle* says that Lakana, "having brought the children of a Pandya King by his (the King's) concubine, one Abirami, a dancing girl of the Kali temple, he crowned them, paid them homage, and delivered over the

- 1 Taylor, *O H MSS*, I, p 205
- 2 Cf Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p 49
- 3 *Ep Ind*, p 53, v 6
- 4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 53

kingdom to them they being children of the Pandya and they reigned Madana is not mentioned at all on the occasion of this ceremony *viz.* the installation of the Pandya heirs on the ancestral throne by a representative of Vijayanagara. This perhaps means that their task in the South was either to subdue the country which had rebelled against the Pandyas, or to put an end to a family fight springing from a lack of legitimate offspring for the Pandyas finally enthroned by Lakkana were the sons of a concubine. This fact would perhaps indicate that from this time, the legitimate descent of the Pandya family was at an end. Some years later Achyuta Raya learnt from Nagama Nayaka that Chandra Sekhara Pandya, the King of Madura, who had been deposed by the Chola King, and whom he had to re-install, also was an illegitimate heir of the Pandya kingdom. The Pandyas raised by Lakkana to the throne were, according to the *Chronicle* Sunkara tora-mavili vanathi rayer Kaliyar-somaner Anjatha perumal and Mutlara-saturu mall-mavili-vanathi-rayer?

6. The expedition led about a century later by Narasa Nayaka, the founder of the third dynasty was supposed to be against a Pandya sovereign named Manabusha. This is based on the Krishnapuram plates of Sadashiva. Manabusha was probably allied with a chief of Nadu nadu Sundaratidevodayan Mavalavanadargayan, who was in possession of the city of Madura? Narasa Nayaka was then a great general of the army of Vijayanagara. The *Virahapadam* extols him as the generalissimo of all the forces of the Empire, and in great favour with king Saluva Narasimha. But his expedition to the South was somewhat earlier because the Pandya King Manabusha who must be identified with Anikesari Parakrama

1. *Tanjavur Amkura Rajula Chertuvu*, B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Sources, p. 350
2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, I, p. 37
3. Gopinatha Rao *Inscriptions of Later Pandyas I A S.*, I, p. 63
4. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *op. cit.*, p. 87-8.

1. Of course
Dr. B. Krishnaswami
Aiyangar has pointed out
in his periodical
2. By Ind. I
1. B. Krishnaswami
Pandya King
Kannaswami
mentioned by his
Vijayanagara
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Pandya bearing the surname of Manakavachar, ruled till about 1466. This date brings us up to the reign of either Mallikarjuna or Virupaksha, during which this general's glorious achievements in the South must be placed.

In the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiya, it is stated that the Pandya king and his confederates of the South were forced "to bear his commands (*vis* Narasa Nayaka's) on their heads as flowers on their crowns".² This clearly indicates a victory on the part of the Vijayanagara general. But the

Achyutarayabhyudayan gives a full account of the campaign according to it, Narasa Nayaka captured the fort of Manava (Manuva?) Durga from its Muhammadan ruler and gave it back to him. Laying a bridge across the Kaveri, he captured Srirangam and after defeating and killing the

Marava ruler, finally seized the city of Madura. Then in another battle he defeated a chief called Koneitiraja, who opposed him with his elephant forces.³

It seems certain that there were many rebellious princes in the South at or about this time. The *Varadamibika-Purnayam*

gives a more minute account of the campaigns of Narasa, and more than once mentions kings defeated by him. Marching across the Tondai-mandalam Narasa approached the Chola kingdom whose king had been opposing his troops and harassing

the country, then crossed to the South of the Kaveri and awaited the arrival of the enemy who prepared to fight. But in the

herce battle that ensued Narasa imprisoned the Chola chief and took possession of his capital, probably Tanjore. Then the Vijayanagara general entered the town of Madura and was pre-

sented by its sovereign with valuable articles. He proceeded to Rameswaram across the sea. This means probably that the Pandya King declared himself tributary to Vijayanagara, with-

1 Cf Gopinatha Rao, *o c*, p 52, and *Ind Ant*, IX, p 330
Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Sathyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p 7, says that the expedition took place in the period of the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha

2 *Ep Ind*, IX, p 340, vv 9-11

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 108

out opposing the army of Narasā. But before reaching Rameswaram he had to defeat and kill the Marava ruler according to the other poem referred to above. Thence he proceeded against Sernagapatam. It was easily reduced, after constructing a bridge across the Kaveri which was then in flood. The Sernagapatam ruler surrendered with all his relatives. Narasā forgave him and restored his kingdom to him.

These vicissitudes of the VĠĀyanagara power and the power of the Pandyas over the kingdom of Madura are also mentioned in the *Pandya Chronicle* which states that before Krishna Deva Raya the kings who ruled over the Mathurai mandalam were for a part of this period of the Pandya race. In some portion of it some of the afore mentioned kings (of VĠĀyanagara) expelled the Pandyas and ruled themselves. During all this "adds the same chronicler, twice they (the Pandyas) took refuge in other villages."

7 During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya we find a great expedition of this King probably into the Tamil country. We say probably because the town mentioned by Nuniz while narrating this campaign has not been hitherto identified. He narrates that after having finished the war with the king of Orissa, Krishna Raya "made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catur which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years this land is on the Charamandel (Coromandel) side. And he marched against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was and it is called (Unfortunately there is here a blank in the original) and is surrounded with water." Now at the time when Crisnarao attacked this city "con-tinues Nuniz, "it was winter for which caused the river that surrounded it was so swollen and carried down so much water that the king could do no harm to the place. And King Crisnarao, seeing this and seeing that time was passing away without his attaining his desire, commanded his men to cut many new channels in order to be able to attack that principal

1. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 170 L. *Pandya Chronicle* Taylor O H MSS. I. p. 87
2. *Pandya Chronicle* Taylor O H MSS. I p. 32.

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L. Nayak, p. 1.

believed me. About a quarter to eleven o'clock, I heard a great noise in the lines. The orderly havildar reported to me that the men of my company and of all the rest had taken their arms and accoutrements from the kotes. I went to the men, whom I found with their arms and belts on. I asked them what was the meaning of it. Some said that Europeans were coming to kill them others said the artillery was coming and others the cavalry. I found I could do nothing with them so I returned to my house and told the orderly havildar to go and report it to the officer commanding the company. The orderly havildar said—'The officer will be asleep.' I said—"That does not signify, you must wake him up and report it." He went and did so. I remained in my house. After twelve o'clock I heard the colonel was on parade through the orderly havildar—who said—"Be quick, the colonel has called for all the native officers." I went to him and found the artillery and cavalry were on the parade. The colonel ordered us to separate our companies from the others and call the roll. The European officers were also present, and each tried to assemble his company. Lieutenant Macdonald, in charge of my company tried also but without effect. All the native officers then went to the colonel. He was very angry. I said to him—"Don't be angry now as it is of no use. Excuse the men now as they are ignorant men. Kindly send the cavalry and artillery away and everything will be settled in the morning." The colonel consented but said he will have a parade of all the troops. I again begged of him to refrain from having the cavalry and artillery there, he at first refused saying—"I command all the troops, and can assemble them when I choose." I did not think it proper to further urge him, so said nothing more. The colonel then went away. I was, however afraid of the consequences, as so short a time would intervene should this order be carried into effect, so spoke to the adjutant and quartermaster and begged of them to ask the colonel not to have the artillery and cavalry on parade as the men would be still suspicious of being forced. The adjutant then rode after the colonel and returning shortly said the colonel has consented to have the regiment parade alone. We then all went to the lines. In the morning the regiment was assembled on the parade at the appointed hour, the muskets and pouches were examined and the names of those written down who had not the proper number of cartridges or whose cartridges were broken. After this the parade was dismissed. At sunset roll-call I warned the men to be careful for the future about what they did or else it would be the worse for them. They replied

that they were in fear of their lives, and wished to keep their muskets by them or sleep by the kotes. I said—"You can do as you please, but I must report it." At eight o'clock roll-call I went to the kotes, and found some men there sitting or lying down. I cannot say whether they had their arms or not. I told the orderly-havildar to go and report it to the officer commanding the company. I then returned to my house and slept. I was awake by the orderly-havildar, who said—"It is the officer's orders that you go and sleep by the kote also." I told my servant to take my bed there, and went myself. A private inspection of companies had been ordered for the morning, but I was then told that there was to be a parade under the colonel, when he would arrange the cartridge business. In the morning, at parade, the colonel sent to the magazine for some of all the different kinds of cartridges, and called forward four men from each company, before whom he explained where the different kinds had come from, and burnt some of the paper in which the cartridges were, to let them see if there was any smell. Some of the men said, of the cartridges served out the paper was of two kinds, whence our suspicions. The colonel sent for these cartridges from the kotes, and said there is no difference in them. Some of the men said one paper is thicker than the other, if you will put them in water, one will soak up water more rapidly than the other. The colonel then sent for some water and immersed the paper in it, when the thinner paper soaked immediately, the thicker, on which there is "size," did not soak up the water so readily. The colonel then said to the subadar-major—"Keep this by you, and at half-past eight o'clock bring it to me. I will pack it up and send it to the General for his inspection through the post office."

Question—When the men, on the night of the 26th, seized their muskets, did they assign any reason for so doing?

Answer—Yes, they said it was rumoured amongst them that Europeans were coming, and others, and that they were prepared to die rather than lose caste, and they did it to defend themselves.

Question—Have you any idea what caused the sepoys to think that the cartridges contained anything that might affect their caste?

Answer—It was first talked about after the arrival of a guard of sepoys from Calcutta escorting Government stallions, and afterwards another party of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, who came with European invalids,

Answer—(concl'd.)

confirmed the doubts in the minds of the men, and then, the last cartridges that were about to be issued having in each bundle one or two cartridges made with paper of a different kind, led the men to suppose that there was some foundation for the report. The men had also made up their blank ammunition in every other instance themselves and they knew that a short time before ammunition for the regiment had arrived from Calcutta.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

Monday 2nd March 1857

The Court re-assembled this day at eleven o'clock

5th Witness

Doolum Sing naich pay havildar Light Company 19th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court and states—

After sunset roll call when the men were about to be dismissed they asked me to petition the subadar major that they might not have the cartridges served out to them, as they had doubts about them. He spoke to them about it and told the orderly havildar to report it to the sergeant-major. Later in the evening I heard that the colonel and the adjutant had come down to the lines and summoned the native officers, when he told them that at the parade for the morning he would have the cartridges distributed by the officers of companies, and the men should be made to bite them. At a quarter to eleven o'clock, the locks of the bells-of arms were broken and the arms taken out by the sepoy. About twelve o'clock I was in my hut, when I heard Brevet-Captain Newhouse commanding my company had called for me. I went to him at the bells of arms, he asked me where the subadar was. I said he is probably in his hut. Then Gobind Tewary, sepoy and others said he is taking away his family and property to the village behind the lines. When Brevet-Captain Newhouse ordered them to lodge their arms in the kote they did so.

*Question—*What do you suppose was the object of the men in breaking open the kotes and seizing their arms?

*Answer—*Because they were apprehensive of danger and were afraid of losing their caste by being made to take the cartridges.

Question—Have you any idea what caused the sepoys to think that the cartridges contained anything that might affect their caste?

Answer—There have been reports flying about for the last two months, probably brought from Calcutta by travellers and command parties from Barrackpore.

6th Witness

Byoo Sing, havildar-major, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court, and states—

About 11 A.M., of the 26th, at orderly hours, I received orders from the adjutant that there would be a parade on the morrow with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition. I asked whether all the companies were to have alike. He said "Yes." I then went to the lines, and at the sergeant-major's bungalow the orderly-havildars were informed of the order, which they promulgated in their respective companies. At sunset, the orderly-havildar of No. 5 Company reported to me that the sepoys would not take the percussion caps; after him the orderly-havildar of No. 7 Company reported the same, as also of the light company. The sergeant-major then summoned all the orderly-havildars, and inquired of them what the matter was. They said, the sepoys say,—“Why should we take the caps, as we won't take the cartridges until the doubt about them is cleared up.” I then went with the sergeant-major to the adjutant's quarters and reported it. He then went to the colonel's and ordered us to the lines. I heard, about half-past seven, when in the lines, that the colonel and adjutant were in the quarter-guard, and had summoned the native officers and havildars. I went there too. The colonel enquired why they would not obey orders and take the cartridges. The subadar-major said they suspect that the paper of the cartridges is greased with pigs' and bullocks' fat. The colonel said—“There is no cause for suspicion, these cartridges were left here by the regiment we relieved.” The subadar-major said—“The sepoys are suspicious, and will not believe what we say.” The colonel said—“Leave them alone now, and in the morning I will have them distributed by the officers of companies,” upon which he went away and we returned to the lines. After eight o'clock roll-call the men went away to their huts. About half-past ten a sepoy awoke me. By this time the kotes had been broken open. I went to the adjutant and reported it.

Question—What was the cause of the sepoys breaking open the kotes and arming themselves on the night of the 26th?

Answer—There was a rumour that the cavalry were about to seize the kotes.

Question—What reason had the sepoye to suppose that there was anything objectionable in the cartridges ?

Answer—I do not know

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

Tuesday, 3rd March 1857

The Court re assembled this day at 11 A.M.

7th Witness

Beharee Sing jemadar, 6th Company, 19th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court and states—

I was on duty at the quarter guard on the night of the 26th, about 10-45 P.M. I was asleep and awakened by a cry of "fire" on which I ordered the alarm to be sounded. I looked about but could see no signs of fire. The noise increased and I heard that the kotes were being broken open. I ordered the guard to look after the treasure and colors. The men after seizing their muskets went to their huts. The men of my guard all remained steady. The subadar major Subadar Kureem Bux Subadar Mahomed Ali, and Jemadar Davee Sing came and asked me why I had sounded the drum. I replied—"Because I heard shouts of fire."

Question—What was the cause of the men breaking open the kotes ?

Answer—I do not know

8th Witness

Drum Major James Renny is called into Court and states—

After tattoo roll-call on the night of the 26th I went with all the orderly havildars to make the usual report to the sergeant major. On returning to the band lines Heeraloll and Peter Christian and several other band boys asked me if I had seen anything. I said—"What ?" They replied—"The whole of the light company and part of No 8 Company went into the tank, and took oath about something or other." I went and reported this directly to the sergeant-major. As he had no one else to send I volunteered to go and report to the adjutant which I did and then returned to the lines. About eleven o'clock the men with a shout that Europeans were coming rushed on the kotes broke them open and seized their arms. I assembled the band boys and drummers and called the roll. They were all present. I sent them to the lines telling them not to move out of them. I then went to the sergeant-major and remained with him until the cavalry arrived upon which he joined them, and I took away his family and put them under the

protection of the Nizamut guard. I then returned to the sergeant-major's bungalow. The sentry who was on duty there, whom I believe to be a nephew of the drill-naick, Dulput Sing, then said to me—"It was well that you all got away in time, as a great mob came here and searched for the sergeant-major and his family, and not finding them they broke open the pound of which he was in charge, and let all the cattle go. They even searched the pound for him." I then went by the rear of the lines to my own house to put on my uniform. A few minutes afterwards I was called to the front, with the buglers, where the colonel was. The reason the men gave for objecting to the cartridges was that they had heard that there was bullocks' fat mixed with them.

9th Witness

Subsook Sing, jemadar, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court, and states—

I was the native officer of the day on the 26th, and about 6-30 P.M. it was reported to me by the orderly-havildars of each company that the sepoy's had refused to receive their percussion caps. By order of the sergeant-major I went to report this to the adjutant, but not finding him, I went to the colonel's, who also was out. I then reported it to the officer of the day, Brevet-Captain Newhouse. We proceeded to the colonel's, but heard that he had gone to the lines. I then went to the lines, and hearing they had returned, proceeded again to the adjutant's house. His servants told me he was at mess. I there found him, and made the report. At ten o'clock I went the rounds according to orders, the men at that time were all quiet. I returned to my house; about a quarter to eleven o'clock an alarm of fire was made. A sentry came and told me that the men had rushed towards the kotes. I hastily put on my uniform, and going towards the kotes, found the men had broken the locks and armed themselves. I went immediately and reported this to the colonel and the adjutant.

Question—What was the cause of the men breaking open the bells-of-arms?

Answer—I do not know.

Question—What was the reason of their refusing to take the caps?

Answer—I went up with the other native officers to the mess, where I heard the subadar-major say that there was a rumour of bullocks' and pigs' fat being mixed with the cartridges.

10th Witness

Heeraloll, sepoy-musician, Grenadier Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court, and states—

After attending evening roll-call on the 26th, I went to my hut, and was there copying music. I heard a great noise at the tank. The drum major came to me and said—"There are a number of men in the tank, are they taking any oath?" I replied—"They may be. I know nothing more about it."

11th Witness

Peter Christian, drummer, No 2 Company 19th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court, and states—

After eight o'clock roll call I heard a great noise and on asking the other bandsmen what it was they said that the sepoys had gone into the tank and had taken an oath, the nature of which I know not.

12th Witness

Shah Muden Bux tindal, 19th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court and states—

At 3 P.M. on the 26th February I received an order to serve out fifteen rounds of blank ammunition per man to the regiment. I distributed them to the lance naicks about half past four and then went to my house. About half past ten o'clock when asleep I was awakened by a loud noise and heard people shouting—"Where is the tindal, bring him here, he has got the keys of the magazine." Upon this I fled out of the lines taking the keys with me. At daybreak I returned.

Question—Previous to the outbreak, did you know anything about it, or had you ever been interrogated about the cart-ridges by the men?

Answer—No nor was I ever questioned on the matter.

The Court adjourned at 4 P.M.

From Lieutenant-Colonel W ST L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry to Major-General J B HEARSEY C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division,—dated Berhampore 8th March 1857

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st March 1857 this afternoon

I will detain the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, until further orders, and I will have them examined by the Court of Inquiry.

I have just read the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry up to this date, and one of the witnesses, a subadar of my regiment, said that this uneasy feeling in the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, originated in the information received from the guard who arrived here a short time ago, escorting Government stallions towards Buxar. This feeling was confirmed on the arrival of the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, with the European convalescents.

I heard that on Thursday, the 26th February, Friday, and Saturday, the men of the regiment fasted, taking only *bhang* and other exciting drugs. On Sunday I had a private interview at my quarters with a Brahmin havildar of the regiment, who asked me if I would forward a petition from the regiment to you. I replied, certainly, if there were no disrespectful terms used, and it contained a fair statement of what had occurred in the regiment and what their wishes were. I trust you have received this petition, all they ask is to be allowed to make their own cartridges and prepare the grease for them. The men are behaving very well since they take their usual meals and perform their duties cheerfully. As far as any man can judge, the men seem in a state of alarm at what the consequences of their acts may be, but I think nothing will make them alter their opinions about the cartridges and grease. The mischievous reports spread abroad affect Hindus, Mahomedans, and Sikhs equally.

I have parades every morning, and the men are as steady and orderly as any men can be. I will continue this daily, as it brings the officers and men together, and I think will establish confidence. I have given Sergeant-Major Flawley thirty days' leave of absence, so as to keep him out of the way, as there was evidently a bad feeling towards him on the part of the men, and I think it would be as well if he was to be removed to another regiment as sergeant-major. This appearing in G O's without any application for an exchange on the part of the sergeant-major, would prevent any feeling of victory on the part of the men. When the Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry reach you, you will see the necessity for the removal of the sergeant-major, there is nothing against him, he is a good drill, and a man of most exemplary character, perfectly steady and trustworthy, but he seems to be just now so unpopular with the men, that I thought it best that he should go away for a time.

From Lieutenant-Colonel W St L MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry to Major A. H. Ross Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore 8th March 1857

All is quiet here, and the duties carried on cheerfully

To morrow the Court of Inquiry will re assemble at eleven o'clock, and I hope further evidence may be obtained

There are several inaccuracies in the evidence before the Court of Inquiry which can be explained, but there is a statement in the evidence of the fifth witness, Doolum Sing, naick pay havildar Light Company, which I must contradict at once, as I never said anything of the kind. He says—

' He (meaning me) would have the cartridges distributed by the officers of companies and the men should be *made to bite them*. It is quite contrary to my principle to hurt the religious feelings of any man. I never made use of such a speech.

P S—Has the petition from the men of the regiment been received? Oblige me with an answer to this question.

From Lieutenant Colonel W St L MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry to Major A. H. Ross Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore—No 60 dated Berhampore 11th March 1857

I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Major General Commanding the Division the first and second days Proceedings of the re-assembled Court of Inquiry A duplicate copy will be sent by to-morrow's post.

PROCEEDINGS in continuation of an European Court of Inquiry re-assembled by order of Lieutenant-Colonel W St L MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment Native Infantry to investigate such matter as may be laid before it by the Station Staff Officer—dated Berhampore, 9th March 1857

President Members, and Interpreter all present.

Letter No 58 from the Station Staff Officer is read and attached to the Proceedings

19th Witness

Subadar Major Shaukh Murad Bux, Light Company, 19th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court, and states—

On the 20th at twelve o'clock or thereabouts I heard from the orderly havildar of the company that at the morning's parade fifteen rounds of blank cartridge were to be fired per man. About four o'clock the lance naicks brought the cartridges from the magazine to the hots.

After sunset roll-call I went towards my house, when the orderly-havildar came up and said to me the men want to make a petition. On enquiring of them, they said—"We are doubtful about these cartridges, and will not take them or fire them." I argued with the men, trying to explain away their doubts, saying "The rumours about the cartridges are merely about those for the new guns, these are old ones." They answered "These are of two kinds, and that one lately came from Calcutta is most likely, as stores have come. Besides, we have always been in the habit of making up our own blank cartridges, and we have made none up here." On this I ordered some cartridges out of the kotes, and taking up a bundle I opened it and said to them there is no cause for doubt here. On this, I ordered the cartridges to be replaced in the kotes, and went and reported this to the sergeant-major. The orderly-havildars of each company were there, and had made the same report respecting each company. The sergeant-major then said these cartridges are what we received from the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, on our arrival here, only powder in barrels arrived from Calcutta. I asked the sergeant-major who should report this to the adjutant, and he said that "The havildar-major and I will go and report it, you had better go and try and explain it to the sepoys of your companies." I then assembled all the native officers at my quarters, and said to them at eight o'clock roll-call you must explain to your several companies that these cartridges were left behind by the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and that there can be no doubt about them, and that it behoves them to fire them. At half-past seven, the colonel and adjutant came to the quarter-guard and summoned the native officers there. The colonel asked us what were the doubts about the cartridges. I replied that the sepoys said "There are two kinds of cartridges, and we have hitherto always made up our own, besides, only a few days ago some stores arrived from Calcutta, and on account of reports going about we have doubts on the subject." Upon this the colonel got very angry, and said "If the sepoys will not take their cartridges, I will take them to Rangoon or China, where they will suffer many privations and all die." He also said at parade in the morning—"I will have the cartridges distributed by the officers commanding each company, and those who refuse to take their cartridges I will severely punish them. These are old cartridges received from the 7th Regiment, Native Infantry, and you must all explain this to the men." The colonel then went away, and I told the other native officers—"You have heard the colonel's orders, and

must explain them to the men at eight o'clock. I explained it at eight o'clock roll-call to the men of my company who heard it in silence and went away. At a quarter to eleven o'clock the orderly havildar of my company, Alluf Khan, awoke me and said there is a great noise. I asked him— "What noise?" He said "the men are all running towards the kotes." I then heard the drum sound. I went out towards the kotes and on arriving there saw some of the men armed others arming. I asked them what they were doing but no one gave me a reply. I then went towards the quarter guard and saw that the other companies had done the same. I met some other native officers at the kotes, viz Subadar Shaik Kurreem Buksh Jemadar Shaik Mohamed Ali and Jemadar Dabee Sing and these went with me to the quarter guard. Kurreem Buksh asked Jemadar Behari Sing the native officer on duty at the quarter-guard why the drum was sounded. He said—"I heard a great uproar some saying there was a fire some that there were Europeans coming some that the artillery was coming and others that the cavalry were. I then sounded the drum." I told the Jemadar Behari Sing— "I am now going to report this. Should the colonel or adjutant come and ask for me you will tell them where I have gone to." I then went to make the report along with the havildar, Shaik Bheekah, No. 4 Company, whom I picked up by the way. I could not find the adjutant who had left his house so I went to the colonel's. He also was out, so I returned to the lines in company with Alluf Khan havildar and Hoolass Misser havildar, whom I met at Brevet-Captain Newhouse's bungalow. Between twelve and one o'clock I was standing at the end of the lines of No. 8 Company, when I saw lights approaching on the parade. It was very dark at this time. Shortly after this the drum sounded the native officers call. I went to the front with the others and met the colonel on the road leading to the parade. The colonel said "What is this business" and kept advancing. We prayed him not to do so but rather to retire a little, that the men were ignorant and stupid. He was excessively angry and said "I will blow them away though I die myself." We prayed him to show clemency and send away the guns and cavalry. On this the colonel went and spoke to the European officers, and sent them away shortly afterwards. The officers then went up to the men and began to speak to them. Shortly afterwards the colonel said to us—"I send away the cavalry and guns now but to-morrow morning at sunrise I will have a general parade." We petitioned him not to do so as the men would imagine that the guns and cavalry would be used against them.

and they might not be obedient. The colonel at first did not consent; but afterwards, when spoken to by the adjutant, he agreed to have the regiment paraded alone, and the orders were so issued. In the morning there was a parade, when the arms were examined as well as the pouches. Some men had not all their cartridges, and others had them broken. I wish to state that I had forgotten to say before that when the colonel declared he would have a general parade in the morning, he at the same time said that the Governor-General's orders should be read out. The parade was quietly dismissed. That same evening, after tattoo roll-call, the men went at first to their lines, but afterwards they brought out their bedding and slept at the kotes. I asked them the reason of their sleeping there, and they said—"We are afraid that the artillery and cavalry may come down on us again." This was immediately reported. Orders came to the lines for a parade in the morning. At this parade the cartridges were brought out, and four old sepoy taken out of each company and called to the front. When the cartridges were brought out from the kotes they were shown to these sepoys, who were asked what their objections were. They said that in each bundle there were two descriptions of cartridge, to one of which they objected, as it was made of darker paper. Both sorts were tried both by fire and water, but a difference was manifest in both tests. The colonel then took specimens of both kinds, and having sealed them up before me sent them off to the General. After this there was an order received for the men to send in a petition to the General. This was drawn up by delegates from the companies, and brought up to the adjutant. On the night of the 1st March some four or five sepoys in each company rushed up to the kotes, and again took out their arms, but replaced them on being ordered by the native officers. Since then all has been quiet.

BY THE COURT

Question—What are the rumours alluded to in your evidence concerning the cartridges for the new muskets?

Answer—That they were made with the fat of pigs and bullocks.

Question—When did you first hear these rumours?

Answer—About two months ago.

Question—From whom did these rumours come?

Answer—I don't know.

Question—Since these rumours were first afloat, have you heard of anything having been received in the lines leading to confirm the rumours in the minds of the men?

Answer—No, I am not aware of any such thing.

Question—Do you think that the sepoys could hold a punchayet in the lines without the knowledge of the native officers?

Answer—No, I do not.

Question—Have there been any such meetings in the lines?

Answer—No, not that I am aware of.

Question—Do you know whether the men of your company took any oath on the night of the 26th?

Answer—No, I can swear I know nothing of it.

Question—Is not the standing in water up to the middle when taking an oath a means of making it more solemn and binding among Hindus?

Answer—Yes, especially if the water is that of the Ganges.

Question—Do not the men count the tanks in front of the lines as Ganges water in consequence of the river water passing through them in the rains?

Answer—I do not know exactly, but some men of my company who had money transactions with a certain bunniah took their oaths to him in the river.

The Court here remarks that the river is a mile from the lines, and the tanks close to.

Question—Are you aware whether the guard of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry who have been lately here have been saying anything about these rumours you speak of in the lines?

Answer—I do not know of any. On one occasion I asked the havildar of the guard now here if he had ever said anything or knew anything about it. He took his oath that he knew nothing at all about it.

Question—Are you aware that immediately previous to this outbreak on the 26th the recruits had been in the habit of firing these blank cartridges?

Answer—Yes, the fact is that the rumours and the simultaneous arrival of stores from Calcutta filled the men's heads with these ideas. Had no stores arrived from Calcutta, they would have fired them at once.

Question—What in your opinion do the men wish with regard to the cartridges, both now and for ever and both for ball and blank so that their caste shall be in no danger?

Answer—I think the men will be perfectly satisfied if the cartridges are made up in the regiment, both ball and

Answer—(concl'd.)

blank, and the grease required by the companies for the new rifles be supplied by the kote havildars I do not think that the men would be satisfied now with any balled cartridge for the new rifle that came from the arsenal or a magazine.

The witness withdraws.

8th Witness recalled

Drum-Major James Renny, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is recalled into Court, and examined as follows —

BY THE COURT

*Question—*Did you see the men with your own eyes go into the tank to take an oath ?

*Answer—*No, I did not.

*Question—*State exactly what you heard about it.

*Answer—*I was told first by Heeraloll and afterwards by Peter Christian that the light company and part of No. 8 Company had gone into the tank and taken an oath. I asked—
“What about?” They told me that they did not know.

*Question—*Did they say that they saw the men go into the tank ?

*Answer—*Yes.

*Question—*Have you observed the men previously to the 26th February congregating or discussing among themselves so as to attract your notice ?

*Answer—*No.

*Question—*Have you heard anything since the 26th with reference to the cartridge question ?

*Answer—*I have heard the men constantly saying that they do not want to lose their caste Nothing else.

*Question—*Do you think that the men at this time have the same opinions about the cartridge that they had at first ?

*Answer—*No, I do not think that they have They seem to me to be conscious of having done wrong, and I think that they do not doubt so much as formerly

The witness withdraws.

The Court adjourns at 4 P M.

5th Witness recalled

Doolum Sing, naick pay-havildar, Light Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court, and examined as follows—

BY THE COURT

*Question—*Since when have you heard any rumours about the cartridges?

*Answer—*About two months or two-months-and a half.

*Question—*What was the nature of the rumours?

*Answer—*That the cartridges were composed of the fat of bullocks, pigs, and jackasses.

*Question—*From what time did a suspicion of this become fixed in the minds of the sepoys?

*Answer—*From the date of the arrival of the stores from Calcutta.

*Question—*Why did you not report this to the captain of your company?

*Answer—*I was not aware till the outbreak that the doubt was so fixed in the men's minds, though I have since found out that it was an established fact from the time of the arrival of the stores.

*Question—*Are you aware that the recruits fired the cartridges just before the outbreak?

*Answer—*Yes.

*Question—*Have you heard the sepoys saying anything about that?

*Answer—*No I have not.

*Question—*Have you ever heard anything from any of the command parties concerning these reasons, or have you heard that anything has been heard in the lines emanating from them?

*Answer—*No I have not.

*Question—*Could the sepoys hold a regimental punchayet without the knowledge of the native officers and non-commissioned officers?

*Answer—*A few men could do so, but the regiment could not.

*Question—*Do you know of any such punchayet having been held?

*Answer—*No I do not.

*Question—*Are you aware whether your company took any oath in the tank on the night of the 26th?

*Answer—*No.

Question—Have you heard anything about this since ?

Answer—About eleven o'clock, on the 27th, some men who had been up to the captain's quarters, on their return, told me that Brevet-Captain Newhouse had asked them about it, as it had been reported by a drummer that they had done so. They denied it altogether.

Question—Were you in your house from the time the colonel came on parade in the evening until the outbreak ?

Answer—I was there or thereabouts.

Question—How far is your hut from the tank on the left ?

Answer—Some forty or fifty paces.

Question—Could the company have gone into the tank and taken an oath at the time alleged without your knowledge ?

Answer—No.

Question—Do you think, if the sepoy had not known of the arrival of these stores from Calcutta, they would have fired the cartridges ?

Answer—I cannot say.

Question—What, in your opinion, do the sepoy wish, so that they may dismiss all fears on the score of their caste from their minds, and yet use their ammunition ?

Answer—I have no doubts myself, and am ready to do as ordered, but I cannot answer for others.

The witness withdraws.

11th Witness recalled

Peter Christian, drummer, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is recalled into Court and examined as follows:—

BY THE COURT

Question—Did you see the men of the light company go into the tank and take an oath on the night of the 26th ?

Answer—No ; I did not see them.

Question—Who told you, then ?

Answer—I cannot say. I heard some of the band boys saying so, but I do not know who. I heard a noise from the water myself, and asked what it was, and was answered that it was the light company taking an oath. I don't know who told me that.

Question—Where were you when these men told you this ?

Answer—At Munnyram's door.

Question—Does any one live with Munnyram ?

Answer—Yes his two sons,—Chooneelall and Kulhan—both band boys.

Question—Must a person standing at Munnyram's door have seen the men go into the tank ?

Answer—Yes.

Question—Did you see them from there ?

Answer—No, they had gone out of the tank before I got there.

Question—Did you see them at all ?

Answer—Yes I saw them immediately afterwards at roll call.

Question—Had any of the men wet clothes on them ?

Answer—I did not see.

The witness withdraws.

The Court cross examined this witness in every way it could think of but found it impossible to elicit an answer

14th Witness

Lieutenant James Vallings Interpreter and Quartermaster 19th Regiment Native Infantry, being in Court, is asked—

BY THE COURT

Question—When did the last stores arrive from Calcutta ?

Answer—On the 11th February at four in the afternoon I went down to the magazine and had the things all opened before me. The sergeant-major was there as there was a good deal to do in removing the stores from the carts and counting them. I asked several sepoy who were collected about looking on to come and help. They did not do so, but all left immediately. One man only assisted.

Question—Did you enquire anything about the reason of their going ?

Answer—No, at the time it did not strike me as being a matter of any consequence. The sergeant-major said if you had wanted these men you should have obtained a fatigue party

The witness resumes his seat in Court.

15th Witness

Munnygram, drummer, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court, and examined as follows.—

BY THE COURT

Question—Did you see the men of the light company go into the tank on the left of the lines and take an oath on the night of the 26th February?

Answer—No, I did not.

Question—How far is your house from the tank on the left?

Answer—About forty paces

Question—Where were you just before tattoo?

Answer—In my house.

Question—At that time, did you hear anything from the direction of the tank?

Answer—No.

Question—Did you see Peter Christian on that night?

Answer—No, I did not.

The witness withdraws

The Court has interrogated this man in every possible way, and failed to elicit any answer from him at all bearing on the question of the oath in the tank.

16th Witness

Shaik Madar Buksh, sepoy, No 4 Company, 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court and examined as follows.—

BY THE COURT

Question—On the 26th February, when the uproar took place, were you on duty at the sergeant-major's bungalow?

Answer—Yes, I was sentry there.

Question—Did you see the drum-major on that night?

Answer—No

Question—Did any sepoy approach the bungalow?

Answer—No.

Question—When did you go on sentry duty?

Answer—At ten o'clock I was placed on sentry, and at twelve I was relieved.

ment by which he gave the kingdom over to Visvanatha. Chandra Sekhara Pandya replied that he had absolutely no objection to it, whereupon the Emperor informed Visvanatha that he would appoint him the Viceroy of the Pandya country

16 Visvanatha left Vijayanagara for Madura at the head of a large army. On reaching the capital of his new viceroyalty, he devoted himself earnestly to the task of repairing the fort, by building eight gates and seventy-two bastions¹. He likewise built the fort of Trichinopoly, after exchanging this place for Vallam, which was given to the newly appointed Nayak of Tanjore. He built in this new place a double-walled fort around the city and dug out an extensive ditch in front, then he erected dwelling houses inside and caused a teppakulam, or sacred tank, to be dug. He built a palace, had the jungle-wood on both sides of the river Kaveri cleared away, laid out new fields for tillage, and engaged new inhabitants to cultivate them². He also ordered the restoration of the temples of Minakshi and Sundaresvara, adding new structures as enlargements to the old temples. One of these improvements was to throw down the small Pandya fort which surrounded the temple³. Instead of this he built "an extensive double-walled fort"

In these enterprises he was considerably helped by Ariyanatha Mudaliar, his prime minister, of whom we shall speak at length further on, and by Kesavappa Nayaka, the commander of his forces

We cannot say how long the period of this second viceroyalty of Visvanatha in Madura lasted, we may only affirm

1 *Description of the Karnataka Lords*, Taylor, *O.H.M.S.S.*, II, p 111. This was really one of the first acts of Visvanatha on his arrival at Madura, because from the account of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam it is evident that he lived for more than twenty years after the erection of these bastions. Cf Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p 376-8

2 *History of the Karnataka Governors*, *Ibid*, p 15-7

3 Sewell, I, p 293, says that "the sanctuary of the great temple is attributed to Visvanatha Nayaka".

Secondly—From the evidence of the subadar-major and others, the Major-General might be led to suppose that I had ordered up the cavalry (distant fully three miles) and the artillery before the men took possession of their arms and accoutrements by force. Whereas I was in bed at the time, and though our lines are distant from my quarters, I heard the shout of the men—the alarm sounded on the drum. I dressed and went to the adjutant's quarters, from thence I went to Captain Alexander's house and ordered him to bring down the cavalry. I then went to the artillery lines, roused the artillerymen, and took them with me to the magazine to get the guns. I sent two orderlies to bring the bullocks from the commissariat sheds, all which took an hour or an hour-and-a-half to effect. I have already in a former letter denied that I ever said I would make the men "bite their cartridges," as stated on hearsay by Doolum Singh, naick, the fifth witness.

The duplicate of this letter I will send you with the duplicate proceedings by to-morrow's post.

From Major-General J. B. HEARSEX, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, to Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No 121, dated Head-Quarters, Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 18th March 1857.

I have the honor to forward, for submission to Government, the accompanying Proceedings of a Special Court of Inquiry, in continuation, held at Berhampore on the 13th instant.

PROCEEDINGS in continuation of a European Court of Inquiry re-assembled by order of Lieutenant Colonel W. ST. L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to investigate such matter as may be laid before it by the Station Staff Officer,—dated Berhampore, 12th March 1857.

President, Members, and Interpreter all present

The Court assembled at the mess-house of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, at eleven o'clock.

Letter No. 58, from the Station Staff Officer, is laid on the table.



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CHAPTER VII

THE NAYAKS OF MADURA

SUMMARY—1 Idea of the Nayakship of Madura—2 Erection of the Palaiyams—3 War against the five Pandyas—4 Officers of Visvanatha 1 His minister Ariyanatha Mudaliyar—5 Rama Raya Vitthala appointed Viceroy of the South His campaign of 1544 against Travancore—6 St Francis Xavier stops the Telugu army—7 Consequent friendship between St Xavier and the Travancore ruler—8 Peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara—9 First expedition of Vitthala to the Fishery Coast—10 Vitthala's Viceroyalty in the South Relations with Visvanatha Nayaka—11 Campaign of 1549 against Coromandel Murder of Fr Criminali—12 Campaigns of 1551 and 1552—13 A combined attack with the Muhammadans of Calicut against Punney Kayal in 1553—14 Conflict of Travancore and Vijayanagara on the Fishery Coast—15 End of Vitthala's Viceroyalty A criticism of it—16 An expedition of Visvanatha against Punney Kayal in 1560—17 Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka I and death of Visvanatha A criticism of his reign His relations with the Empire—18 Krishnappa's wars against Tumbichchi Nayaka and the King of Kandi

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants—2 Taylor's Telugu Manuscripts, *Singhala dvipa Catha*—3 Letters of St Francis Xavier, *Selectae Indicarum Epistolae*—4 *Processus de Sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii, Chronicon Societatis Jesu*,—5, Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, Bartoli, *L' Asia*, Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*, Tursellini, *De Vita Sti Francisci Xaverii*, Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*—6 Couto, Faria y Sousa

THE foundation of the Nayak kingdom of Madura was laid by the Emperor Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagara towards the end of his reign, when Visvanatha Nayak had become "the master of the kingdom of Madura", as the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II read¹ Accordingly his full title was to be in time

¹ *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320 I do not know why the date 1558-9 is assigned for the foundation of the Nayak or semi-independent rule in Madura. This theory invented by Nelson, *The Madura Manual*,

to come "Maharaja Mahnie Raja Sri Visvanatha Naayane Ayelugaru" The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva inform us that his Queen was named Nagama¹ His kingdom extended from Urrattur and Valikondapuram in the North to Cape Comorin in the South, and from Coimbatore, Erode and Dhara puram in the West to Remeswaram and the sea in the East²

It has been asserted that the Nayak regime developed first into a governorship which become hereditary and then into what was practically a hereditary monarchy³ This is incorrect. Visvanatha was, after Chandra Sekhara Pandya's death, appointed by Achyuta real King of Madura, subject to the empire. This subjection practically consisted only in the payment of an annual tribute of 30 to 45 laks of rupees⁴ The Pandya King himself had nominated him his successor as he had no legitimate offspring and Visvanatha himself wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pandyas. One of his coins, in the Bangalore Museum, shows on the obverse a sceptre between two fishes, the racial sign of the Pandyas, and above them the Tamil legend *Pandiyan* on the reverse it bears the name *Visvanatha*, in Tamil-Grantha characters.⁵

2. One of the first acts of Visvanatha after taking possession of his new kingdom was to divide it into *Palaiyams* or counties, for the better administration of the country and to repay the faithful services of many of his officers who had help-

p. 87 and followed by Sewell and his successors, is perhaps concocted to explain the appointment of Vitthala as Viceroy in the South in 1543-4. When the time of his governorship was over then they suppose, Visvanatha's rule began. But the above mentioned chronicles say that the Pandya died a few months after Visvanatha's expedition against his father and that Visvanatha was then appointed king To my mind the foundation of the Nayakship dates from the last year of Achyuta Raya

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341 vv 46-57

2. *Mrtyanjaya MSS.*, Taylor *OJIMSS.*, II, p 117

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 90.

4. From Fr A. Vico to Fr A. Laercio Madura, August 30, 1611 Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure* II p. 1-4.

5. Hultzsch *South Indian Copper Coins Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 325 No. 18.

ed him in his former campaigns. There is no doubt that this was one of the first deeds of Visvanatha after his accession to the throne, because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* records that the reign of Visvanatha lasted twenty-six years after this settlement¹. The towns and the villages belonging to each of these Palaiyams were specified from the beginning, in order to avoid quarrels among their petty lords. These Palaiyams were held in military tenure, and the *Palaiyakaran*, or Polegar as he was afterwards called, was responsible for the defence of each of the seventy-two bastions of the Madura fort. The very title of *Palaiyakaran* shows the basis which the power of these chieftains rested upon, because it means 'a holder of an armed camp'. The Palaiyakarans were theoretically at the disposal of their sovereign².

Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar seems to question the number of Palaiyams created by Visvanatha³, but the said *History* categorically states that Visvanatha "divided the whole of the countries acquired into seventy-two Palaiyams".

Again the same *History* shortly after "In case of attack or siege, these seventy-two Palaiyakkarans were each one to have charge of a particular bastion with a connected portion of the wall, and to defend the same with his retainers against all assaults"⁴. One of the Mackenzie MSS, translated and published by Taylor, gives a *List of the seventy-two Palaiyams appointed to guard the bastions of the Pandyan Capital*, as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayaka. They are divided into nine sections, of which the first contains the kingdom of Malayalam (Travancore), and the principalities of Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkottai. "These three last," says the list, "are like adopted children of the Madura government". Then the second section, without heading, contains the Palaiyams of Ayalur-Nainar, Turaiyur-Rettiyar, Iluppur, Kulattur, and Kattalur, and thus, successively, the third section numbers eight counties attached to the Manapadu Taluk, the fourth gives the names of

1 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 21

2 Ibid

3 Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 58.

4. Taylor, 1 c

fourteen attached to the Dindigul Taluq the fifth has thirty nine the rulers of which were called Kamban Gudalur Rajas the sixth contains one attached to Koyambutur then in the seventh come two Palaiyams attached to the Salem District and finally two more, the Mannimai Palaiyam and the Raja Palaiyam each forming a separate section by itself ¹

Although the system was not completely new inasmuch as we find some Palaiyakarans in the southern country before the enthronement of Visvanatha ² nevertheless to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient body for the administration of the country and for the defence of the capital, to which they had to pay their tribute annually. Moreover the fact that Tamil and Telugu chiefs were indiscriminately appointed Palaiyakarans, was supposed to foster the necessary union for establishing a lasting peace between both the subjects and their foreign rulers. This was by far the most important political event of the time, in spite of the fact that it fomented ambitions in these petty chiefs and weakened the royal authority of Madura, of which they were too independent from the very beginning. Had they been more systematically attached to, and dependent on the central power Madura might have been saved from many of the troubles caused by the Palaiyakarans.

3. The first of these troubles came soon after. In the country lying to the south there were five kings who had been tributaries to the Pandya. These now joined together and refused to pay tribute to the new foreign ruler at Madura. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* ³ does not say who these five kings were. The *Mrtyanjaya MSS* call them merely "five independent princes of the South who acknowledged no earthly superior" ⁴. But according to the *Genealogical Narrative of the House of Appiya Nayak the Palaiyakaran of Kannivady* (one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection) they were collateral

1. Taylor o.c., II, p. 161-3

2. Cf. ch. VI, No 9

3. Taylor o. c., II, p. 17

4. Ibid., p. 111.

descendants of the ancient Pandya race¹ Who, then, were these five collateral descendants of the Pandya family? Mr Rangachari seems inclined to believe that this uprising was headed by the Pandya of Tenkasi himself, Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal², the other four Pandyas being four of his close relatives, who perhaps shared with him the honor of royalty³ But it seems to us more probable that the chief of this rebellion was the brother and predecessor of Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, named Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva, alias Kulasekharadeva He was crowned in Tenkasi in 1543, and his Singottai inscription of three years later calls him "the unrivalled hero of the world, the light of the Chandra-kula, the lord of the three worlds"⁴ These titles, so unusual in the inscription of the Pandyas of those days, do certainly bespeak a man who refused to acknowledge any earthly superior In this case, the rebellion of Perumal Parakrama Pandyadeva with his four partners in the throne took place after the year 1546, and if we suppose that he was the Pandya finally killed by Visvanatha, we must place the war at about 1552, since his successor was crowned in 1553

On receiving the news of this revolt, Visvanatha sent his prime minister against the five Pandyas, but this officer 'was not strong enough to meet them', says the *History of the Kar-*

1 Ibid, p 168 Subramania Sarma, *Short History of the Panyya Kingdom*, p 9, says that they were sons of Chandra Sekhara Pandya and Kamestri

2 Rangachari, *History of the Naik Kingdom, Ind Ant*, XLIV, p 37

3 It seems that there were five Pandyas actually ruling together from the most ancient times The *Mahavanso*, ch 82, v 23 speaks of the five fierce Tamil tyrants routed in open battle by Vatta Gaman of Ceylon in about 200 B C Cf *The Mahavanso* (Translation of L C Wijesinha), p 229, Diwan Bahadur L D Swāmikanu Pillai, *New Dates on Pandya Kings, Ind Ant*, XLII, p 166 According to the last Pandya ruler of Madura all the Pandyas of Tenkasi were illegitimate descendants of the former Pandyas Cf *Tanjāvūrī Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources* p 322

4, *T A S I*, p 104.

*Karnataka Governors*¹ The Pandyas were in the fortified town of Kayatattur and for some time successfully resisted the Madura army Ariyanatha and the Palaiyakarans who were with him were defeated, and they actually retreated in disgrace to Madura"² Visvanatha himself then went in person with the rest of the army to meet those insurgents. The war was carried on for the space of six months but the five Pandyas could not be reduced "a great many men on both sides fell" says the *History of the Karnataka Governors* "and the lamentations of the families of the deceased, alike in the camp and the country around being heard by Visvanatha Naicker he reflected within himself how many families were absorbed in grief merely that he, a single person might enjoy undisturbed prosperity; and, in consequence, wrote a letter to the five opponents which he sent by a herald, of which letter the contents were the following:—

You are five persons, and I am one for our sakes so much grief and lamentation is caused. Let it not be thus, but, withdrawing the two armies and restraining all attacks let a stone pillar be erected midway between both armies, and an agreement be written and placed in it then advance and meet me alone in personal encounter if I conquer you, than you must depart with nothing more than the garments you wear relinquishing your countries with all treasure and appurtenances to me; and if I am conquered, than I give up to you, in like manner my country and all my possessions. Let a solemn vow to this effect be made, and let the agreement be recorded in a copper-plate and placed on the stone pillar after which we will engage in combat at its foot and decide the question between us"

The reply of the five Pandyas was as follows:—

"For you] being one, to meet us five together would not be equitable but one from among us will come, and do you come and meet him

The valiant Visvanatha did not want to be defeated by the chivalry of his five opponents accordingly the Madura Sovereign answered to this effect —

1. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 17

2. *Genealogical Narrative of Appiya Nayak* Ibid., p. 108.

"You, being five persons, are at the head of five countries, which I, being one person, have come in order to subjugate to myself alone, and therefore it is quite right that all five of you should meet me at once."

"They however would not consent", adds the said *History*, "but selecting the bravest of their number, clothed him in body armour, and mounting him on horseback, being duly furnished with a sword, they conducted him to the appointed arena of combat".

The fight did not last long. When both Visvanatha and the Pandya champion were ready, the former invited the Pandya saying —

"Do you strike first"

The Pandya did so, but Visvanatha parried the blow with his sword. The Pandya then bade Visvanatha strike, but the Madura ruler declined, and three times bade the other strike. The Pandya champion did so. Then Visvanatha Nayaka, addressing his rival, said —

"Now, for the rest, take good care"

And he "struck the king, cutting him into two pieces, falling to the ground", says the *History*.

The victory of Visvanatha over the Pandyas was decisive¹. The four kings gave their countries to the Madura Sovereign, according to the agreement, "and departed as emigrants, or solitary wanderers into other lands"². As a matter of fact, we hear no more about the institution of the Five Pandyas as in former times, so we may suppose that the victory of Visvanatha marked the end of it. Nevertheless, the appointment of a member of the Pandya family as subordinate king in Tinnevely, was politically the best means

1 It is very strange that Wheeler, *History of India*, IV, pt III, p 574, in the *Hindu Annals compiled from the Mackenzie Manuscripts*, after saying that Visvanatha defeated and slew his Pandya opponent, states "After this Visvanatha died upon the field of battle, and a monument was built to his memory". It cannot but be a misunderstanding of the text, because the *Mityunjaya MSS* state likewise that Visvanatha "conquered the five independent Princes of the South, who acknowledged no earthly superior". Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 111

2 Taylor, *o c*, p 17-21.

to establish union between Tamilians and Telugus; and accordingly we find several Pandyas ruling at Tenkasi after this event. It was probably then that Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal, the younger brother of Perumal Parakrama Pandya deva, was crowned in 1553 "in the presence of the lord of the Universe at Tenkasi" ¹ He took on this occasion the title of Virā-vel, a title suggestive of a subordinate rank ² probably to the king of Madura. His son Ativirarama Pandya Alagan who is mentioned together with Visvanatha in an inscription of 1558 ³ also took on his coronation day in about 1564 the name of Sivala vel, ⁴ which has the same connotation. In their inscriptions there are no boasts like those of Perumal Parakrama Pandya deva whose defeat had been a good lesson for the Pandyas. Neither Virā vel nor Sivala vel thought any more of rebellion and war but devoted themselves to poetry and literature. The former according to the inscription of his coronation "feeling that flower garlands would all fade away put on a garland of verses in the *venba* metre sung in praise of him by the poets" ⁵ Was this not a fruit of the experience of his brother Perumal Parakrama, whose glory and pride faded suddenly before the sword of Visvanatha Nayaka?

4. In these and other affairs of administration Visvanatha was aided, no doubt, by the agents he had throughout his dominions. According to an inscription of 1550, one of these agents, named Uddandar remitted certain taxes due to the king, for offering cakes daily to the God for the merit of Visvanatha ⁶ According to another inscription at Kiranur (Madura) Kalahastiyappa Mudaliyar Visvanatha's minister granted the village of Kondarinjī Karanur as a free gift to the Brahmins ⁷ In the genealogy of Ramabhadra Nayaka of Periyakulam, this chief is said to have exercised the office of fozzdar or

1. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation, *T A. S.*, I p. 105

2. *Ibid.*, and p. 57

3. 373 of 1908.

4. Tenkasi inscription of his coronation *Ibid.* p. 106.

5. *T A. S.*, I 105.

6. 609 of 1916.

military chief and collector of revenue, during the time of Visvanatha¹

His son, Krishnappa Nayaka, was also a great help to Visvanatha in the government of his state. He is often mentioned in the inscriptions of his father's reign. This fact proves the importance and influence of the Crown Prince at the court of Madura. According to an inscription of 1546, in the kitchen of the Bripadamba temple at Devikapuram, North Arcot, Surappa Nayaka made a gift of ghee to the temple for Krishnappa's merit²; in 1550 the latter is mentioned along with Chinna Bomma Nayaka³; in 1553 he granted a piece of land for worship and for repairs in the Tyagarajasvamin temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevely⁴; in 1555, his agent Ekambara Mudaliyar granted another piece of land for a flower garden of a temple⁵, and two gifts of land made by him in 1562 to some temple are also recorded⁶.

But the most efficient of his officers was his Dalavay and Pradhani, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, "his second in power", according to the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*⁷. His *Biographical Notice*, translated by Taylor, is full of marvellous accounts, but contains nevertheless several facts that appear historical. He came from the Kanjivaram district, according to the *Royal Line of the Karnataka Princes*⁸, and was presented to the Emperor at Vijayanagara by Nagama Nayaka; later on, he aided Visvanatha in his campaign against his father⁹. The importance of Ariyanatha in Madura was so great, that an inscription of 1560 records the grant of twelve villages by Visvanatha, "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu" and "Mandaraputtaneri Ariya Nayaka Mudaliyar"¹⁰.

1 Rangacharya, II, p 1023, 265-E

2 391 of 1912

3 417 of 1905

4 197 of 1916

5 530 of 1916.

6 121 of 1894, 494 of 1916

7 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 111

8 Ibid., p 117

9 *Biographical Notice*, Taylor, o c, II, p 113-5, *Royal Line of the Karnataka Lords*, Ibid, p 117

10 Sewell, II, p 2, 10

bled here to witness the disbandment, whether artillery, Euro-
or cavalry, and that the ceremony of striking the name and
n of the regiment (the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry) from the
the army would be carried out exactly in the same manner as the
th Regiment, Native Infantry, was disbanded at Meerut.

said I inform you of this beforehand, because your enemies are try-
make you believe that European troops with cavalry and artillery
e sent here suddenly to attack you, these and such lies are fabri-
and rumoured amongst you to cause trouble. That no European
er troops would come to Barrackpore until ordered to do so by me
at I would give them timely intelligence of their coming here
finished by telling them no fault had been proved against them,
why should they dread being attacked?

but that I expected them to obey orders and keep clear of any act
ould be construed into mutiny, that the officers and I myself were
to all representations made in a proper manner, that then caste
eligious prejudices were safe under my protection, and that any
your to interfere with such would meet with most severe punish-

then deployed the columns, opened the ranks to double distance,
ode my horse slowly and quietly up and down them, speaking to
nen wearing medals, and asking them in what actions they had
d them. The brigade was then dismissed in the usual manner
lines.

*Major-General J. B. HEARSEY, C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division,
o Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India,
n the Military Department, Fort William,—No 126, dated Head-Quarters,
Presidency Division, Barrackpore, 20th March 1857*

I have the honor to forward herewith, for the information of Gov-
ent, the enclosed letters in original from the Officer Commanding
9th Regiment, Native Infantry, dated respectively the 16th and
current

*official from Lieutenant-Colonel W. ST L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th
Regiment, Native Infantry, to Major A. H. ROSS, Assistant Adjutant-
General, Barrackpore,—dated Behampore, 16th March 1857.*

All is quiet here, and everything going on as usual

I will now leave off writing to you daily, but will re-commence
ld there be the least signs of uneasiness in the regiment.

Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel W St L. MITCHELL, Commanding the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry to Major A. H. Ross Assistant Adjutant General Barrackpore,—dated Berhampore 18th March 1857

The guard of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, started this morning in progress to Barrackpore

I will leave this on Saturday morning the 21st March, if I can get only the amount of carriage as laid down in the Military Regulations.

The Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry are closed as the evidence is exhausted. I will now dissolve the Court. I only wanted to know what the Major General's wishes were.

I will report my departure from this station and the probable date of arrival at Barrackpore the day before I commence the march.

I had a parade this morning and told the regiment that their petition had been laid before Government and no more.

I will return the petition to-morrow with an explanatory letter

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH C.B. Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department to Major-General J. B. HEARSEY C.B., Commanding the Presidency Division, Barrackpore,—No. 409 dated Fort William 14th March 1857

I am directed to return herewith the enclosures * of your letter

* A Persian petition from the 19th Native Infantry with a translation in English. (File page 45)

No 94 of the 5th instant, and to request that you will transmit them to Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell for explanation of his conduct as affected by the statement in the petition of the men of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry

2 I am also desired to request that you will cause the men of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry to be informed that their petition has been laid before Government.

From Lieutenant Colonel W St L. MITCHELL, Commanding 19th Regiment Native Infantry to Major A. H. Ross Assistant Adjutant General Barrackpore —No 17 dated Berhampore, 18th March 1857

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter, No. 400 to Major General J B Hearsey Commanding the Presidency Division, from Colonel R. J. H. Birch Secretary to the Government of India Military Department, dated Council Chamber Fort William the 14th March 1857 and in reply I beg leave to state as follows —

The first statement in the petition in which I am mentioned is regarding the meeting at the mess house on the 16th February. On that

tains of Malaya (Malabar) ¹ He had been, it seems, governor of Chandragiri ² An inscription of Sadasiva of 1542, at Tindivanam records the gift of a village for the merit of the Mahamandalesvara Ramaraja Chinna Timmayyadeva, Maharaja ³ Another inscription at Narasingapuram Chingleput District, refers to a remission of taxes by a certain Sankara Nayaka Lingamayaka, in 1545 for the merit of Chinna Timmayadeva Maharaja ⁴ this was done during the governorship of his brother over the South. Sadasiva Nayak of Keladi was likewise probably in this expedition in the *Sivatattvarasakara* he is said to have defeated the Keralas or people of the Malayalam country and to have planted a pillar of victory on the spot ⁵ An inscription of Tiruvidadimarudur also mentions a Brahmin of this place named Tiruchchrrambala Bhattan who "joined Vitthala's army and continued to fight on his side from Anantasayanam in the South to Mudugal (Mudgal) in the North. After the war he was rewarded with two villages ⁶

After halting with his army at Madura, Vitthala set out for Travancore in the beginning of July accompanied by all these chiefs. Nagam Aiyar says that St. Francis Xavier in one of his letters states that the army of Vitthala entered the territory of Travancore through the Aramboly (Aruvaymoli) pass ⁷ I could not find this letter in the critical edition of that missionary's letters. This, however seems to be the actual tradition in Travancore, that through that pass the army of Vitthala invaded the country Fr Sousa only says that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin that divide Travancore from the Cooromandel Coast ⁸

1. Rangacharya I p 402, 717

2. 33 of 1905 Other records of Prince Chinna Timma will be found in Rangacharya II, p. 913 60 and 70 p 276, 608

3. 130 of 1910.

4. B Krishnaswami Aiyangar Sources p. 210

5. Ibid., p. 193

6. 140 of 1895

7. Nagam Aiyar o. c., p. 297

8. Souza, o. c., p. 142. Fr J Mahe S.J., Superior of St. Mary's High School, Madura, writes to me as follows: "I think Fr Souza means

6 When news of this inroad reached Travancore, all the people grew extremely frightened, and a great number of the inhabitants of the villages of the South emigrated northwards carrying with them all their belongings "I went *via* the Cape by land to visit these miserable Christians, who were coming, persecuted and plundered by the Badagas", says St Francis Xavier, an eye-witness of these events, "it was indeed pitiful to see them, some had nothing to eat, others had become blind on account of their age and hardships, many were married men, and their wives brought forth their children while *en route*, and there were many other pitiful things, had you seen them you would, I am sure, have pitied them even more than myself I ordered the poor people to assemble at Manapar (Manapadu)"¹

Unni Kerala Varma collected an army from all his dominions and was ready to encounter his enemies. When they were approaching the capital he was made aware of the fact that the Telugu army was not only more numerous but also more formidable than his own, on account of their cavalry and equipment. According to Fr Sousa, the Brahmin Chronicles of Travancore relate that the King at this juncture called Xavier to where he was and asked him for help, since the independence of his kingdom was at stake. Perhaps the Sovereign expected to make an alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of St Francis, but the holy missionary, who was engaged only in spiritual affairs, answered that the only help he was able to offer him were his prayers, since he was a missionary and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise²

that same pass in the passage (of Nagam Aiyar) you refer to. That is the only way to Travancore on that side, with the way round by Cape Comorin. Across the hills of Papanasam, near Ambasamudram, there is a way which was probably in good use formerly, for there is there an old fort on the top of a high hill very visible from our property close-by." This was likely the way followed by the army of Vitthala on this occasion. Cf Ramanatha Ayyar, *The Aruvaymoli Pass or the Open Gateway of Travancore*, J I H, IV p 19-20

1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapar, August 1st, 1544, MRSI, Mon Xav, I, p 330

2 Souza, o c, p 142-3.

In the meanwhile, Vitthala's army was advancing triumphantly through the Travancore country and before it the panic-stricken villagers abandoned their homes to seek refuge in the forests. But when the army was only two leagues North of the village of Kottar¹ the vanguard stopped suddenly unable to take another step further. The officers who were in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on and then they learnt the reason of that sudden halt. A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us" they said "who reprimanded us and ordered us to retire at once"² The officers of the army and among them perhaps Visvanatha and Vitthala themselves, could realize then that the fact was true; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in gigantic form and dignified countenance³ barring the way to the capital. Such an order the valiant commander could not disobey and accordingly the troops were ordered to retreat. Thus was Travancore saved from the invasion of the Vijayanagara army through the prayers and at the request of St. Francis Xavier⁴

1. Kottar known to Ptolomy under the name of *Kottiar Metropolis*, and a town of importance in the Chola period, is a suburb of Nagircoll at present. Fr P Martin in a letter to Fr Le Gobien, dated Camis Nalcken Patty June 1, 1700 records the tradition of fifty six years later that pointed out Kotate (Kottar) as the place where this event took place. Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure* III, p. 18.

2. These words are taken from the eldest testimonies of note 4, infra. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus* I, p. 148, who relates the fact (as also does Fr Souza) puts in the mouth of Xavier a short invective against the troops, which sounds more like one of the speeches of Livy heroes than words of the sainted missionary.

3. These details are given by Souza o. c., p. 143.

4. This fact, however extraordinary cannot be denied by critical and impartial history. True, St. Xavier himself does not say a word of it but this is his way in all his letters—never to mention a case which may be interpreted as a miracle or as something marvellous. But the authorities on whom our narration is based are too numerous and too weighty not to be admitted by impartial historians. We will enumerate them here—

A. *Processus de sanctitate et Virtute S. Francisci Xaverii Paule Prim(a) e secund(a)* Manuscript in the Archives of the Society of

7 It seems that when Unni Kerala Varma was informed by eye-witnesses of the retreat of the Vijayanagara troops at the command of Xavier, he had already set out from his capital Kalkulam, five leagues West of Kottar, and was ready with his army to meet the enemy at any moment. When subsequently the missionary reached the royal camp, the King himself proceeded to receive him and embraced him most affectionately, and after having thanked him, addressed him as follows

“ They call me the Great King (Maharaja), but hereafter they will always call you the Great Father ”

Jesus This volume in folio contains the processes made in India on the life and miracles of Xavier for his beatification and canonization. The first part of the volume deals with processes made at Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malaca, in 1556 and 1557, at the request of the King of Portugal Joao III, by the local ecclesiastical authorities. In the process of Cochin the witness, Francisco Mansilhas, a Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, who had worked with Xavier both on the Coromandel Coast and in Travancore, gave evidence of the fact as narrated above. Considering that the process was held only twelve years after the event, his statement is of exceptional value. The same is declared by Thomas de Gouvea in the second part of the volume, which is a summary of the processes of Cochin, Tuticorin and Kalkulam made in 1616 and 1617.

B Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 142-3. The authority of this work has already been declared. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

C Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p 148. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

D Guzman, *Historia de las Misiones*, p 31. See *Bibliographical Introduction*. Fr Guzman gives a concise narration of the fact, but suggests that the invading army was of Moors (Muhammadans).

F Bohouis, *The Life of St Francis Xavier*, p 145-8.

G Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Campagna di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p 128. See *Bibliographical Introduction*.

H Tursellini, *De Vita S. Francisci Xaverii*, l II, c XI, p 109. This is one of the earliest Jesuit authors, who wrote towards the end of the 16th century, the first edition was published in 1594, his work is a compilation of the early traditions of the Society.

I Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, II, 17. It also represents the early tradition of the Society of Jesus, its first edition appeared in 1600.

Accordingly the King issued a proclamation throughout his kingdom commanding all his subjects to give that title to the Father in the future, and also to obey him as if he were

J Acosta *Rerum e Societate Jesu De rebus Indicis Commentarius* p. 7

K. Maffei *Vita de S. Francisco Xavier* I, II, c. 2. Several other modern authors have admitted this fact —

L. Brou, *Saint Francis Xavier* I p. 256.

M. Coleridge *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* I, p. 214

N. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p. 64, regards this fact as a story "The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him, is told in *Oriente Conquistado* I, p. 143. Neither in *Oriente Conquistado* nor in any other of the above mentioned authorities mention is made of the crucifix in Xavier's hand. This is an invention of Mackenzie

O. Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State* I, p. 298 says as follows "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore." The detail of the crucifix must have been taken from Mackenzie. The fact that no battle is mentioned in the Hindu inscriptions and poems between the forces of Vitthala and the Travancore army confirms also the extraordinary event narrated above. It was a war without a formal battle.

P. D'Orsey *Portuguese Discoveries* p. 130. The author though an Anglican clergyman, says "A band of mountaineers had poured down upon the plains of Travancore, and were plundering the possessions. The Rajah's force inferior in number went out to meet the invaders; but Xavier resolved, if possible to save their lives by being himself their champion. Raising the crucifix aloft, he rushed forward to meet the advancing foe and exclaimed in a voice of thunder I forbid you in the name of the living God to pass further Return to your homes, and leave the land in peace." Astounded by this apparition the superstitious multitude broke and fled. We give this story as it is recorded. Though improbable it is not impossible and there must be some foundation for it as the Rajah grateful for this heroic deed did all in his power to further the interests of Xavier and his mission"

Q. Astrain, *Historia de la Compania de Jesus en la Asistencia de Espana*, I, p. 469-70. See *Bibliographical Introduction*

the person of the King himself¹ Xavier does not mention these honours given by the Maharaja. But the extraordinary friendship between Unni Kerala Varma and Xavier which can be gathered from his letters abundantly proclaims the King's gratitude.

At the end of August, news was spread that a Portuguese had captured a servant of the King and brought him over to Tuticorin. Xavier in his letter to Mansilhas dated September 2nd, 1544, evinces his interest in ascertaining the truth of this fact, on account of his friendship with the King, who had just then kindly entertained another Jesuit Missionary, Fr Francisco Coelho and then he adds "For God's sake write to the Captain (of Tuticorin) on behalf of myself, saying that I beg him most earnestly not to order nor permit, in any way that any injury be done to the Hindus who belong to the kingdom of the Great King, since they are such great friends of ours"² On the 7th of the same month he wrote again to Mansilhas "(Fr Coelho) wrote to me besides that Iniquitriberim was sending me an *olla* through three or four of his servants, who being somewhat fatigued, were taking some rest in Manapar, and that by these *ollas* he requested me to go there to meet him, since he wishes to speak with me on certain points of great interest to him. Something else is written to me by Iniquitriberim, *viz* that the Christians residing within his kingdom are quite safe, and he will always

R S Parameswara Aiyar, l c, p. 190.

S Mr S A Ramanantha Ayyar in his learned article on *The Aruvaymoli Pass*, l c, p 18, states that the retreat of Vitthala's army before Xavier "is perhaps reminiscent of a diplomatic mission, which this friend of the Travancore King 'Iniquitribirin' accomplished, and which stayed the punishing hand of the imperial Viceroy from committing much slaughter and shedding much innocent blood." We cannot support this view. The details given by the sources are so many and so characteristic that the account cannot be taken but literally, though no miracle is to be supposed to explain the case.

1. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 143, Du Janic, *Thesaurus*, I, p 148, Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagna di Gesu, L' Asia*, I, p 127

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 2nd, 1544, *M H S J, Mon Xav*, I, p 338

protect them" ¹ It was not at all strange that Unni Kerala Varma should want to speak with Xavier on certain points of great interest to him, seeing that Xavier was the saviour of his kingdom.

This friendship with the King was used by Xavier to protect the poor people who had fled at the approach of the army of Vijayanagara and taken refuge in the rocky islands South of Cape Comorin "I am going" he says, "with twenty boats of provisions to succour the Christians who are on the rocks near the Cape of Comorin. They fled from the Badagas, and are now dying of hunger and thirst" ²

8. But the war was not over. A treaty had to be made between Travancore and Vijayanagara. Unni Kerala Varma was the first to send an ambassador to Vitthala to open pourparlers to establish peace firmly. Xavier took an active part in sending this envoy to the Telugu general at Tuticorin. "Iniquitriberim" says he in a letter of the 19th of August, "sends 2 Brahman along with a captain to make peace with this people. I do not know what they will do they are at present here, and will soon leave by sea" ³ Again he wrote on the following day to Mansilhas "This Brahman now goes there with despatches for the Badagas

1. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichandur September 7th, 1544 Ibid., p. 343.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Virandapatnam, June 3rd, 1544 Ibid., p. 337. Of another letter from Xavier to the same of June 30th, 1544, Ibid., p. 328. The text of the first is as follows: "Eu me parto para o Cabo de Comorin com vinte toneladas ou embarcacoes de mantimento a socorrer aquelles pobres christaos, que com medo dos badegas infieis, seus inimigos se meterao pelo mar e estao dentro d'elle postos pelas pedras e penedos do Cabo ao sol, padecendo grandissima fome e sede e morrendo alguns com ella, que he para haver grandissima piedade." Both Souza, o. c., p. 141, and Du Jarric, I p. 144, were mistaken in placing this expedition of Xavier to the Christians of the Comorin Cape after the invasion of the Fishery Coast for it took place a little after about the end of July or beginning of August. After Souza and Du Jarric several authors have committed the same mistake. See for instance, *Historia Chronologica das Preludas e Fundacoes Ecclesiasticas O Gabinete Litterario dos Fontainhas*, I, p. 113.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544, Ibid., p. 333.

and for their King Betermemal (Vitthala) ¹ For God's sake try to give him at once a boat to go to Tutycurim"²

The making of this peace was by no means an easy task. At that time the army of Vitthala had invaded the Coromandel Coast, as we shall see later on, and the Vijayanagara General was busily engaged in subduing both the Portuguese and the Paravas. Then the terms of Travancore were perhaps not easily accepted by the powerful cousin of Rama Raya. This delay was perhaps the cause of the alarming rumours spread through Travancore in the month of September of the same year, rumours that we find echoed in one of Xavier's letters. "They say that Beterbemaio (Vitthala) is going full speed by sea to encounter king Iniquitribirim (Unni Kerala Varma) and to fight with him" ³

Peace was also delayed through the demise of Unni Kerala Varma, who must have died soon after the Vijayanagara invasion, for an inscription of his successor Bhutala Vira, of the year 1547, is found at Suchindram ⁴. There is another inscription of his and of the same year in the Nelliappa temple at Tinnevely itself ⁵. Mr. Rangachari believes that this inscription proves another inroad by Travancore into the old Pandya territory ⁶, but it seems to us that these inscriptions may mark the date of the final peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara. The King of Travancore on the occasion went perhaps

1 Such is the name given by Xavier to the Viceroy Vitthala, and this is the only place in which he is called king by him, in the other five cases in which he speaks of him, he calls him a captain. The spelling of the name is differently given in each case: Betebumar (*M H S J*, *Mon Xav*, I, p. 340), Betimunal (*Ibid*), Betermeal (*Ibid*, p. 342), Beterbemaio (*Ibid*, p. 344), Beterbemal (*Ibid*, p. 944) besides the form given above.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 20th, 1544, *Ibid*, p. 335.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, September 10th, 1544, *Ibid*, p. 344.

4. Inscription in possession of Mr. Gopinatha Rao, Trivandrum. Cf. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 304.

5. 120 of 1894.

6. *Ind. Ant* XLII, p. 231.

personally to Tinnevely to sign the treaty. By this treaty the district of Tinnevely was ceded for ever to Vijayanagara, which in return agreed not to molest Travancore. Finally the Travancore sovereign capitulated and promised payment of an annual tribute and moreover made arrangements for the celebration in the Vishnu shrine at Suchindram of the day of Rohini, the natal star of Vitthalesvara Maharayar.¹

It was beyond doubt on this occasion that Rama Raya, the powerful Regent of the Empire, gave the Tiruvandesa to Visvanatha as an amara nayakam.²

Such was the end of the war with Travancore. One of the two objects Rama Raya had in sending Vitthala to the South was already attained.

9 As to the other it seems that the Fishery Coast was invaded by the Badagas³ even before the retreat of their

1. Inscription in possession of Mr Gopinatha Rao of Trivandrum, I. a.

2. 64 of 1896.

3. 17 of 1913

4. Badagas or Badugas is the name given by St. Xavier and the old Jesuit writers to the soldiers either of Madura or of Vijayanagara. This was another corruption of the name *Vadaker* northerner given to the Telugus because they came from the North. Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State* I, p. 297 says that St. Xavier in one of his letters dated March, 1544, describes the Badagas as tax gatherers and lawless marauders. But I could not find such a description among the letters of Xavier in their critical edition, *M H S J Mon. Xav* I. The anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier quoted above, after describing the city of Vijayanagara adds as follows: "These people, called Badagas, although having the same complexion and qualities as the rest of the people of India, are stronger and more powerful in war because they are rich people and have much cavalry and their behaviour is more showy than that of the others. And they have all the cities and villages surrounded with brick or stone walls with bastions here and there as in our fortresses." *M H S. J Mon. Xav* I p. 62. Fr Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I p. 144, describes the Badagas as follows: "They are wild and cruel people, naturally fond of stealing, coming from Bisnaga foes of everybody but specially of Christians." This last note given by almost all the early Jesuit writers needs

army from Travancore St Francis Xavier informs us in a letter dated September 7th, 1544, that when he was at Trichendur, Tinnevely, in the beginning of June of that year, he heard "of a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Betermeal (Vitthala), and they (*viz* the insurgents) wanted likewise to capture the Christians of the Cape of Comorin" ¹, that is the Portuguese and the Paravas who were under them

The latter, after returning from Cochín in 1532, ² had received some slight instruction in the Christians faith and were baptized by Fr Michael Vaz, Vicar General of India, and by several other priests who had come from Cochín ³ Then the Portuguese established themselves in Manapadu, Punnei Kayal, Tuticorin and Vambar, and took over the civil and some explanation, since it might be misunderstood The Telugu soldiers and their generals had nothing against the Christians as Christians Both the Nayaks of Madura and the Emperors of Vijayanagara tolerated and received respectfully into their capitals the Jesuit missionaries The Telugu armies that invaded the Fishery Coast were so often sent against the Christians, because the latter had put themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, and these had taken possessions of the Coast that belonged to Vijayanagara Now Madura wanted to retain as her dominion that rich shore The motive of this first invasion was a little different, as related above These Badagas must not be confused with the agricultural caste of the Nilgiris, also called Badagas Cf Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, I, p 62-124

1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Trichendur, September 7th, 1544, I o Xavier calls Christians of the Comorin Cape all the Christians of both Travancore and Coromandel

2 Cf Ch VI, No 9

3 Souza, o c, I, p 130 Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, in his *Introduction to Satyanatha Aiyar's History of the Nayaks*, p 13, supposes that St Xavier converted the Paravas Again the same is supposed in p 123, note 43 I have been told that the Paravas themselves maintain they were converted by Xavier Cf Castets, *St Francis Xavier's Indian Mission*, p 7-12, Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India*, p 6 But it is historically evident that the majority of the Paravas were Christians from 1533 or 1534, when St Xavier was not yet in India. Xavier went there

criminal jurisdiction of the whole of the coast. Their principal settlement was Punnei Kayal¹

On the 3rd of August Xavier was sure that the army of Vitthala would overrun the Fishery Coast. I sent one Father there" he writes from Manapadu to Mansilhas, "in order that the boats might be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion should offer itself for I feel sure that they will attack and capture these your Christians"² The first news of the invasion of the army of Vitthala reached Xavier's ears on August 19th while at Manapadu. At the end of a letter written on that date he says. 'I am given a letter of Guarim just now in which he informs me that the Christians have fled to the forest, since the Badagas have robbed them of their property stabbed two men one a Christian and the other a Hindu'³ But most of the Paravas embarking on their miserable boats sought refuge in the small islands that face the Comorin Cape leaving their country to the fury of their enemies. Those islands were inaccessible to the Madura soldiers on account of the frequent sand banks separated by canals known only by the fishers of the coast. But this was certainly not an ideal place for the unfortunate refugees, from the lack of good drinkable water and of trees and vegetables of all kinds⁴ St. Xavier in another letter of September 5th, tells us that Punnei

precisely to accomplish their instruction in the faith. In one of his letters, dated Tuttoorin, October 28th, 1542 he says We are going through the villages of the Christians who became Christians about eight years ago. There are no Portuguese in these places, because the soil is not fertile at all and very poor. When arriving at any of these villages, I baptized all the children who are not yet baptized so I have baptized a great multitude of infants, *quid inter dextram and sinistram intersit ignorantes* M H S.J., *Men. Xav* I p. 373. The last remarks of Xavier show that the adults were already baptized at the time of his arrival.

1. Cf. *Tinnevely Manual* p. 43.

2. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 3rd, 1544 *Ibid.*, p. 331. Cf. p. 332.

3. From Xavier to Mansilhas, Manapadu, August 19th, 1544 *Ibid.*, I p. 333.

4. Souza L. c. Du Jarric, l. c.

Kayal was one of the cities attacked by the Badagas, while the house and boat of the Portuguese captain of the place were set on fire; and that the aforesaid captain fled to the islands with the rest of the inhabitants of the coast ¹ Tuticorin was also swept away by the Badagas ² and was probably made the temporary residence of Vitthala, since the ambassador of Unni Kerala Varma was sent there ³ In the two above-mentioned letters Xavier orders Mansilhas, who was instructing the Paravas in the North of the coast, to make a collection among the rich people of those places, to succour the poor Christians of the islands who were dying of hunger and thirst, he particularly urges him to carry there many casks full of water, the more, he says, the better He was at Punney Kayal on August 21, and he wrote from there to Mansilhas that "the Badagas had left the place for Cabecate" ⁴

We are not aware how long the army of Vitthala stayed on the Coromandel Coast, both Souza and Du Jarric say it remained there quite a long time, though it never reached the villages of the North ⁵ We suppose that one of the reasons why Vitthala retreated was the recovery of his brother-in-law, which took place, no doubt, before he returned to Madura

10 After these two campaigns in Travancore and in Coromandel, Vitthala remained in the South for a period of about twelve years, until 1558, as Viceroy of the southern country ⁶ According to an inscription at Koiladi, he "was granted the whole country", viz the South, by Sadasiva ⁷ We know of one of his inscriptions at this time in the old temple of Perumal at Madura itself, in which he is called Rama Raya

1 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid, p 341

2 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Alendal, September 5th, 1544, Ibid, p 340

3 Cf above No 8

4 From Xavier to Mansilhas, Punnei Kayal, August 21st, 1544, Ibid, p 337,

5 Souza, l c, Du Jarric, l c.

6 129 of 1905, *M E R*, 1899-1900, para 78 Cf Sewell, II, p 224

7 273 of 1901

Vittaladeva Maharaya¹ His authority was acknowledged in the whole Madura kingdom as far as Coimbatore and the South of Salem District for we know that the old Kongudesa was under his sway and he is said to have levied tribute even from Ceylon²

The epigraphical records acquaint us with two of the officers of Vitthala during his governorship of the South. One was Ramappa Nayak his agent at Kalakadu in 1552⁴ and the other was Timmapa Nayaka son of Basavana Nayaka. This Basavana Nayaka made three grants to the Kudal Alagar temple at Madura for the merit of Vitthala⁵ In fact Basavana himself is, in an inscription at Tirukkurungudi Tinnevely said to have been an officer of Vitthala⁶

The relations between Visvanatha Nayak and the Viceroy Vitthala must have been those of cordial friendship and mutual understanding but pending the discovery of new inscriptions this question remains without a satisfactory solution Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar supposes that Visvanatha and his son Krishnappa Nayaka were subordinate to Vitthala⁷ perhaps his statement is based on an inscription of 1550 in which Visvanatha is called the agent of the Mahamandalesvara Rama Raya Vitthalayadeva Maharaja for whose merit he presents a gift of a *devadana* hold of land⁸ But this only proves the friendly relations between the two chiefs.

The sphere of action of Vitthala was quite different from that of Visvanatha. The latter as a ruler had to administer his kingdom, and occasionally to subdue the rebel Palaiyakarans or other chiefs under his authority But the aim of Vitthala was to re-conquer Travancore and Coromandel for the

1. Sowell I p. 292

2. 5 and 27 of 1906.

3. 129 of 1905 *M.E.R.*, 1905 p. 60 The date 1536 is evidently wrong.

4. 429 of 1916 129 of 1905

5. 557 558 and 559 of 1911.

6. Rangacharya, III p. 1472, 287

7. Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks* p. 14

8. 599 of 1916. In the inscription 721 of 1915 Visvanatha is again called the agent of Vitthala

Empire There was no need of subordination to each other Each could fulfill his aims independently. Nevertheless Visvanatha helped Vitthala in his expedition against Travancore, as well as in some of the expeditions against Coromandel The relations between Vitthala and Visvanatha may be compared to those between the Agent of the Governor General and the Raja of one of the native tributary States in India now-a-days And perhaps not to interfere in the matters of Visvanatha's Government, Vitthala spent a great deal of time during his viceroyalty in the city of Trichinopoly¹ An inscription of 1545 at Ratnagiri, Trichinopoly, records that under the orders of Ramaraja Vitthalaraja, Timma, his younger brother, made a grant to the god on the said hill Ratnagiri² Another of 1544 at Tiruvidadimarudur, Tanjore, refers to a gift of two villages to the Mahalingasvamin temple by Vitthala³ Again in 1546 he made another gift to the Ranganatha temple of Koviladi, Tanjore⁴ The action of the Viceroy over the the South was only opposed, as far as we know, by a young chief of the Chola country named Solaga, who became later on notorious for his cruelties⁵

II During the time of his governorship Vitthala led several attacks against the Portuguese and their proteges the Paravas on the Coromandel Coast These expeditions have not been narrated hitherto by any author of Indian History. We now propose to fill up this gap with the information given in the old Jesuit chronicles and Portuguese histories⁶

1 273 of 1901

2 191 of 1914

3 140 of 1895

4 273 of 1901

5 *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 286 Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l c, note, doubts the identity of the Viceroy Vitthala Raja opposed by Solaga and the nephew of Rama Raya Fr Du Jarrie, *Thesaurus*, I, p 647, says that Solaga was eighty years old in 1597, hence he was thirty in 1547 during the viceroyalty of Vitthala over the South

6 The sources consulted for the narration of the following raid of 1549 are these Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p 163-5, Du Jarrie, *Thesaurus*, I, p 451-5, Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae Soc Jesu*, I, p

The Portuguese possessions on the Coromandel Coast extended as far as Rameswaram, and between one and two leagues away from this famous town in the village of Vedalai¹ on the frontier of the kingdom of Marava, they built a mud fort in which there was always a small garrison under a captain. Correa informs us that the Governor of Cochín went to inspect the fortress of Beadala, (Vedalai) near the sand-banks of Chilao (Ceylon)²

In the year 1549 there was at Vedalai a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one Joao Fernandes Correa whose rapacity provoked an attack from the Badagas. He dug a trench close to his fort barring the path of the numerous Hindu pilgrims to the temple at Rameswaram, perhaps the most celebrated in the whole of southern India. Thus the pilgrims had to pay toll to the Portuguese; in consequence of which the alms received by the Brahmans of the temple at Rameswaram went on dwindling day by day. Accordingly the Brahmans, who were as covetous as the Portuguese captain, appealed to Madura, probably through the Setupati of Ramnad who was in charge of the causeway leading to Rameswaram and the result was the Badaga invasion.

We have no knowledge as to whether Vitthala came over again to attack this fort but we do know that six thousand soldiers appeared suddenly before Vadalai³ among whom were some Muhammadans who easily made alliance with the Telugus against their former slaves. The Portuguese captain seeing that it would be impossible to resist so large a force with such ammunition as he had, retreated towards the sea and

145-8 *Anonymous Life of St. Francis Xavier* M H S. J., *Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 137-8. *Chronicon Societatis Jesu* M H S. J., I, p. 470. Nieremberg *Varones Ilustres de la Compania de Jesus* II, p. 137-8. Other documents will also be cited in the course of our narrative.

1. Beadala or Beadala say the Jesuit Chroniclers. About the location of Vedalai see Dessal, *On a été martyrisé le Vén. Antoine Criminal Soc. Jesu*

2. Correa, IV 6, p. 324.

3. Fr Alphonso Oypriani wrote from São Thome December 3rd 1549 that there were only 15 Portuguese in Vedalai against five or six hundred Badagas. *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* p. 98.

with his garrison sought refuge in the islands of the coast. A great number of Paravas did the same, but their small boats could not receive the whole population.

Fr Antonio Criminali, an Italian Jesuit, who had been appointed Superior of the missions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast on St Xavier's departure to Japan in May of the same year, was then in Rameswaram, instructing in the faith some Paravas who had been baptized shortly before¹. On hearing that the Badagas were approaching Vedalai, he fled there to protect his Christians. He transported many in their frail craft. He was invited to do the same, but refused to do so until every one of his flock had left the village. From the landing place he walked to the small chapel of St Vincent where many of the Christians had taken refuge but before reaching it he encountered two detachments of Telugu soldiers, who however did not molest him. Then a third detachment arrived, and one of the soldiers in the rear, a Muhammadan on horse-back, pierced his left side with a lance. The father fell down, but getting up after a while walked again towards the chapel. There he met some other soldiers who finally beheaded him and, raising his head on the top of a spike, placed it afterwards as a sign of their valour over the door of the chapel². Some Paravas were also murdered on this

1 Souza, Du Jarric and others do not mention the name of this place, but the following authorities record that it was Ramanacor or Rameswaram. Annual letter of the Goa Mission announcing the murder of Fr Criminali, dated Goa, June 19th, 1549, *Litterae Indiarum nunc primum editae* (Florentiae, 1877), XXIV, para 15, Letter from the Bishop of Goa to the Queen of Portugal, Goa, October 25th, 1549, Massara, *Del P Antonio Criminali* (Parma 1899), Letter from Fr A Gomez, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa to the King of Portugal, *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, XXII, p 102, *Chronicon S J, M H S J*, I, p, 470 Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p 627, Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad Sanguinis*, p 212-4

2 The Dutch traveller Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p 245, relates likewise the tragic death of this missionary. He says that the head and garments of Criminali were at last triumphantly carried by the soldiers to their temple at Trichendur. Fr Criminali is supposed to be the protomartyr of the Society of Jesus. Certainly he

occasion and others reduced to captivity. The chapel as well as the fort was razed to the ground, and the trench dug by the captain was filled up. The Jesuit chronicles conclude their account by saying that the soldiers went finally to Rameswaram to pay a visit to the temple. Probably on account of this and other similar expeditions, we read in the *History of the Karnataka Governors* that Visvanatha protected the pilgrims who used to go to Rameswaram.¹

12. But two years later at the end of 1551 peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the soldiers of Vitthala. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle but the Paravas appearing suddenly in the Telugu camp after some days, succeeded in rescuing him. This valiant action of the Christians provoked another incursion of the Badagas. On reaching the sea-shore, they saw only the rafts of the Paravas at a distance carrying with them the Portuguese Jesuit, who died soon after as a result of the hardships of his captivity.²

At this time, however it appears evident that quite a good number of villages of the Fishery Coast, if not all had promised to pay an annual tribute to the Nayak of Madura to obtain freedom from future molestation by occasional incursions.³ This tribute consisted in the catch of

died for the sake of the Christians, but it seems that the reason of his murder was not hatred of the Christian faith. These expeditions of the Badagas had a political reason and beyond doubt his murderers supposed that he was one of the parangulis or Portuguese, against whom they were waging war. These remarks are not calculated to detract in any way from the virtue of Crimalli. St. Xavier writing to St. Ignatius from Cochin, on January 14th, 1549 described him as follows: Antonio Crimalli is now in Comorin with six others belonging to the Society. He is a holy man indeed, believe me and just born to be the apostle of this country. I beg you to send here many like him of whom you have plenty there, I am sure." *M. H. S. J., Mon. Xav.*, I, p. 482-3.

1. Taylor *O. H. MSS.*, II, p. 15

2. Souza *Oriente Conquistado* I, p. 174. Du Jarric, I, p. 459

3. Souza *o. c.*, p. 173

one day's fishing, which, according to Couto, would amount to about ten thousand *pardaos* ¹.

Now it happened in the year 1552 that one of the nobles of the kingdom of Travancore, with a strong detachment of soldiers, invaded several villages of the South of Coromandel near Cape Comorim, pillaging the poor villages and capturing some of them. The rest of the inhabitants, who were all Christians, appealed to the Nayak of Madura, their protector, this was naturally an inducement to Visvanatha, who accordingly, proceeded at once with his army against the villages belonging to the Malayalam noble, entered them by surprise and ravaged them. On hearing this the Travancore Maharaja became furious, and since he could not oppose the forces of Madura, joined forces with Vitthala and overpowered the poor Christians of the villages who had appealed to Visvanatha. The combined army arrived in the silence of the night, and a great slaughter of people took place before dawn, one of the victims was a Portuguese Missionary, Luis Mendez, a Lay Brother of the Society ².

13 But Vitthala was not satisfied with this apparent submission of the villages of Coromandel, the Portuguese were still the lords of the pearl fisheries and were practically in possession of the whole country. His object was to crush them completely. And since on former occasions they had always escaped by sea, he made an alliance with a Muhammadan pirate named Irapali (Ali), a subject of the Zamorim of Calicut, so that now, while the Muhammadans attacked the Coast by sea, Visvanatha Nayak with the Telugu troops would attack the Portuguese by land ³. The place for launching the assault was Punney Kayal, the capital of the Portuguese settlements of the Fishery Coast, with a garrison of 50 soldiers ⁴ under captain Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho

1 Couto, VII, p 249

2 Souza, o c, p 175, Du Jarric, o c, p 459

3 No mention is made here of Vitthala. I am inclined to believe that the appellation 'Vichuva, Capitao dos Badagas' must refer to Visvanatha Nayaka, because this chief is called Vizuva Naiche by Fr Bartoli, *Dell, Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu, L' Asia*, VII, p 161 Cf infra No 16

4, Seventy, according to Couto and Faria y Souza,

Accordingly at the end of June of the year 1553, the Muslim fleet took up a position in front of the Coromandel Coast it was composed of some galleons and forty sloops. A small village called Mugel formed just a year before, was the first to be attacked twenty fishing boats and many Paravas were captured. From there they went straight to Punney Kayal, and on the first of May five hundred Muhammadan soldiers landed on the shore but were valiantly repulsed by the fifty soldiers of the place. The standard bearer one Antonio Franco de Gusmao attacked the standard bearer of the Muhammadans an Abyssinian soldier and after capturing his standard killed him on the spot. On seeing the defeat of his detachment the Muslim chief who was on board his galleon came with reinforcements. But the Portuguese soldiers considered themselves unable to resist the horde of Muhammadan combatants who numbered fifteen hundred. Almost all the Portuguese retreated. But Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho their captain, left alone with seventeen of his men stood where he was till he was convinced by his men that he ought to retreat to the town where behind the brick walls of the fort they could better resist the attack of the enemies. They did so but on reaching the town were all captured by the soldiers of Vitthala while the Muhammadans took possession of the town itself together with the fort. Irappali issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast announcing the end of the Portuguese rule, and inviting all to become the disciples of the Prophet unless they preferred to feel the edge of the Muhammadan sword.

When this news reached Cochin, the Portuguese of the settlement resolved to avenge the offence to the Christian name and the national honour. Gil Fernandez de Carvalho offered to lead the forces against the Muslims. He was given a huge galliot three lighters and one sloop. After three days with one hundred and seventy men they left Cochin and arrived before Punney Kayal where the Muhammadan fleet was lying a little to the north at Calecare. They went there but could not cross the sand-bank at the mouth of the harbour owing to an unfavourable wind one of the lighters however commanded by Lourenco Coelho, attempted to cross

and ran aground As soon as the Muhammadans who were anchored between the sand-bank and the shore saw this, they surrounded the boat and a great fight ensued This lasted the whole day, the Portuguese being determined not to surrender to the enemy, by evening all of them had been slaughtered, and many of the Muhammadans had likewise perished, among them Irapali himself

This unfortunate action took place within sight of the Portuguese Commander, who could not go to Lourenco Coelho's assistance on account of the wind Accordingly he retreated to a small neighbouring island, where he found another Portuguese boat going to Negapatam which made up for the loss of the first Then an envoy of a Marava chieftain reached the place, and promised Gil Fernandez to attack the Muhammadans at Calecare while the Portuguese attacked them by sea After a few days the wind changed, and on the fifteenth of May in the morning the two fleets met before Calecare The Muslim forces outnumbered the Portuguese, but by evening all the Muhammadan galliots had been captured by the valiant Portuguese Not a few of the followers of the late Irapali escaped by swimming, but the Marava chief, who was on the lookout, slaughtered many while the Portuguese took the rest

After this glorious victory Gil Fernandez at once opened pourparlers with Vitthala for the rescue of Captain Coutinho, his wife and children, the fifty soldiers of the garrison and the Jesuit Father Enrique Enriquez, who happened to be at Punney Kayal at the time of the combined invasion of Vitthala and Irapali A hundred thousand fanams were demanded as a ransom for Captain Coutinho and his family Gil Fernandez found himself unable to accede to this, so he sent a secret message (through a Muhammadan of great influence who was a very good friend of the Portuguese) to Rama Raya at Vijayanagara asking for the favour of the captive's liberty. An order finally came to Vitthala to hand over the captives to Gil Fernandez This was done in Tuticorin, Vitthala however demanded from Captain Coutinho the sum of a thousand

pardaos, which were partly given by the Christians of the Coast¹

14. It was probably after this expedition that the whole of the Fishery Coast agreed to pay the small tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Nayak of Madura for we do not read of any other inroad of Vitthala on the Coast of Coromandel. On the other hand we know that in the year 1558 Vitthala led another attack into the kingdom of Travancore probably because its King, who was still Rama Varma, had again refused to pay his annual tribute.

The Vijayanagara general invaded the Travancore territory with an army of six thousand soldiers. The Travancore sovereign was not able to oppose this force, since his own army consisted at most of a thousand soldiers. Rama Varma despatched an envoy to Fr F. Perez, a Portuguese Jesuit, who was the Superior of the Travancore missions and resided at Calculam (Kalkulam) begging him to pray much to God for the success of his army. Fr Perez promised to do so and sent him a standard in the centre of which the name of Jesus was painted, at the same time he recommended that the ensign bearing this standard should precede the army and that while engaging in battle all should fervently invoke the name of Jesus. This was done, and the Telugu soldiers, on hearing the roar retreated panic-stricken and were pursued by the Malayalams who slaughtered many of them²

Fr Souza says that this standard was afterwards kept in the Royal Treasury and at the end of his narrative makes the following remark "I do not say anything else

1. Souza, *o. c.*, p. 177-80. Du Jarric, *o. c.*, 459-60. Couto, VI, pt. 2 p. 456-65. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 270. 1. Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 719. Bartoli, *Dell Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù L Asia*, VII, p. 143-6; Lafltau, *Histoire des Decouvertes* II p. 522-4.

2. This fact may be explained naturally. Fr Souza supposes it to be a miracle. Fr H. Hosten, S. J., St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling who travelled through Travancore in 1924, informs me that this banner cannot be found in the Maharaja's treasury but the Syro-Christians of Travancore keep the tradition of this victory won under the banner of the name of Jesus to this day.

on this Kingdom, because I have found nothing else in the MSS" ¹.

15 Was Vitthala killed in this retreat of his army from Travancore? We are not aware of it, we only know that no other mention of Rama Raya's cousin is made either in the Hindu inscriptions or in the western chronicles. Anyhow this year, 1558, marks the end of his governorship in the South ².

Vitthala's aim was only partly attained. The defeat of his army in Travancore was practically equivalent to the complete independence of this kingdom. As to the Fishery Coast, the Portuguese remained there as powerful as ever, the only point conceded was the annual tribute of the catch of a day's fishing to the Madura Nayak, but the Paravas did not acknowledge any lords other than the Portuguese, if they paid such tribute to Madura it was only in order to get rid of the incursions of the Telugus on to their own shores. Caesar Frederick, who passed through the Fishery Coast in about 1567, says that "the Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey, and who so will may go to fishing, paying a certain dutie to the King of Portugall, and the Churches of the Friars of Saint Paul (Jesuits) which are in that Coast" ³. The Vijayanagara General had therefore not yet succeeded in gaining supreme power.

Although the success of the expedition of Vitthala was not so great, still apparently on account of this campaign Rama Raya is flattered in the *Ramarajiyamu*, with the title of 'Planter of Pillars of victory at Cape Comorin and on the banks of the Bhima' ⁴.

16 The end of the viceroyalty of Vittala was not the end of their troubles for the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, because in the year 1560 Visvanatha, the Nayak of Madura, again invaded the country, demanding the catch of two days' fishing

1. Souza, o c, p 188

2. According to Souza, o c, p 193, Vichuva (Vitthala) was still in the South in 1560. But his account on this occasion is not trustworthy, as contradictory to other Portuguese sources.

3. Purchas, X, p 105

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 182,

as the tribute due to him. The vanguard of his army headed by a Deccani captain named Melrao, reached Punney Kayal some day in the month of August, early in the morning. They set fire to all the houses they could. But it happened that at the time there was in Punney Kayal a strong detachment of soldiers, who had come to the Fishery Coast some days before under the command of Dom Duarte de Menezes a Portuguese noble. On learning the cause of the revolt, Dom Duarte immediately proceeded with his forty soldiers to encounter Melrao and his army. The fight was long and indecisive. Meanwhile the whole population was able to take refuge in the mud fort which overlooked the river. Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho, who was still the captain of the fort, set out to drive the enemies out of the town. They were on the point of succeeding in this enterprise. For Dom Duarte de Menezes had valiantly killed Melrao and had put to flight the rest of his enemies. But just then the main body of the army commanded by Visvanatha Nayaka himself appeared on the scene¹.

Neither Menezes nor Coutinho were able to resist the enemy and so started a slow retreat towards the fort, which was reached by Coutinho after he was wounded. Then at high-tide all the women and children were embarked on several sloops that came up the river near which the fort was built. Finally as the fort was very weak and the enemies very numerous it was decided to surrender it accordingly all the men boarded a sloop and Coutinho surrendered the fort before he embarked. But the tide being on the ebb so that no ships could sail away all were captured by Visvanatha after a stout resistance. Thereupon the whole town was sacked and destroyed.

A fortnight of captivity followed. When this was over Coutinho proposed to the Madura Nayak to pay a thousand fanams as every one's ransom. Visvanatha agreed, and accordingly all were set free, excepting the Jesuit Missionary Fr Joao de Mesquita, who was retained as hostage, while Coutinho was to visit Tuticoria to collect the price of their liberty. In the meantime, an opportunity for escape offering itself, Fr Mes-

1. Couto and Faria y Sousa call him Blaminaique.

quita took advantage of it and finally reached Tuticorin safe and sound ¹.

We hear no more of Visvanatha's expeditions against the Paravas and the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast From this we may conclude that Coutinho finally paid the price agreed upon, and that perhaps even the Paravas consented to pay him the catch of two days' fishing, as demanded Moreover at the end of the same year the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, built a fortress on the opposite island of Manar, to which the inhabitants of Punney Kayal were transferred, in order to secure them against the incursions of Visvanatha Nayaka ² The Madura ruler vainly tried to impede the realization of the Viceroy's scheme ³ In 1597, Fr Nicolao Pimenta visited this new settlement "We passed that Capê (of Rameswaram)", he writes to Fr General C Aquaviva, "and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the Ile Manare, and having visited the Churches in the Island, passed the River and went by land to the Pearle-fishing" ⁴ At the end of the century the fortress built in Manar was in a ruinous state It was restored and fortified again through the diligence of the Jesuits working among the Christian Paravas of the Fishery Coast ⁵ The Dutch traveller John Nieuhoff, who passed through Manar in 1662, says that "this city as well as its castle call'd Ragu acknowledge the Portuguese for its founders, the castle being built for their better security against the attempts of the Naik or Nayk, lord of the circumjacent cōuntry" ⁶

17 This was perhaps the last campaign of this valiant general The *Mrtjunjaya MSS* inform us that during his life-time he caused his son Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka to be anointed ⁷

1 Couto, VII, p 249-55, Faria y Sousa, II, p 343-4, Bartoli, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia de Gesu, L'Asia*, VII, p 160-2, 164-5

2 Faria y Sousa, I, p 348

3 Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p 318

4 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 207

5 From King Philip III to the Viceroy, Lisbon, January 22nd, 1601, Ap B, No XX

6 Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels*, p 199

7 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 117 Cf 121 of 1894

The latter's wife was Lakshmmamma,¹ or Lakshmyambika.² We do not know exactly the date of this memorable event in the history of Madura which marks the end of the reign of the Nayak founder. Mr Rangachari places the accession of Kumara Krishnappa in 1562³ but according to Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar the date 11th of Tai, Rudhrodgari corresponds approximately to the 25th of January 1564.⁴ Anyhow it seems quite certain that Visvanatha's demise occurred shortly after the coronation of his son so much so that there are suspicions that the anointing of Krishnappa took place at the death bed of his father. Hence we are inclined to believe that Visvanatha's renunciation occurred in 1563, since the first inscription we know of the reign of Krishnappa corresponds also to this date.⁵

The founder of the Nayak Dynasty of Madura proved a valiant warrior and a skilful administrator. The Palayaka ran system was developed by him in the South. This system though somewhat defective as fomenting ambitions and weakening the central power was nevertheless a definite progressive step towards the modern federation of states. In this respect Visvanatha Nayaka's administrative system was far in advance of his age. In his rule he was energetic and practical, he is called "the best skilled in putting down disputes" in his presence Timmappa Nayaka, the King's agent, settled some disputes between the two parties of the inhabitants of Kondakai.⁶

Knowing that agriculture is one of the best sources of wealth, Visvanatha fostered it with great interest by the creation of extensive water-courses which he ordered to be

1. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187 vv 67-79.

2. Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 297 vv 60-61, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, p. 320 vv 53-58.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, XLV p. 81.

4. Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks*, p. 68.

5. 17 of 1912. Sewell, II p. 201, thinks that Visvanatha died in December 1563.

6. Burgess, p. 108-9; Rangacharya II, p. 117-166.

opened in Madura ¹, in Trichinopoly ², and in Tinnevelly ³, and in this way the rivers communicated with the fields. Thus he fertilized extensive districts ⁴ and laid out new fields for tillage and brought new inhabitants to cultivate them ⁵. His interest in the progress of agriculture is also shown by the fact that he once dispatched his minister Ariyanatha to inspect the agricultural improvements of the District of Tinnevelly ⁶. The progress in agriculture increased the number of inhabitants, hence many new villages were built by Visvanatha's order in these three districts, while the old ones were repaired and beautified ⁷.

Hinduism was also fostered by "the pious son of Kotyam Nagama Nayadu", as he is called in a grant of 1560 ⁸. Visvanatha was a very staunch Hindu who carried from Vijayanagara to Madura the statue of the goddess Durga, and as soon as he reached his capital, restored and enlarged its temple. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* informs us that he also built the temple of Srirangam ⁹, but since we know that Srirangam already existed before the conquest of Visvanatha ¹⁰, this must have reference to the enlargements carried out by his order. As a matter of fact, the *Srirangam-Koyil-olugu* records that Visvanatha made to the god Ranganatha gifts of several golden vessels, costly ornaments and pieces of land to the extent of three lakhs of pons ¹¹. The *Tiruppavai* also mentions several of his gifts to the god Sundaresvara of Madura ¹². Moreover he erected many new temples in

1 *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Taylor, O H MSS, II, p 15

2 Ibid, p 17

3 Ibid, p 21

4 Ibid, p 15

5 Ibid, p 17

6 Ibid

7 Ibid, p 15, 17, and 21

8 Sewell, II, p 2, 10

9 Taylor, o c, p 17

10 Cf Ch VI, No 3

11 Cf *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 305

12. Ibid

Tinnevely¹ and in other parts of his dominions and along with them the usual mandapams and connected places² Similarly in many parts of his dominions he built agra-harams or Brahman streets³

We know also of a grant made by him for the religious service of a mosque in 1560 he gave a plot of land in the Ramnad District to Mullamakudam Mullaperoja (Mullha Pheroz?) for the maintenance and lighting of a mosque for the use of fakirs⁴

As to Visvanatha's attitude towards the Empire, he was always as faithful a subject of the Vijayanagara Emperor as when he went to wage war against his father In 1535 during his first viceroyalty he is called an officer of Achyuta⁵ and though already a king he calls himself 'the agent of Sadasiva'⁶ In 1558 he is called also the agent of Ramarajadeva Maharaja⁷ In 1560 he makes a gift of taxes on looms for the merit of the same Aliya Ramarajayyan⁸ In 1561 an inscription records a gift of his son Krishnappa Nayaka to the Tinnevely temple and mentions the same Rama Raya⁹ From all these inscriptions and grants we know that Visvanatha's relations with the Empire were those of a faithful tributary king to his overlord.

The fact that Visvanatha struck coins in his own name¹⁰ does not prove that he ever broke allegiance with the Emperor since all the provincial rulers of the Empire had independent coinage, as it is testified by Frederick in his travels

1. *History of the Karnataka Governors* Taylor o.c p 21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15 17 and 21.

4. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p. 28.

5. 113 of 1908 *M.E.R.*, 1909, p. 119

6. Burges, p. 108-9

7. 385 of 1916.

8. 622 of 1915

9. 28 of 1894.

10. Cf. Hultzsch, *South Indian Copper Coins Ind Ant XXI* p. 325 Nos 14 16.

through South India ¹ Nor is it to be supposed that the development of the Palaiyam administrative system was intended to create a new empire in the South which would rival one day the empire of the North Such ambitious intentions were far from Visvanatha's mind We must admit, however, that Visvanatha's system of government paved the way for the future rebellions of some of his successors, and was responsible for the treason of Tirumala Nayaka

18 The first trouble proceeding from this system arose shortly after Visvanatha's death in the beginning of Krishnappa's reign One of the Palaiyakarans, a certain Tumbichchi Nayaka, an old man of great influence (as is shown by his being mentioned along with the Emperor Achyuta in an inscription of Ramnad ²), rebelled against the Madura Nayak, captured several towns for himself and built a fort which he called Parambai-kudi (Paramakudi) Krishnappa Nayaka could not at this juncture make use of the services of his minister and general Ariyanatha, who had gone northwards to assist the Empire against the Muhammadans ³. But with great speed he himself marched against the rebel, overthrew him in battle, took possession of the whole of his country, and put Tumbichchi to death Then two of the sons of the rebel chief appeared before Krishnappa, and kneeling down at his feet implored his clemency the Nayak gave them the fort of Paramakudi together with the adjoining pettah, and some villages around which constituted a small Palaiyam, and appropriated to himself the whole of Tumbichchi's territory ⁴

Not long after this Krishnappa was obliged to wage another war in Ceylon against the King of Kandy, probably to exact the tribute he refused to pay to the Empire ⁵ The

1 Purchas, X, p 99

2 398 of 1907

3 Cf Ch IX, No 3

4 *History of the Karnatak Governors*, Taylor, o c, p 23, *Singhala dwipa Raja Ratha*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 278, this work erroneously calls Tumbi Nayaka king of Ceylon

5 This was the real cause of the war, not the bitter words of the king of Kandy against Krishnappa on the occasion of Tumbi-

Singhala dvipa Catha states that the Madura Nayak along with fifty-two of his Palaiyakarans embarked for Ceylon at Navapa shana and landed at Manar. Before invading the Kandy territory Krishnappa sent a conciliatory message to the King demanding his tribute. But Jayawira the Sinhalese Sovereign rejected it and despatched an army of forty thousand men under four ministers and eight governors to oppose the invaders. The two armies met at Puttalam where the army of Kandy was defeated and routed by the general Chinna Kesava Nayaka with twenty thousand men. Among the prisoners there were two ministers, five chieftains and other influential people of Ceylon. The poem says that these captives in vain urged their King to yield. But the Kandy sovereign, collecting an army of sixty thousand Sinhalese and ten thousand Kaffirs (Portuguese?) marched against the Madura King. In the bloody struggle that ensued eight thousand Kaffirs and about as many Sinhalese were slaughtered, while the King of Kandy himself lost his life in the engagement. His corpse was taken with due honours to his capital.¹

Krishnappa Nayaka could not remain long in Ceylon since the administration of his kingdom required his presence in the capital. The poem upon which we base our account says that he remained in Kandy only three days. He treated the family of the deceased King with great kindness and sent them to Aurangam, the old capital of Ceylon and after appointing his brother in law Vijaya Gopala Nayaka, his Viceroy in Ceylon returned to Madura.² This appointment was doubtless only temporary as we do not hear of any subsequent vicerealty. Vijaya Gopala's purpose was to arrange the chohli's execution. Visvanatha Nayaka had also waged war in Ceylon. Dom Joao de Castro, Governor of Goa writing to King Joao III on the 6th of December 1546, mentions this war made by the Madura, viz. de Nayak of Madura, then Visvanatha Nayaka, against the King of Conde (Kandy). Castro sent forty soldiers to protect the latter against the incursions of the Nayak. *Obras Varias Manuscriptas*, fol. 113. I could not find any other trace of this war.

1. No mention is made of this defeat in the Ceylon chronicles. The numbers of combatants are, no doubt, exaggerated.

2. Taylor *Catalogue Raisonne* III p. 183-6.

administration of the country and to procure the regular payment of the tribute

This conquest of Ceylon was probably the last important event of the South during the reign of Sadasiva. His inscription of 1564, in which he records having plundered Ceylon, refers probably to the expedition of Krishnappa Nayaka¹. In the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, he is said to have "acquired the overlordship of the South"², a title which he deserved on account of these two successful wars.

1 451 of 1905 Cf Ch IV, No 2

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 320, vv 53—93

CHAPTER VIII

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE, JINJI AND IKERI,

THE RAJAS OF MYSORE AND OTHER FEUDATORY CHIEFS

SUMMARY—1. Foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore.—2. Sevvappa Nayaka's reign.—3. Foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji.—4. Foundation of the Nayakship of Keladi Ikeri.—5. Badaaiva Nayaka and his successors.—6. The Rajas of Mysore.—7. Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka. Foundation of Bangalore.—8. The chiefs of Bellur and Chitaldroog.—9. The kingdom of Honavar annexed to that of Bhatkal.—10. Treaty between the Portuguese and the Queen of Bhatkal.—11. Bukkadevi, Queen of Ullal, and the Portuguese. Erection of a Portuguese fort at Mangalore. Other petty states in Karnataka.—12. The Rajas of Udipi, Konda Venkatagiri and Vellore.—13. Other minor chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajala Charita, Rakmini-parinaya, Sakthiyarathna karakaviyam, Jaimini Bharatamu Keladi Raya Puditti Sevattai varatsakura, Keladi Arasu Vamsavali Valaguttoru Vamsavali*.—3. *Tratadas (Arquivo da Torre do Tombo Lisbon)*.—4. *Faria y Sousa Barroa*.—5. C. Frederick.

It is not yet known for certain when the Chola kingdom of Tanjore first came under the subjection of Vijayanagara. It seems that Prince Kumara Kampana Odeyar conquered the Tanjore territories when sent against the Muhammadans of Madura by Bukka I. Since that time the Chola Princes were supposed to be under the sway of the Telugu Emperors in the same way as the Pandyas of Madura. On the southern wall of the big temple of Tanjore there is an inscription of Deva Raya II, of the year 1455¹ and in two other temples of the same city viz. that of the Alagesuvara Pillaiyar in the southern fortification, and that of the god Rajagopal in the North Street, are to be seen two inscriptions of Achyuta Raya corresponding to the years 1532 and 1539 respectively.²

1. Cf. Ch. VI No. 3.

2. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* II, p. 118.

3. Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayak Princes*, p. 1.

It is precisely this Prince to whom the foundation of the Nayakship of Tanjore is attributed. According to the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, the Chola country was ruled by Visvanatha Nayaka from Madura as a subordinate of the Emperor of Vijayanagara, but on the occasion of the wedding of Murtimambal (the younger sister of his wife Tirumalamba) with Sevvappa, Achyuta appointed the latter sole Viceroy over the Chola country, which was given him as the *stridhana*, or dowry of his bride ¹. The date of this important event is not yet ascertained: the first inscription of his that we know of is on a stone pillar in the Samusaru mosque, near the Tanjore Railway Station, it corresponds to the year 1549 ². But this was not the first year of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, for Achyuta Raya had probably died at the end of 1541. Now, we know from the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* that Tanjore was governed by Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, even after the death of Chandra Sekhara Pandya when the former had already been appointed King of the southern throne ³ (and this could not but have happened at the end of Achyuta's reign ⁴). Hence we must assign the same year 1541 as the probable date for the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship.

According to the epic *Rukmini-parinaya*, the parents of Sevvappa Nayaka were the sudra Timma or Trimmappa Nayaka and Vayyamba ⁵ or Bayyambika ⁶. It seems that Sevvappa's father and grandfather and other elders of his family were generals under the kings of Vijayanagara ⁷, and that he himself had been a valiant general, for the epic *Sahulhyarathnakar akaviyam* states that he became master of Tanjore by his own prowess ⁸, and by his prowess he won Achyuta's sister-in-law, and with her the kingdom of Tanjore as her dowry.

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 323, Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p 176

2 Cf Kuppaswami Sastri, o c, p 4

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, l c

4 Cf Ch VII, No 1

5 *Rukmini-parinaya*, III, 34 Cf *Ep Ind*, XII, p 343, note 3

6 *Raghunathabhyudayan*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 284-5

7 Cf Kuppaswami Sastri, o c, p 3

8. Ibid

2. We know very little of the reign of Sevvappa Nayaka, who was equally subject to Vijayanagara with Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura. His works of public utility are about the only things regarding which we have any information. He built for instance a big tank outside the Tanjore fort which was destined to feed the Sivaganga tank inside it in order to supply the inhabitants of the capital with water¹ The name it bears to the present day reminds the one of its builder it is called Sevvappaneri. The new Sivaganga fort of Tanjore was also built by him² Besides he enlarged and beautified many temples throughout his dominions. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra* records that Sevvappa built many towers mantapas and prakaras (compounds) to the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Vrddhachalam³ The *Sakthiyarathnarakaviyam* mentions a big tank dug by him outside the temple of Tiruvannamalai as well as the eleven-storeyed gopura of the same temple⁴ A strange fact is that in 1549 he granted a piece of land for the maintenance of fakirs This is recorded in the inscription of the aforesaid Samusaru Mosque at Tanjore⁵

The relations of Sevvappa with the Portuguese were very friendly Several Portuguese merchants had in the beginning of his reign or perhaps even earlier settled in a small village on the coast near Tanjore called Nagapatam. To quote from the anonymous life of St Xavier they were greatly favoured by the lord of that country who is a very powerful Captain of the king of Bispaga⁶ Encouraged by this show of favour more and more Portuguese established themselves there as years went on. They built several

1. *Sakthiyarathnarakaviyam*, canto III, v 3 (Raja Sarfoji's Library Tanjore, No. 10291) *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 3.3

2. *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitra*, l. o.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Sakthiyarathnarakaviyam* canto III, v 6.

5. Kuppuswami Sastri o. o p. 4.

6. *M. H. S. I., Mon. Xav.*, I p. 59 This powerful lord can be no other than Sevvappa Nayaka who was the contemporary of St Xavier

good houses, and the former village was converted into 'half a city'. There was no Portuguese authority in the town, since it was supposed that it belonged to the Tanjore Nayak, but every three years the Portuguese Viceroys, or Governor, used to send a captain to administer justice among his subjects. Negapatam became after a few years a very rich and noble city'. It contained two churches, one dedicated to St Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health (Nossa Senhora da Saudade). Caesar Frederick who visited Negapatam in 1567 calls it "a very great city, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the Country and part Gentle".³

Sevappa's reign lasted a considerable time, we shall again speak of him when dealing with the reign of Ranga I.

3 We do not possess very good information about the

foundation of the Nayakship of Jinji. According to the above mentioned work of Narayan, the *Kanulaka Rayakal Savslara Chavirram*, the first Raja of that place was Ananta Kon, who about 1200 A.D. became the founder of the Shepherd Dynasty. At the end of the 14th century an army of Vijayanagara defeated the Raja of Jinji, named Kobilingam, and took possession of the country around. This expedition must be the one of Kumara Kampana, because during Kampana's campaign in the South we find his general Gopnaraya at Jinji as governor of the country.⁵ He appears to have had jurisdiction over the South as far as Chidambaram, for according to the *Guruparampava Sri Vedanta Desika*, taking advantage of an internal commotion in Chidambaram, compelled Gopnaraya of Jinji to re-place there the image of Govinda Raja.⁶ Later on, probably at Gopnaraya's death, the Jinji country was delivered to Narasinga

1 Ibid

2 *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 86. It is recorded that in the very first years of the Portuguese occupation of Negapatam, about three hundred Hindus were baptized.

3 Purchas, X, p. 108

4 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, III, p. 39

5 Cf. Ch. VI, No. 3

6 Cf. Rangacharya, I, p. 132, 64.

Udiyar to be held as a fief he accepted it with the promise to send an annual tribute to the emperor¹. Then we find Vala Krishnappa Nayakkan mentioned as Raja of Senji (Jinji) his son Vala Venkatapati Nayakkan in 1464, during the reign of Rama Deva Maharaya (?) drew up a document recorded in an inscription at Jinji². According to Prof. Srinivasachari this Vala Venkatapati probably was the one who persecuted the Jains of the neighbourhood in 1478³. Nevertheless, Jinji was subsequently lost to Vijayanagara, for the *Jaimini Bharatam* informs us that Saluva Narasimha conquered Jinji during his campaign in the South⁴.

Leaving aside the conquest of the whole of the Tamil country during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, which has been previously narrated⁵ we shall mention here Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaka, who seems to have started the line of the Nayaks of Jinji, dependent on the Vijayanagara sovereigns, just after that conquest. His rule lasted till 1521. Many buildings of the Jinji fortress are attributed to him, such as the fortifications at the top of Rajagiri the granary in the lower fort and the Kalyana Mahal. The enclosure of the present fortress with the impressive bastioned wall and ditch, enclosing the three mountains seems also to have been his work. He founded many pettahs around the primitive town⁶. He was it seems succeeded by one Achyuta Vijaya Ramabhadra Nayaka, who ruled over Jinji during the reign of Achyuta Raya. In a ruined temple at Chandragiri near the palace an inscription of this monarch records a gift by Achyutaraya Nayaka governor of Jinji⁷.

As to the reign of Sadasiva, an inscription on the South wall of the central shrine in the Venkataramaswami temple at

1. Taylor l. c.

2. Sewell, II p. 9 Rangaiaharya, I, p. 172, 359

3. Brinivasachari *The History of Gingee* p. 7, 8

4. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 86.

5. Cf. Ch. VI No. 7

6. *The Mackenzie MSS.*, I p. 353 (Madras Oriental MSS. Library)

7. 244 of 1904.

Jinji mentions the name of the Nayak of Jinji at this time, without stating whether he was a relation of the governor Achyuta or not. This inscription records a gift of land made by King Sadasiva, and another gift made by Surappa Nayaka, for the merit of Sadasiva, who is entitled Vira Pratapa Maharaya. Both these gifts were made in 1550¹. The drama *Bhavana-purushottama* by the famous poet Ratnakheta Srinivasa Dikshita gives some information about this Surappa, at whose court the poet lived. Surappa's father had been Pota Bhupala who had married Vengalamba, and by her got Surappa Nayaka besides two other sons, Divakara Nayaka and Bhairava Nayaka².

4 We pass now from the East to the West of the Empire, viz to the old Karnataka country³, and the most important subordinate state we find there at this time is that of Keladi, afterwards called of Ikeri. There are diverse opinions concerning the origin of its Nayaks⁴. Their ancestors, according to the *Keladi Raya Paditti*, their family chronicle, had originally been hereditary *gowdas* or chiefs of five or six villages in the neighbourhood of Keladi⁵. We know from the *Sivatatavaratnakara* that a person named Basava or Basavappa, according to the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali*, a husbandman⁶ of the Sudra caste⁷, married a woman of the same name, and that by her he had four sons. After the death of Basava and the first two children, his widow gave birth to two posthumous sons who were named Chauda and Bhadra. On one occasion, when Chauda

1 240 of 1904. There is another inscription at Jambai, South Arcot, probably belonging to the same chief 104 of 1906

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 272, note

3 The present word Kanara is but a corruption of the word Karnataka, made by the Portuguese Faria y Sousa, II, p 189, says "This kingdom of Charnataka (or Canara which is a corrupted form made to shorten the name) had no Sovereign till the year 1200," and speaking shortly after of the city of Visajanagar (sic) he says that Visnaga is likewise a corruption of it Cf V B Alur, *The Karnatak and its Place in Indian History*, Q J M S, IX, p 33

4 Cf Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 431

5 Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p 379

6 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 333.

7 Sewell, II, p 177.

was ploughing his land his ploughshare is said to have struck considerable buried treasure. With it he managed to become the headman of the village, and as such, he collected a small company of soldiers. The then king of the country who was probably Krishna Deva Raya¹ on hearing of this, sent for Chauda. Krishna Deva Raya was much pleased to hear his story and knowing the personal character of the Keladi man appointed him governor of Pulla-desa with the title of Keladi Chaudappa Nayaka. Chaudappa had two sons, Sadasiva and Bhadra². He died soon after but not before he had appointed Sadasiva his successor.

Sadasiva proved a very fine governor. The poem says that "the people were happy under him. On hearing of his achievements Rama Raya, the Regent of Vijayanagara, called him to the court in order to employ him in the wars against the Muhammadans. Rama Raya was at the time engaged in some business that required his presence in the capital so he put Sadasiva at the head of his army which, in alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was to attack the Bijapur fort at Kaliyani. We have already narrated the achievements of Sadasiva during this campaign³. He was also despatched against some rebellious chiefs of the Karnatak⁴. He overran this country as far as Kasargod, and captured the forts of Barakura Mangalura and Chandragutti⁵. Perhaps it was on account of these

1. I suppose that this is the reason of the confusion existing even in the contemporary sources about the creator of the Nayakship of Keladi Ikeri. The *Keladi Raya Padhliti* affirms that its institutor was Krishna Deva Raya (Buchanan Lc.) and the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* says that it was Achyuta Raya (Wilson Lc.) But the real royal Nayakship of Keladi was not founded till the time of Chauda's son Sadasiva Nayaka, who was appointed by Emperor Sadasiva.

2. It seems that the first of these two brothers took the name of Sadasiva, as Sadasiva Raya favoured him so much. The *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* for instance, calls him Chaurapa. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

3. Cf. Ch. V No. 6.

4. Cf. Ch. IV No. 2.

5. Cf. *Rice Mysore I*, p. 433.

campaigns that one of the titles of the Nayaks of Ikeri was *Kote Kolahala*, disturber of forts ¹ Sadasiva was also sent against the Sultan of Bidar. Him he captured (along with seven constituents of his royalty) and brought as a present to Rama Raya, who gave him the title of *Sahasaptangaharana*, captor of the seven constituents of royalty of his enemies. Further, he joined an expedition against Travancore ², and conducted another against two chiefs named Yadava and Murari in the country of Jalihalu, whom he defeated and brought as prisoners to his sovereign. The Emperor gave him the title of *Yadavamu-rari Kotikolahala* ³. And it was probably then that his dominions were enlarged by the grateful sovereign, who thus caused the foundation of a Nayakship similar to those of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, although the title had already been given to his father by Krishna Deva Raya.

5 After this series of campaigns, Sadasiva Nayaka retired to his capital. An inscription of 1554 records that Sadasiva Nayaka purchased a piece of land for the Brahmans ⁴.

But soon a new expedition was led by him against the governor of Bankapura, named Madarasa, who had considerably enlarged his dominions and was regarded as a menace. Madarasa was captured and led as prisoner to the Emperor ⁵. Then Sadasiva erected several forts in the strategic points of his dominions, to provide against any eventuality to wit, the forts of Keladi ⁶, Beakul ⁷ and Chandragiri, South Kanara ⁸. He also built the temple of Isvara at Ikeri ⁹. Upon him, later, was conferred the governorship of Barakura-rajya by Venkatadri, who was then 'ruling the whole kingdom' ¹⁰.

1 Cf Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 156

2 Cf Ch VII, No 5

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 194-6

4 Rangacharya, II, p 850, 21

5 *Svatattvatnakara*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 196

6 Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras*, II, p 381

7 Ibid, p 213

8 Ibid, Sewell, I, p 258

9 Buchanan, o c, p 380

10 168 of 1901, *M E R*, 1911-12, p 179. It was at this period when the whole government was on the shoulders of Tirumala and Venkatadri. Cf Ch III, No 9

After this turbulent and successful career Sadasiva Nayaka, being too old to govern bestowed upon his brother Bhadrappa Nayaka the title of Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka and anointed him governor in his stead. Then Sadasiva "retired to the forests in the evening of his life, says the *Sivatattvaratnakara*¹ Sewell puts the end of Sadasiva's reign in the year 1576² but this date is obviously wrong, since his second successor was deposed by Rama Raya. We may say however that this event took place during the last years of Rama Raya, some time after 1560 because the reign of Bhadrappa Nayaka did not last long the aforesaid poem says only that he "ruled for some time"³ He is said to have transferred the capital from Keladi to Ikeri⁴ Before his death he nominated the elder son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, as his successor and the younger Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, as the heir-apparent⁵ There had been to Sadasiva by different mothers⁶

Dodda Sankanna Nayaka's rule was, it seems, of short duration. All we know of him is that he was deposed by Rama Raya for putting a Jangama priest to death. Rama Raya then made the former's brother Chikka Sankanna, Nayak of Keladi in his stead⁷ It appears that Dodda Sankanna set out on a pilgrimage to the holy places of India from Rameswaram to the Himalayas, and lived in retirement for the rest of his days⁸ An inscription of Sadasiva Raya, bearing a wrong date, mentions Ramaraja Nayaka, grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayak of Keladi⁹ This Ramaraya Nayaka must have been a son of one of these two brothers.

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar l. c.

2. Sewell, II, p. 177

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar l. c.

4. Rhee, *Mysore* II, p. 431.

5. *Sivatattvaratnakara*, l. c.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

7. *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* Willson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 333.

8. Rhee *Mysore* II p. 433

9. 131 of 1901.

6 The Keladi Nayaks of Ikeri were not the only rulers of the Karnataka country which were tributary to the power of Vijayanagara. Many petty states were formed or were then being formed. Of these we shall also give a brief account. The one that in due course became most important was the state of Mysore.

This country had come under the sway of Vijayanagara during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya. This monarch had crushed a refractory chief of those surroundings, the Ganga Raja of Ummatur, and had captured the strong fort of Sivasamudram and the city of Seringapatam. After this all the country had submitted to him.¹ The origin of the Rajas of Mysore is traceable to a legendary source. A grant of Kanthirava, of 1657, gives the genealogy of his family from Vishnu through Brahma, Atri, Indu, Buddha, Pururava and other heroes down to the historic founders of the family settled in the Karnataka country.²

These were two young Kshatriyas of the tribe of Yadava, Krishna's tribe, named Vijaya and Krishna, who, according to tradition, had left Dvaraka in Gujarat to establish themselves in the South.³ Their enterprise in rescuing the daughter of the Wodeyar of Hadana from the hands of the chief of Carugalli seems more a poetical figment than a historical fact. The truth is that Vijaya was fortunate enough to attain the chieftainship of one or two towns that proved to be the basis of the future aggrandizement of the family. We have no knowledge of the date of Vijaya's arrival in the South.⁴

Nothing is definitely known of his descendants prior to the 16th century when Chama Raja is mentioned as succeed-

1 *Madras Journal*, XIV, p. 39

2 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch. 92

3 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 31, Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 361

4 P. Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p. 4. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 362, says that he ruled from 1399 to 1423. About the first settlement in the South of the Mysore ruling family, there is no agreement between Wilks and the *Palace History*. Cf. S. Krishna swami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 275-6

ing in or about 1507¹ Another Chama Raja² is said to have built in 1524 a fort at Puragary which was thereafter called Mahish Asur commonly pronounced Mahishasur and now contracted into Mysore. Since that time the chiefs of this family used to reside there³

We hear of no intercourse between them and the court of Vijayanagara at all. This means that these petty chiefs rendered at the time the submission due to the imperial power. In these days there was no viceroy of Vijayanagara at Seringapatam the whole country was directly subject to the Emperor. We know of a gift of land belonging to Seringapatam made by Rama Raya, to whom it had been granted by Sadasiva in 1550. No viceroy or agent of either Sadasiva or Rama Raya is mentioned in this document⁴

7 More powerful than the Raja of Mysore at this time was the Prabhu of Yelahanka. The family of these chiefs had come to the Karnataka country from Alur a village near Kanchivaram and settled down at Avati in the vicinity of Devanahalli 25 miles North-East of the present Bangalore. One member of this family in 1418, established himself at Yelahanka, 9 miles North of the same city and began to style himself *Yelahanka Nadu Prabhu*, Lord of the Yelahanka country⁵. This title was kept up by his successors. They ruled as vassals of the Vijayanagara Emperor paying tribute to him as long as their power lasted.

The most famous among the Yelahanka Lords was Kempe Gowda I son of Kempanacheya Gowda according to an inscription near his statue in the Sivaganga temple. He commenced his rule in 1513. He had been favoured by Krishna Deva Raya, from whom he received the villages of Ballapura Devanahalli and Hoskote⁶. But his successful career began

1. P. Krishna Rao l. c.

2. Cf. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 332.

3. Wilks, o. c., p. 34.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, III, My 50

5. This chief seems to have been called Jaya Gowda. Cf. Narasimha, *The Founder of Bangalore* p. 11.

6. *M.A.D.*, 1922, p. 15

during the reign of Achyuta Deva Raya in 1537, when Kempe Gowda founded Bangalore in the place of the old village of Sivanasamudram by erecting a mud fort¹ The Emperor appreciated the enterprise of the Yelahanka chief, summoned him to his court, and granted him the enjoyment of twelve hoblies or groups of villages, yielding a revenue of 30,000 pagodas On returning to his estate he beautified the new city and made it his capital He built in it the Vishnu and several other temples, and endowed them with grants of villages, lands and agraharas for their perpetual worship

Nor were these the only temples erected by him in his dominions The inscription running near his statue in the Sivaganga temple describes him as a very pious man "Kempaya Gowda, son of Kempanacheya Gowda of Bengaluru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of the god Gangadharaswami" Accordingly many of the temples round about Bangalore claim to have been erected by our hero The Lakshamma's temple at Koramangala, the Somesvara Channigarayaswami temples at Halsur, and the Gavi Gangadharesvara temple at Gavipur, as well as the Kempambudhi tank near it, along with the rest of the village and its large lake, are some of the works due to the piety and munificence of Kempe Gowda He also enlarged and beautified the shrines of the sacred hill of Sivaganga where his statue is shown to this day

Such increase of power made him covet independence, and was also the cause of his disgrace with the Emperor His ambitious purpose was shown when he exceeded the powers of a feudal chief by establishing a mint without permission of the Vijayanagara sovereign, where he coined the Bhire Deva pagodas This happened probably at the beginning of the reign of Sadasiva Raya, when several chiefs of the Karnataka country rebelled against the central power, as stated by Ferishta² Rumours of Kempe Gowda's proceedings reached the court, and he is said to have been sent for by Rama Raya, but it seems more probable that he was defeated

1 The new town was called Bengaluru after a hamlet of this name in the surroundings Cf Narasimiah, *o c*, p 13,

2 Cf Ch, IV, No 2,

and captured by a general of Vijayanagara perhaps by Sadasiva Nayaka of Ikeri, who at about the same time, conducted an expedition against some rebel chiefs of Shimoga. The fact is that Kempe Gowda on reaching Vijayanagara was cast into prison at Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra and that his territory was confiscated and added to that of Jagadeva Raya.

After remaining in confinement for five years Kempe Gowda was released in or about 1563 through the influence of his friends and after the payment of a heavy fine his possessions were restored to him. After he had returned from the metropolis he abolished the family custom of amputating the two ring fingers of the marriageable females of his household, because he considered it incompatible with his dignity as *Prabhu* of the country. He lived five years more after his release, and died in 1569, one year after Tirumala's accession to the throne of Vijayanagara.¹

8. Bellur was another of the petty states of Karnataka. Its chief at this time was Era Krishnappa Nayaka, who appears to have been enfeoffed by Krishna Deva Raya in 1524.² He was the son of Baippa Nayaka and Kondamma.³ The great influence he enjoyed at the court of Vijayanagara is proved by epigraphical records when Sadasiva remitted the taxes to the barbers in 1546. Rama Raya at once informed Era Krishnappa Nayaka of the execution of the King's order.⁴ He enjoyed the dignity of bearer of Sadasiva's betel-bag.⁵ He is given the titles of "Sindhu Govinda, champion over adulterers, terrible with his white ensign, boon lord of Maninagapura"⁶ a place not yet identified.⁷ Finally when in

1. The best account of the Lords of Yalahanka is the one of Mr. B. Pattaiya *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, published in the *Q J M S.*, XIII, p. 724ff. It is a compilation of the information given by both tradition and documents hitherto available.

2. Cf. *Ep Ind.*, XI p. 329.

3. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg 18 and 39.

4. *Ibid.*, Hk, 110.

5. *Ibid.*, Dg, 18 and 39; *M. A. D.*, 1920 p. 38.

6. *Ep Carn.*, XI Dg 18 and 39.

7. *Ep Carn.*, V, p. XXXIII. In 1535-6 these titles were given to Tirumalaraya of Udayagiri. Cf. *Ep Carn.*, III Br 95.

1554 the outer petha of Bagur was rebuilt by Sada order, it was named Krishnapura, after Era Krishna Nayaka ¹ Both Sadasiva and Krishnappa Nayaka mentioned together in an inscription at Hassan ²

We know but little of his achievements. A Kanarese inscription of 1543 in a temple at Badami refers to the construction of a bastion by Era Krishnappa Nayaka, under the superintendence of Kondaraja ³ In 1561 he made for the merit of his parents a grant of the Kadaji village in the Bilichodu-singhee, the chatra and other necessary offerings to the Harihara, with exemption from customs-dues, watch and privileges ⁴ From one of the Kanarese books of the Mackenzie Collection we know that one of his daughters was Venkatama ⁵.

We are not aware of the date of Krishnappa Nayaka's death. We know only that in 1576-7 the head of the family was his son Venkatadri Nayaka ⁶

The chief of Chitaldroog was another of the petty chiefs of Karnataka. During the reign of Krishna Deva Raya Timmana Nayaka, a Telugu from the neighbourhood of Tirupati, visited Vijayanagara and was invited to join the coalition against the Deccan Mussulmans. When the campaign was over he was rewarded with many honours. At a later period, however, he incurred the royal displeasure and was imprisoned at Vijayanagara where he died. His son, Chital Nayaka, was appointed Nayak of Chitaldroog during the reign of Sadasiva ⁷

9 From the Portuguese chronicles we know of feudatory chiefs of Vijayanagara in the Karnatik, on the west coast of the Arabian sea. The earliest relations between the Portuguese and these chiefs began with the King of

1 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk, 112

2 Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90, 533

3 *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64, *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 38. Cf. Ch. III, p. 10.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg, 18 and 39.

5 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345

6 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Yd, 59

7 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 501-2.

(Honore) the present Honavar¹ We do not know his name, but have information that in 1506, when the first Viceroy Dom Francisco d Almeida was in Anjediva on the coast of Kanara the King of Onor sent ambassadors to him in order to seek his friendship. Later however Dom Francisco went from Anjediva to Onor and not being well received, burnt the town and a number of ships which he found there. The Indians defended the ships valiantly and during the encounter the Viceroy was wounded by an arrow. The city nevertheless was captured and its governor named Timoja, an influential person who owned many of the burnt ships, in an interview with Dom Francisco excused the King for what had happened and offered vassalage to Portugal on his behalf². Affonso d Albuquerque, in a letter written in 1512 writes to King Dom Manoel that "the King of Onor gives him a tribute of more than one thousand pardaos. Nevertheless" says Albuquerque "he aids the Sabayo (the Sultan of Bijapur) against us and has always his ambassador at the latter's court"³.

This kingdom was afterwards annexed to that of Bhatkal either during the reign of Sadasiva or a little earlier for when Caesar Frederick passed through Onor in 1567 this city was "in the kingdom of the Queen of Bartacella" (Batecala or Baticala Bhatkal). The same traveller says that "there is no trade there but only a charge with the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there"⁴.

10. The kingdom of Bhatkal was visited by the Portu-

1. In this and other similar cases we keep to the denomination of King applied to the petty chiefs of Kanara. Pietro della Valle II, p. 216 speaking in 1623 of Venkatappa Nayaka, King of Ikeri, says "Who in my judgment, should rather be called a Regulus or Royolet although the Portugals and Indians give him the honour of a Royal title, being he hath in effect neither State, Court, nor appearance, befitting a true king."

2. Barros, II 267-83 Farlay Sousa I, p. 77-8 Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II p. 232.

3. From Affonso d Albuquerque to Dom Manoel, Goa April 1st, 1512, Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas* p. 32.

4. Purchas, X, p. 101.

gueese early in 1502 Vasco de Gama, on passing by the city of Bhatkal, gave orders to land at that famous port, and noticing that the natives were making attempts to prevent the landing of his soldiers, took the offensive. On learning this, the King of Bhatkal despatched some Muhammadans to offer his submission. The Portuguese accepted it on condition that the Turks should not be allowed to trade there, that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port, and that vessels should not be permitted to sail from thence to Calicut. The King accepted these terms, and offered an annual tribute of 1,000 loads of common rice for the Portuguese soldiers, and of 500 loads of superior rice for the officers, excusing himself at the same time for not giving more, as he was only a tenant of the Emperor of Vijayanagara to whom the country belonged ¹. The Italian traveller Corsali, while visiting the place in 1517, wrote likewise to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici that "the king of Narsinga was the lord of it (Bhatkal)" ².

The tribute promised to Vasco de Gama was faithfully paid, it seems till about 1540. The sovereign of Bhatkal at that time was a valiant woman whose name is not given. Her predecessor, perhaps her husband, had died at Vijayanagara sometime before ³. She defied the Portuguese power by withholding the customary tribute of rice, and by giving shelter in her dominions to some pirates who were infesting that sea and disturbing the Portuguese trade.

That was the reason why the first act of Martim Affonso de Sousa, after he assumed the reins of government in 1543, was to raise a force of 2,000 men, with which he proceeded in a fleet of seventy ships to chastise the haughty Queen of Bhatkal.

On reaching the port, Martim Affonso demanded the tribute and the surrender of the pirates' vessels. The Queen made several excuses, but the Governor landed at once with a contingent of 1,200 men, which he divided into two battalions, putting Fernao de Sousa e Tavora at the head of one, and him-

1 Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 81-2

2 Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori*, p. 117

3 Correa, IV, p. 252

self taking command of the other. At the same time he ordered 20 vessels of light draught to sail up the river to attack the city by sea. The governor marched with his force through a palm-grove. Here he was met by a body of the enemy who, notwithstanding their gallant opposition were driven to the gates of the city. The Portuguese entered the town in pursuit, and the struggle that ensued in its streets lasted for many hours. It seems that the Queen herself went personally to her soldiers and encouraged them to defend her rights. But by night the Portuguese were in the possession of the city.

The next morning the Portuguese soldiers, whilst plundering the town, disagreed among themselves as to the division of the spoil, and tumult reigned supreme. The enemy who had retired to a neighbouring hill perceived the commotion, and fell upon them in such numbers that they fled in disorder and took to their ships in such panic that several were drowned. The governor incensed with fury ordered a fresh attack to be made the next day. The city was burnt and the country laid waste so much havoc was caused throughout the land by this final action of Martim Affonso de Sousa that the Queen no longer able to resist, submitted and made peace under the terms proposed by the Portuguese Governor.¹

This treaty was finally signed on September 17th, 1548, during the reign of Sadasiva, when Garcia de Sa was Governor of Goa. According to the treaty the Queen undertook to pay the annual tribute previously promised, as well as all arrears. She likewise promised not to permit pirates ships to leave her territory and in case of her failure to restrain them, she made herself responsible for any damage they might cause to the Portuguese.

II Another feudatory state of Vijayanagara in the Karnataka country was that of Ullal. In 1530 the Portuguese under the command of Nuno da Cunha had crossed the river of

1. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 117-20. Correa, IV p. 257-62. Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* II p. 289.

2. *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* Lisbon, *Trindades* I p. 130. Cf. Danvers, *Report* p. 51. See the text of this treaty in Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner *Subsidios* p. 242-3.

Mangalore, which flowed through the Ullal territory, and destroyed the stockade and the fortified positions with the purpose of punishing a rich merchant of that place, who was in league with the King of Calicut against them ¹ This time the war was not supposed to be against the Queen of Olala (Ullal) She either paid tribute to Portugal then, or was bound to do so shortly after, for in the year 1556 Dom Alvaro de Silveyra was sent at the head of several vessels against the Queen for refusing to pay the ordinary tribute The city of Mangalore was plundered on this occasion and a gorgeous Hindu temple destroyed The Queen then accepted the terms of the Portuguese captain

Nevertheless ten years after, either the same Queen, or her successor, again refused payment of all tribute The name of this Queen, according to the Portuguese chroniclers, was Bucadevi Chantar (Bukka Devi Chautar) Pietro della Valle, who met this Queen in the course of his travels through India, corrupts her name even a little more according to him she was named Abag-devi-Ciantru ² The Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha, with a fleet of seven galleys, two galliots and five smaller vessels, carrying in all about 3,000 fighting men, proceeded to Mangalore, determined to erect a fort there, and bring about the submission of the Queen

The fleet anchored in the bay where both the cities, Mangalore and Ullal, are situated The Viceroy then landed his men in six battalions on January 4th, 1567 But that night, while the Portuguese, quite unconscious of danger, were supping in their camp, the enemy sallied forth in a body of 500 men, followed by another of 1,500, and fell on them so suddenly that for a time they were helpless and thrown into great disorder Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, one of the generals, who held an advance post, received the brunt of the attack, and though he fought well, he lost several men He was finally relieved by Dom Luiz de Almeida and the enemy were driven off

The next day the Portuguese assaulted the city, and after

1 Faria y Sousa, I, p 283-4

2 Ibid, II, p 301-2

3 Della Valle, II, p 311

they had forced their way into it, set it on fire and cut down its grove of palm trees. The Queen fled to the mountain. Of the Hindus 500 were slain and of the Portuguese troops about forty. The Viceroy then laid the foundations of the fort giving it the name of Sao Sebastiao, because the first stone was laid on that Saint's day and in commemoration of the then reigning King of Portugal. By the middle of March the fortress, with a church and other buildings, was completed. The Viceroy gave the command of the fort to his brother in law Antao Pereira and having left there a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition for six months, returned to Goa. Later on during the government of Dom Luiz de Atayde, Bukka Devi sued for peace which she purchased at the cost of an additional tribute, and a payment of ready cash.¹

Frederick, who passed through Mangalore a few months after this attack, states that there is very small trade, but only for a little rice.²

In the neighbourhood of Barcelor (Basrur), the old Barace of Ptolomey near the mouth of the Kundapur river there was another chief called by the Portuguese King of Cambolim (Gangolli) subject to Vijayanagara.³ Frederic mentions also the Queen of Gargopam (Gersoppa), near Honavar as tributary to the King of Bezenegar (Vijayanagara).⁴ The city of Ancola belonged to her.⁵ In 1540 the King of Gersoppa most likely that Queen's predecessor had acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of Portugal, to whom he promised to pay a thousand sackfuls of rice every year.⁶

12. Turning now to the centre of the Empire, we find in the North the petty state of Udiripikonda. Its first Raja seems to have been Timma Nayadu. From an inscription in the Pennahobalam temple at Udiripikonda we know that he was

1. Faria y Sousa, II p. 435-8; Dos Santos, o.c., II p. 292. Lafitau *Histoire des Decouvertes* II, p. 597-9.

2. Purchas, X, p. 101.

3. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 469 and 474.

4. Purchas, X, p. 99.

5. Botelho, *O Tombo do Estado da India*, Lima Felner *Subsidios* p. 257-8; Costa, *Historia das Relacoes Diplomaticas* p. 92.

living in 1556. He seems to have done much to improve the fortifications of his capital. Perhaps, he had been appointed Raja by Krishna Deva Raya after a campaign, as a reward for his services during the war. His son Narasa Nayadu enlarged the fort by building a new bastion, surrounded the village with a mud wall, and built for himself a palace in the village and another on the top of the hill. The Udiripikonda family reached during his reign the climax of its prosperity. He was succeeded by his son Vemala Nayadu, in whose time the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi took place.¹

In the North-East corner of the Empire there was another petty state, that of Venkatagiri. The Valugoti family of its Rajas was at this time subject to Vijayanagara. One of them, Pedakondappa Nayadu, as well as his brother, Gene Nayadu, with the latter's two sons, Nayanappa and Timma, distinguished themselves against the Mussulmans in the reigns of Krishna Raya, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva.² In the Virabhadresvara temple in the village of Macherla, Guntur District, there is an inscription of 1554 recording a gift of the village of Lingapura to the temples of Viresvara and Ishtakamesvara, at the said village of Macherla, by the Queen of Komara Timma-Nayanangaru of the Recharla-gotra and Velugoti family, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Virapratapa Sadasivaraya Maharaya.³

Turning now southwards, we come to the present North Arcot, and here we find the Rajas of Vellore. The ruling family was one of the most influential in the whole of the Empire, and one of its members was destined to create a great deal of trouble in the reign of Venkata II.⁴ The chief

1 Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 165. The information is taken from one of the Mackenzie MSS.

2 *Valugutivarū Vamsavalī*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 274. The Bobbili Zemindari was at this time depending on the Venkatagiri Raja. Cf. Maha Rajah Sri Rao Sri Venkata Swetachalapati, *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari*, p. 13-7.

3 584 of 1909.

4. Cf. Ch. XV, No. 11.

contemporary of Sadasiva was Chinna Bomma Nayaka, whose earliest known inscription is dated 1549¹. We do not know at what time his father Chinna Virappa Nayaka died². He was very likely ruling some time along with one of his brothers; for an inscription of Sadasiva of the year 1550 mentions Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka and Chinna Bomma Nayaka, as the chiefs of Vellore³. His influence at the court of Vijayanagara is beyond question. The grant of the village of Arambaritti to Jvarakandesvara, the Lord of Vellore, made by Rama Raya at the request of Chinna Bomma, proves it conclusively⁴. He was still ruling after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi because on February 5th, 1567⁵ he obtained three grants from the Mahamandalesvara Tirumala who was then the governor of the Empire on behalf of Sadasiva⁶. We know from these inscriptions that Bomma Nayaka's jurisdiction extended over the villages of Arapakkam Ariyur and Sadupperi all in the vicinity of Vellore. From other inscriptions of the time of Ranga I, we learn that he exercised jurisdiction also over Sattuvachcheri Samanginellur and Perumai⁷. During the reign of Venkata II we shall deal at length with his son Lingappa Nayaka after those events Vellore became the capital of the Empire.

13. The names of many other chiefs of petty states may be found on going through the inscriptions of the reign of Sadasiva the greatest number is in Cuddapah District. An inscription of Cuddapah itself records that a feudatory of Sadasiva erected a stone mandapam and planted a garden near it⁸. Another states that Ellappa Nayaka, a feudatory of Sadasiva, granted to the god some land in the village of Chintakommadinne⁹. Ramarajayya Pimmaraju Garu, a

1. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 84, 57

2. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II *Ep. Ind.*, IV p. 271.

3. 417 of 1905

4. 39 of 1887

5. *Cl. Ind. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 132.

6. 37-38 and 44 of 1887

7. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 73-5 47-9

8. Rangacharya, I, p. 578, 33

9. *Ibid.*, p. 577-22.

feudatory of Sadasiva, exempted the barbers of the village of Chinna Mudiyaṁ from taxes ¹, The Mahamandalesvara Maharaya of Yeragudi remitted taxes on barbers at Kalamalla, with the permission of Rama Raya ² One Narayana, son of Tirumala Raja of Bhojanapullah, gave two tums and six muṇḍas of land to Brahmans for the maintenance of the watershed ³ Finally Nandyal Aubalaraja, son of Mahamandalesvara Singarayadeva Maharaja ⁴, feudatory of Sadasiva, granted some land to the god Tiruvengalanatha ⁵, and again gave half a kunda of dry field in Cuddapah to the deity ⁶ It seems that he was succeeded by his grandson Nandyala Timmayyadeva Maharaju, who claims to be the grandson of Nandyala Avubalaraja when making a gift of a village to the temple of Ragunathadeva on the Gandikota-durga ⁷ He also, as feudatory of Sadasiva, built the village of Potladurti and gave it to the god Chennakesava ⁸, granted some lands to the gods and Brahmans of the village of Nellala ⁹, gave the god Chennakesava of Kodur some lands in Nandapadu ¹⁰ and Kodur itself ¹¹, granted the rent of a village for meeting the expense of ceremonial ¹², gave the dues of the village of Koppulu to learned men ¹³ and remitted the tax on the barbers of Bondlakunta ¹⁴, Lingala ¹⁵, Nallapalli ¹⁶, and Gandikota-sima ¹⁷

1 Ibid, p 589, 145

2 381 of 1904

3 Rangacharya, I, p 587, 129

4 106 of 1905

5 Rangacharya, I, p 578, 36

6 Ibid, p 578, 38

7 486 of 1906

8 Rangacharya, I, p 616, 480

9 Ibid, p 629, 594

10 Ibid, p 612, 440

11 Ibid, p 612, 444

12 Ibid p 574, 8

13 Ibid, p 580, 60

14 Ibid, p 588, 136

15 Ibid, p 613, 450

16 Ibid, p 602, 331

17 318 of 1905 Some relations to these chiefs are mentioned in 81 of 1915 and Rangacharya, II, p 964, 534-537.

CHAPTER IX

THE BATTLE OF RAKSAS-TAGDI

SUMMARY—1 Project of a league of the Deccanl Muhammadans against Vijayanagara.—2. Reconciliation between the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar The Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar join the alliance.—3 Rama Raya's preparations against the Muhammadans.—4. Description of the two armies.—5. Advance positions near the river Krishna.—6 Order of battle in the two camps.—7 First action: Venkatadri's attack against Ali Adil Shah, and Tirumala's against the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar.—8. Second action Engagement between Rama Raya and Husain Nizam Shah Muhammadan retreat.—9 Third action The last effort of the Muhammadans. Treachery of two Muslim captains of Rama Raya.—10 Capture and execution of the Hindu ruler.—11. Flight of the Hindu army.—12. Plunder of the Hindu camp.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Ferishta Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Basatin-us-Salatin*.—2. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—3. *Mrtiyunjaya MSS.*, Maratha and Kannarese accounts of the battle.—4. Poona Persian Poem *Ramarajiyamu Chikadevaraya Vamsavali Jangama Kalainyana*.—5. Couto, *Parla y Sousa*.—6. C. Frederick, *Anquetil du Perron*.

IN one of the preceding chapters we said that the arrogance of Rama Raya was responsible for the Muhammadan alliance which culminated in the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. They disliked Rama Raya for interfering in the Muslim kingdoms especially in the last campaigns their pride had been insulted, their religious feelings despised and their independence threatened by the Hindu Monarch¹ The natural consequence of this was the Muhammadan league.

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 268 says that "the Hindu records state that on going to an audience of the Raja the envoy of Ibrahim Adil Shah passed on his way some swine intended to be given to menials of the court. As he expressed his abhorrence of this unclean animal to the Raja the latter treated his aversion with ridicule, and

According to both Couto and Ali ibn Aziz, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar who promoted this alliance among the Deccani kingdoms, spurred on by his hatred towards Rama Raya, who had often laid waste the territories of his realm ¹ But Ferishta says clearly that "Ali Adil Shah resolved to curb his insolence (Rama Raya's) and reduce his power by a league of the faithful against him" The first idea, then, of such an alliance came from the Sultan of Bijapur, and was confirmed by the opinion of his courtiers, for having discussed this point in an assembly of his counsellors, two of them, Kishwar Khan Lary and Shah Aboo Turab Shirazy, represented "that the King's desire to humble the pride of the Raya of Bijanagar was undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic, but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Muhammadan kings of the Deccan, as the revenues of Ramraj, collected from sixty seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum, which enabled him to maintain a force, against

asked him how he could hold them as unclean when he fed upon fowls, which picked out grains from the ordure of swine He took an opportunity of showing him the fact The insult roused Ibrahim Adil Shah to arms" Wilson is mistaken at least in referring to Ibrahim Adil Shah as the Sultan of Bijapur who was present at the so-called battle of Talikota It was his son Ali Adil Shah

1 Couto, VIII, p 28-9, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, Ind Ant, L, p 143 It seems however that Husain Nizam Shah was the most prominent in the battlefield among the four Sultans Naturally the PPP does not mention any other Sultan, according to the poet, the army of Ahmadnagar alone fought against and defeated Rama Raya See Ap A. A Marathi MS of the Mackenzie collection refers to the pretext for commencing this campaign against Vijayanagara, as follows "While Rama Rayalu was ruling, a Mahomedan Fakir came (to Anegundi) and bathed in a sacred pool, and being taken while doing so, was carried before the ruler, at whose command the Fakir himself, and two others of his class, were beaten and allowed to escape barely with life They went to Delhi (a word often loosely used for Mohamedan) and represented that if Vijayanagara were not taken, the Delhi ruler was no Mussulman In consequence of this incident preparations were made to go against Vijayanagara, which was captured" Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonne*, III, p 691-2,

which no single king of the Mussulmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success"

2. Accordingly by the Sultan's command, Kishwar Khan took the necessary measures to effect a general league. The first step was to send an envoy to Golkonda to sound Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and to propose to him, if found prudent, the afore-said plan. The Golkonda Sultan at once fell in with the views of Ali Adil Shah, and even offered to bring together Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who were in perpetual disagreement on the question of the possession of the fort of Sholapur¹ With this view he deputed Mustafa Khan one of the ablest nobles of his court, to the courts of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Husain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah and forming some family connection between them if possible, in order to perpetuate the alliance²

On reaching Ahmadnagar Mustafa reminded its Sultan that during the times of the Bahmani princes the whole strength of the Mussulman powers was united under one king, which maintained the balance against the force of the Raya of Bijanagar that now though the Mussulman dominion was divided yet policy required that all the princes of the faithful should unite in restraining the increasing power of their common enemy. He observed that the authority of the Raya of Bijanagar who had reduced all the Rajas of the Karnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and that his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam, in order that the people of their several dominions, who should be considered as being committed by the Almighty to their care, might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels³

1. Ferishta, III, p. 123-4.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 123 says that Mustafa Khan was directed first to Bijapur but I here prefer the authority of the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, Ferishta, I c., p. 413. Moreover, no satisfactory reason is forthcoming for his journey first to Bijapur since from Bijapur the first idea of the league went out to Golkonda.

3. Ferishta, I c., p. 124-5 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 143-4.

The mission of Mustafa Khan proved eminently successful. Husain Nizam Shah was moved by his reasons, and shortly afterwards plans were laid for the reconciliation between both Sultans. Husain Nizam Shah was to give his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Ali Adil Shah, and with her the fort of Sholapur as her dowry. In return, the Sultan of Bijapur was to give his sister Falah Bibi Hadya Sultana to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Prince Shahzada Murtaza, afterwards Murtaza Nizam Shah.¹ Couto adds here that Husain Nizam Shah gave Ibrahim Qutb Shah another of his daughters as wife.² These family unions were only a sanction of the league calculated to reduce the power of Rama Raya, for this purpose it was resolved to march against him at the earliest practicable moment.

Mustafa Khan then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Mowlana Inayatullah, the ambassador of Nizam Shah. There the political treaties and marriage agreements were drawn up and naturally confirmed by the most solemn oaths. The marriages were celebrated with great pomp, and nuptial rejoicings were held in both the cities of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.³

Were the other two Deccani Sultans invited to join this league? Faria y Sousa speaks only of the three above-mentioned Sultans, Nizamaluko (Nizam Shah), Idalka (Adil Shah), and Gutubixa (Qutb Shah).⁴ The same only are mentioned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*.⁵ But Ferishta, although he does not mention the

1 Ferishta, l c, p 125, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda. Ferishta, l c, p 413, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 144, Couto, VIII, p 89. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p 192, incorrectly speaks of the bride of Prince Murtaza as the daughter of Adil Shah. Both Muhammadan historians say that she was his sister.

2 Couto, l c.

3 Ferishta, l c, p 125-6, Couto, l c.

4 Faria y Sousa, II, p 432.

5 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 144. The Maratha account of the battle gives six names of sovereigns allied against the Hindus on this occasion. The first mentioned is Akbarshah Padsha Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara, Account of the Second Conference of the Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala*, Poona, 1914, p 170.

Sultan of Bidar when relating the making of peace and alliance, nevertheless goes on to say that Ali Barid Shah was making active preparations for the campaign against Rama Raya, as the other three Sultans were doing ¹ Frederick also mentions four *viz.* Dialcan (Adil Khan) Zamaluc (Nizam Shah) Cotamaluc (Qutb Shah) and Viridy (Barid Shah) ² Anquetil du Perron states likewise that Bijnagar was plundered by the four kings of the Deccan and the Concan ³ But Couto says that the Izamaluco (Nizam Shah) invited four other kings to join the alliance *viz.* Idalxa (Adil Shah) Hebrahe (Burhad Imad Shah, of Berar?) Cotubixa, (Qutb Shah) and Verido (Barid Shah) ⁴ According to this authority all the Deccani Sultans were united to this holy campaign against the infidels. Yet the *Basatin-us-Salatin* says that the Sultan of Berar did not join the other Sultans on account of his hatred for Husain Nizam Shah ⁵

3. Rama Raya soon heard of the intentions of the Muhammadan Sovereigns, and lost no time in making preparations to oppose their united forces ⁶ The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda informs us that Rama Raya on this occasion summoned "all his dependents and Rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon" ⁷ One of the Princes summoned was the Nayak of Madura, Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka. This prince, who had shortly before succeeded his father Visvanatha ⁸ did not proceed himself in person to the North to aid the Empire, for his kingdom was not yet entirely subdued. But he sent his prime Minister and great

1. Ferishta III, p. 126 and 246

2. Purohas, X, p. 92.

3. Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques* l. c., p. 166. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao* p 309 mentions also four but instead of the Sultan of Bidar he puts here Melique, the petty lord of Dabul in the Konkan.

4. Couto, VIII p. 88

5. *Basatin-us-Salatin* p 95

6. Couto, VIII p 19

7. Ferishta, III, p 413

8. Cf. Ch. VII, No. 17

general Ariyanatha Mudaliyar with a large force ¹ One of the chiefs who accompanied Ariyanatha to the North for the defence of the Empire was Basavaraja, as we know from the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya ².

While he was thus preparing for the attack, Rama Raya was the recipient of an embassy from Alı Adil Shah of Bijapur demanding restitution of Etgir, Bagrakot, Raichur and Mudgal, which had at different times been wrested by the Vijayanagara sovereigns from their neighbours of Bijapur This was supposed to afford Adil Shah a pretext for breaking with Rama Raya, who "as was expected," says Ferishta, "expelled the ambassador with disgrace from his court, and the united sovereigns made this circumstance a plea for hastening on their preparations to crush the common enemy of Islam" ³

4 Both the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* state that the four Sultans finally met at the fort of Sholapur ⁴, but the statement of Ferishta locating the place of their meeting in the plains of Bijapur seems more probable ⁵ Such is also the view of Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, who affirms that the Sultans marching towards Bijapur finally encamped in the vicinity of Talikota, where they were generously entertained by Ibrahim Adil Shah ⁶ On December

1 *Mrtiyunjaya MSS*, Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 115 Prof Satyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 68, thinks that Ariyanatha arrived at Vijayanagara a little late

2 *T A S*, I, p 84, vv 161-164

3 Ferishta, III, p 126 The Maratha account introduces Alı Adil Shah protesting against the war with Vijayanagara, the other Sultans sent him the following message "Please allow us passage through your territory You should also join us with your army" Alı Adil Shah, duly honouring the envoy, replied as follows "As I call myself a friend of Ram Raj, I am sorry I cannot help you" Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagar, Account of the Second Conference of the B I S M*, Poona, 1914, p 170 Afterwards however the Sultan of Bijapur appears by the side of the other Sultans against his old friend

4 Ferishta, III, p 413, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L p 144

5 Ferishta, III, p 126

6 *Basatin-us-Salatın*, p 96

26th, 1564, they started for the South. The Portuguese authors record that the allied army contained fifty thousand horse and three thousand foot¹. The anonymous chronicler mentions several of the Muslim generals in charge of the detachments of this army: Mustafa Khan from Golkonda, Mowlana Inayatullah from Ahmadnagar and Kishwar Khan from Bijapur². Rifat Khan was also in the army of Golkonda, he had been summoned from the South where he boasted of having reduced part of the country³. Of these Mustafa Khan whose real name was Kamal ud-din Husain (Mustafa Khan being only a title) was as excellent a general as he was a shrewd politician and diplomatist, and was one of the foremost warriors of the Muslim world of those days. The beautiful Tughra inscription over the Makki gate of Golkonda still displays the titles bestowed upon him by the Sultan in token of the royal satisfaction and as a reward for his services to the state⁴. Moreover according to the *Mriyujaya MSS* several Maratha detachments had joined the Muhammadan army⁵. This seems certain, for shortly after we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur⁶. The anonymous chronicler mentions six of the officers of this Mahratta cavalry: Yeswunt Row Bhoj Mul Naig, Dew Naig, Buswunt Row, Viswas Row and Koli Row.

On the other hand the Hindu army according to Ferishta consisted of seventy thousand horse and ninety thousand in infantry⁷ but the anonymous chronicler gives higher figures, viz. one hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand infantry⁸ and both Couto and Faria y Sousa, while agreeing

1. Couto, VIII, p. 89. Faria y Sousa, II, p. 432. The P.P.P. says that "on account of the Arabian horses and of the intoxicated elephants, the desert and the fields became black" Ap. A.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 414.

3. Ibid., p. 421.

4. Yardani, *Inscriptions in Golkonda Fort Ep. Ind. Musl.*, 1913-14 p. 48-9.

5. Taylor *O.H. MSS.*, II p. 15.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 418.

7. Ibid., p. 433.

8. Ibid., p. 247.

9. Ibid., p. 413.

as to the number of horse, state that the footsoldiers were more than six hundred thousand ¹ Rama Raya and his two brothers were at the head of this formidable army. The so-called Emperor of Vijayanagara was then a very old man according to Ferishta he was seventy ²; the *Burhan-i-Ma'asu* says he was eighty ³, but the Portuguese authors, who seem more reliable on this point, on account of their frequent intercourse with the court of Vijayanagara, state that he was in the 96th year of his age ⁴.

1 Couto, VIII, p 89, Faria y Sousa, II, p 432

2 Ferishta, III, p 129.

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 146

4 Couto, III, p 90, Faria y Sousa, l c, Sewell, p 203, agrees.

The Maratha account gives interesting details of the proceedings of Rama Raya on the eve of his departure from the capital "He then went to his own harem, spent some time with Sathyabhamabai, the chief Queen, and presented many rich jewels to her Then he went to another of his wives whose name was Devachintamani Trivegal Her company gave him great pleasure and he made presents to her Then he came to the drawing room of his third wife, Mana Mohini Nijaswarapi She tried to please him in different ways He ordered sundry fruits from his orchards and presented them to his wives (There is here a list of 20 different kinds of fruits) Then he visited the chamber of his mother Chandrasala She waved many jewels over his head that evil may be warded off He then explained to her the state of affairs, how the four kings had made a common cause in attacking him and how the temples, alms-distributing houses, and the existence of the Brahmans was threatened He therefore intimated to her the plan of repulsing and punishing the enemy. He then fell at her feet and asked for her leave She did not like the idea and said "We have not hurt the Muhammadans, but even then they are all coming united It would be better to negotiate with them" He, not approving of her advice, went away Whereupon she consented in order to please him Afterwards he took rest during the night in his chambers There he dreamt that somebody was depriving him of his ear-jewel and his throne and that he was being pulled down At once he caused all the astrologers and fortune-tellers of long standing to be summoned and related his dream to them They consoled him by saying that the enemy would be warded off, and that he would be long-lived and rule over his kingdom He then presented them with costly cloths as well as coco-nuts He also distributed 5,000 huns among the Brahmans" Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 171-2.

5. Rama Raya soon sent his brother Tirumala with twenty thousand cavalry five hundred elephants and one hundred thousand foot to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and defend all the passages of the river. He also sent his second brother Venkatadri with another equally large army. He himself next followed by slow marches with the rest of the forces of his dominions.¹ According to the Maratha account "horses, elephants, camels, stores, cattle, drink-shops, hunting materials, treasure houses and corn stores all these were also brought to the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Every man in Vijayanagara (every one having his own horse) was ordered to join the army."²

The Muhammadan armies, having passed the town of Talikota, which wrongly gave its name to the battle³ were laying waste the Vijayanagara territory to the North of the Krishna.⁴ Tirumala and Venkatadri had encamped on the South bank of this river where they had constructed field fortifications and strengthened them by cannon and rockets.⁵ The allies on reaching the Krishna, found that the only known ford was already occupied by the Hindu army and despatched scouts to explore the river hoping to find another fordable passage for their troops. It was not long before they

1. Ferishta, III p. 137 *Baratun-us-Salatun* p. 96-7 compares Rama Raya's army to a locust cloud, and states that the total number of his soldiers were one lakh of horse and five lakhs of foot-soldiers. There is a slight difference in these numbers as given in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144. Venkatadri's army 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 100,000 foot. Eltamraja (Tirumala's) army 12,000 horse 1,000 elephants and 200,000 foot.

2. Chandorkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, L. c., p. 172.

3. Talikota is twenty five miles North of the Krishna. This is the reason which inclined me to change the appellation of this battle. History must be accurate even in these minor details.

4. Couto, VIII, p. 89. Both the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 144, and the *Baratun-us-Salatun*, p. 97 describe the battle as having taken place on the banks of the Krishna. Only Ferishta, III, p. 268, says that the allies had crossed the Krishna and the fight occurred near the river Hukery twelve miles South of the Krishna.

5. Ferishta, L. c., p. 137. There was no fort there as Sowell, p. 201 supposes.

fully ascertained that the only safe ford was just in front of the Hindus

"On obtaining this information", says Ferishta, "the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross, in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, thus enabling the Muhammadans to return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired ford without interruption. Agreeably to this plan the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively, which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manoeuvred along the opposite side of the river. The allies on the third night suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity that, during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted and crossed the river without opposition." Husain Nizam Shah was among the first to cross the river. On the next day the vanguards of both armies met some miles South of the Krishna ¹, in the neighbourhood of the two villages of Raksasji and Tagdiji, the names of which combined give the word Raksas-Tagdi ²

1 Ferishta, III, p 127-8; *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p. 145, *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 97-8. Sewell, p 199, note 2, says that this place was probably "the plains about the little village of Bayapur or Bhogapur on the road leading directly from Ingaligi to Mudkal." Ferishta, III, p 247, while narrating the history of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, says "The kings of the Deccan made overtures to him (Rama Raya), promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his formidable army. Ramraj however refused to listen to any accomodation." This statement seems inconsistent with the whole account of the battle and its preparations, and with his own narrative. It is evidently intended to extol the Muslim bravery in winning such an unequal engagement.

2 Patwardan, *The Battle of Raksas-Tagdi*, *The Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, IV, p 72. Raksas-Tagdi is mentioned both in a Kanarese, and in the Maratha account. Cf Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, I c., p 176, S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *The Bakhair of Ram Raj*, *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Pqona Session, p 57.

eighty years (?) without having disgraced himself and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Raya's brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death.¹ Then Rama Raya mounted a litter of state called *sing hasan* in spite of the entreaties of his officers, who felt that he would be much safer on horseback.

But" said he, "there is no occasion for taking precautions against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge this is not war"²

7 It was noon³ when the two armies advanced and soon joined battle⁴. The left wing of the Hindu army under the command of Venkatadri, was the first to attack its opponent the Sultan of Bijapur⁵. Venkatadri had always been a help-mate to his brother Rama Raya on the battlefield verily as Lakshmana was to the epic hero Rama as the Kondyata grant of Venkata III says⁶. He was a great hero according to the Kallakursi grant of Ranga III⁷ and a veritable

1. *Burhan-i-Ma asir Ind. Ant.*, I. p. 146.

2. Ferishta III p 128-9 *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 99 According to the *Burhan-i-Ma asir* L.c., p. 145 Rama Raya and his brothers on approaching the Muslim army "were terrified and decided not to fight on that day but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the field, and Hussain Nizam Shah and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight, to allow the armies of Islam time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow's battle" The P.P.P. says also that "when that infidel (Rama Raya) heard that the army (of Ahmadnagar) was approaching the world became dark to his eyes" Ap. A. This conduct of Rama Raya is not consistent with the narrative of Ferishta and other authorities. This passage is an evident concoction of the author in order to represent the Vijayanagara ruler as a cowardly warrior

3. Ferishta III, p. 128 *Burhan-i-Ma asir* L.c., p. 146.

4. Ferishta III, p. 120

5. Couto, VIII, p. 91 *Burhan-i-Ma asir* L.c., p. 193.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII p 129

7. *Ibid.*, p. 157



V Battle of Raksas-Tagdi The Hindu Army First engagement
Rama Raya in upper right corner (P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hony Serretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

Arjuna in the battlefield' according to the *Ramarajiyamu* ¹ This great general was the first to attack the Mussulman force "The infidels," Ferishta remarks, "began the attack with vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery" ². Venkatadri had under his command two hundred thousand infantry, twenty five thousand cavalry and five hundred elephants ³, and with this force he fought valiantly, inflicting great loss on his enemies. The *Ramarajiyamu* records that Venkatadri "in a pitched battle dealt destruction to the combined troops of the Nizam, Adil Khan and Qutb Shah, and drove away all the three chiefs from the field" ⁴. The second part of the sentence sounds like a poetical exaggeration, but points, nevertheless, to the success of Venkatadri's army over that of Adil Shah ⁵. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* agrees with this when affirming that Alī Adil Shah 'left the position allotted to him' ⁶.

After Venkatadri had opened the attack, the action became general ⁶. On the right wing of the Hindu army, Tirumala, at the head of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand infantry and five hundred elephants, was likewise successfully opposing the combined armies of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bidar ⁷. Both he and his eldest son, Ragunatha Raje (Raghunatha), distinguished themselves by their heroic conduct and mercilessly slew hundreds of Muhammadans ⁸. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* openly declares that "the left of the allies under Ibrahim Qutb Shah was beaten back" ⁹. Raghunatha had previously defeated the armies of Nizam Shah near the

1 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, 1 c, p 119

2 Ferishta, III, p 129

3 Ibid, p 247

4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 222

5 The *Narasabupaliyamu* speaks also of the military achievements of Venkatadri in a pitched battle against Adil Shah. If the Bijapur poem refers to this battle, it is quite certain that the Sultan was driven from the field. Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 224

6 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, 1 c, p 193

7 Ferishta, III, p 129

8 Ibid, p 247. According to the *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 102, Tirumala was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur

9 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, 1 c, p 193

river Krishna and had driven them to the North of the river¹ But as Couto records both father and son had at last to retire from the battle field for both were dangerously wounded² The Portuguese chronicler does not say what these wounds were, but C. Frederick informs us that "Timaragio fled in the battle having lost one of his eyes"³ Raghunatha's injuries are not recorded anywhere, but since no mention of him is found afterwards, and it is known that he was not alive at the time of his father's death, we may suppose that he died as the result of the injuries received in this battle.

8. When the news of this event reached Rama Raya's ears, the valiant chief, realizing that the issue was much beyond his expectations, was incensed with fury and in order to encourage his troops he remounted his horse, and shouting several times *Gorida! Gorida!* (Garuda! Garuda!)⁴ with his men charged the allied army The wings commanded by the Sultans of Bijapur Golkonda and Bidar soon broke before the indomitable fury of the old Hindu King and his Rachevadu soldiers. Then the Hindu army charged straight to the centre of the allied army which was led by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar with ten thousand horse under his command. But the attack of Rama Raya was so unexpected and effective that the Nizam's army retreated about half a league with the loss of more than two thousand of its men Here the Rachevadu soldiers proved the bravery of their race for seeing their Sovereign engaged with the enemy they dismounted in great haste and rushing to his defence slew many Muhammadans.

1. *Varacharitrans* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 216 This action must have occurred before the battle of Rakas-Tagdi because Vijayanagara never recovered the territories to the North of the river

2. Couto, VIII, p. 91

3. Purchas, X, p. 93

4. "Que he o seu Idolo das batalhas, como nos o fazemos ao apostolo Santiago." Couto VIII, p. 91. According to the Maratha account this horse was called Amritanidhan. Chanderkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, I. c., p. 172. The exaggerated account of the

But the field was not yet clear of the enemy¹ Adil Shah returned to battle, with his soldiers, to check the advance of Rama Raya. In the meanwhile the Sultan of Ahmadnagar collected his dispersed forces, and was back again on the battle-field before the engagement between Rama Raya and Adil Shah was over². Then several detachments of the Hindu army were sent against the Nizam's troops. In the first lines of the latter's army there were now two thousand Iragi and Khurasani archers under Ikhlas Khan, drawn up to conceal the artillery that lay behind in charge of Rumi Khan. "These kept up a heavy discharge on the enemy (the Hindus) as they approached, and fell back as the Hindus advanced, till they were close to the heavy battery, which opened upon them with such effect that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss"³. "In fact," says Ali ibn Aziz, "Ikhlas Khan and Rumi Khan were the heroes of the day"⁴.

"At this phase of the fight," continues the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "Husain Nizam Shah ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. The pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Deccan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without

PPP is full of oriental imagery and worth copying. "On account of the noise the beasts of the desert took to flight. When they were arrayed for the battle, even the devil fled away from their excessive clamour. The two clouds (of soldiers) began shouting and the two seas of fire came into tumult. And such was their shouting that on account of its dread the devil became mad. The trampling of the horsemen broke the ribs of the bullock (that supports the earth). The black cloud started shouting and the shining of the fish (that supports the bullock) reached the sky. The clamour was such that it reached the sky and even deafened the ears of the angels." Ap. A.

1 This retreat of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar is, of course, omitted in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, but it is also recorded in the Maratha account Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 180.

2 Couto, VIII, p 91-2

3 Ferishta, III, p 248, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 193, Couto, VIII, p 92

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l. c.

quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour"¹

This was probably too much for the old Hindu ruler who now dismounted and sat similarly "on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls" But not to discourage his troops with his weakness, he ordered his treasurer to give some money to them, and "to place heaps of money around him that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose" The Hindus, inspired by this generosity recovered from the panic produced by the discharge of the Nizam's artillery and charged the right and left wings of the allies "with such vigour that they were thrown into temporary disorder and Ali Adil Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah began to despair of victory and even to prepare for retreat"² This account of Ferishta, who also states that "the two flanks had already fallen back"³ agrees not only with the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* which says that "the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable"⁴ and with the Hindu chronicles which say that two divisions of the Muslim army had been defeated⁵ but also with Faria y Sousa, who writes that "Rama Raya almost defeated his enemies"⁶ The *Basatin-us-Salatn* relates this tremendous havoc in the Muslim army as follows.

The Muslim slain were piled in heaps over heaps, and autumn seemed to have come over the Muslim army The infidels showed their superiority and valour"

1. Ibid *Basatin-us-Salatn* p. 101. According to this authority Humayun Nizam Shah had in the camp several of his wives and concubines; at this point he placed eunuchs next to every one of them with the special command of killing them should the battle take a bad turn.

2. Ferishta, III p. 129

3. Ibid., p. 248.

4. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* L. c.

5. Cf. Taylor *O.H.A.S.S.*, II p. 142

6. Faria y Sousa II, p. 432.

7. *Basatin-us-Salatn* p. 101.



VI Battle of Rakas-Tagdi. The Defeat of the Hindu Army
(P.P.P)

By kind permission of the Hon'g. Secretaries, Bharata Jishan Sanshodhaka Mandal, Poona.

9 Husain Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre ¹ The commander of the artillery, Chalabi Rumi Khan, had provided bags of copper money to lead off with, should the enemy close, and these proved so destructive, that upwards of five thousand Hindus were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns before they retreated" The confusion of the Vijayanagara army then grew enormous Kishwar Khan Lary, an officer of Bijapur attached to the centre of the Muslim host, charged with five thousand cavalry and routed the centre of the Hindu line ²

And then, at the height of all the confusion, there was a movement in the Hindu army that decided the fate of the day Two Muhammadan generals who served under Rama Raya, taking advantage of the confusion caused by the last charge of Kishwar Khan Lary, turned their backs on their lord, and went over with their troops to the cause of Islam This treason, recorded neither by Ferishta nor by Ali ibn Aziz, explains quite satisfactorily the sudden change of fortune at the end of the battle We are made aware of it by C Frederick, who heard the account of the whole action one year later when he passed through Vijayanagara "These foure Kings," says he, "were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores (Muhammadans) and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men These two Captaines, being of one Religion with the foure kings which were Moores (Muhammadans), wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields, and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chieftest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King and made disorder in his Armie, that as as-

1 Ferishta, III, p 129

2. Ibid, p 248.

toned they set themselves to flight ¹ Anquetil du Perron records likewise that "the king abandoned during the battle by two Muhammadan chiefs perished" ²

Who were these two Mussulman generals who so treacherously deserted the Vijayanagara army? Their names are found nowhere, but I suspect that one of them was that Ain-ul Mulk whom Rama Raya used to call his brother ³ and at whose request Sadasiva granted the village of Bevinahalli to the Brahmans ⁴ He seems to have come from a family of traitors His father mentioned also in the aforesaid grant as the chief Ainana Malukka, was beheaded for treason at Bijapur in 1553, during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah ⁵ and it was perhaps then that his son "offended Ibrahim Adil Shah, left his service and entered that of Ramraj" ⁶ As a matter of fact we find one Ain-ul Mulk in the army of the Sultan of Bijapur in the subsequent wars with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar ⁷

10. The desertion of these generals threw the division of Rama Raya into chaotic confusion ⁸ in the course of which he himself was wounded ⁹ On seeing this the old Sovereign again mounted his state litter to retreat from the battlefield but the bearers, panic stricken at the approach of a furious elephant of the Ahmadnagar army ran away abandoning their Monarch

1. Purchas, X, pp. 92-3 According to the Maratha account the final cause of the defeat was the surprise of the Hindu camp by the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur Ohandorkar *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l. c., p. 181.

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166. This treason, not mentioned by Sewell, is recently recorded by Krishnamachariu, *The Origin Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire Ind. Ant.*, LII p. 11.

3. Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Ferishta*, III p. 381.

4. *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 231, vv 64-68

5. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 53 and Ch. V No. 9

6. *Ferishta*, l. c.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 133 Anonymous chronicler *Ibid.*, pp. 419 427 etc

8. *Ferishta*, p. 129 "The soldiers refused to obey the orders of their generals and ran away in all directions *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p. 103.

9. *Basatin-us-Salatin* l. c. Couto VIII p. 92.

in the middle of that tremendous turmoil ¹ Rama Raya then attempted to make his escape on foot, but just when he was dismounting from the litter he was overtaken by the elephant, who seized him with his trunk ² The venerable prisoner was then conducted to Chalabi Rumi Khan ³, who just was going to kill him when one Dalpat Rai, a Brahman general of the Hindu army, cried out "Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Divan Barid, for he is Sadasiva Raya (Rama Raya)" ⁴ Rumi Khan on hearing this brought the prisoner into the presence of Husain Nizam Shah ⁵. Ferishta, Ali ibn Aziz and the P P P say that the Ahmadnagar Sultan ordered his head to be instantly cut off ⁶, but Couto relates that Husain Nizam Shah beheaded him with his own hand exclaiming

"Now I am avenged on thee! Let God do what he will to me!" ⁷

1 Ferishta, III p 129

2 Ibid, p 249 The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, Ind Ant, L, p 193, relates that the capture of Rama Raya took place when he was riding on horseback

3 Ferishta, III, p 130 According to the *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 103, Rumi Khan himself was riding the elephant that seized Rama Raya

4 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, *Basatin-us-Salatn*, l c

5. Ferishta, III, p. 130, *Basatin-us-Salatn*, l c The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, pp 193-4, says also as follows "They therefore straitly bound the chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizam Shah"

6 Ferishta, III, p 249, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194, P P P, Ap A.

7 Couto, l c The *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 103, depicts here an incredible scene "Nizam Shah was much pleased with the capture of Rama Raya, caused him to sit down before him and asked him 'How are you?' and 'How do you feel?' Rama Raya could not speak, but pointed out to his own head saying 'This was destined' On this point Akim Hasan Beg of Dabris, who was a favourite of Nizam Shah and the confidant of his Court, hastily came forward and told him that this was not the time for talking, saying 'Send him immediately to the gallows of retribution (kill him), otherwise Adil Shah who claims to be his son, will cause great disturbances and will snatch Ram Raj from your hands' - Accordingly Ram Raj's head was severed from his body"

His mischievous head" says Ali ibn Aziz, "was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the king's horse"¹ Moreover the P P P relates that Rama Raya's head was stuffed with straw²

Husain Nizam Shah then caused Rama Raya's head "to be placed on the point of a long spear that his death might be thus announced to the enemy"³

The death of Rama Raya on the battlefield is also recorded in the Hindu contemporary sources. A grant of his brother Tirumala 1568, says that when Sadasiva was governing the kingdom of the world the Mahamandalesvara Aliya Rama Rajayya Deva-Maha Arasu having by the action of kings, suddenly set," (died), etc.⁴ In another similar grant of Tirumala it is said that Rama Raya, "owing to the action of the kings of the Turukas (Turks, i. e. Muhammadans) having set' (died) etc.⁵ The Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* l. c.

2. P P P., Ap. A.

3. *Perishta* III, p. 130. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* l. c. Briggs, *Perishta* l. c., note says that "the real head (of Rama Raya) annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious Muhammadans of Ahmadnagar on the anniversary of the battle, for the last two hundred and fifty four years by the descendants of the executioner in whose hands it has remained till the present period." This was written in 1839. Since then no remains in Ahmadnagar of such a head can be traced. The Maratha account states that Rama Raya's head was sent to Benares. Chandorkar a. c., p. 181. In the Museum of Bijapur there is a stone representation of Rama Raya's head. M. J. Bird, *On the Rained City of Bijapur* J. B. B. R. A. S., I, p. 376 says as follows: "The only other thing that formerly attracted notice at the citadel was the stone representation of Rama Raya's head. It was on the right of the gate at entering; but having been removed from there by the Raja of Sattara was lately thrown into the ditch." As a matter of fact it seems to have been thrown into the Taj Bauri; for when it was subsequently cleaned out this head was discovered in the mud at the bottom. Cf. Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 9 note 2. The sculpture is photographically reproduced in the frontispiece of this volume.

4. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 7.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 6.



VII Battle of Raksas-Tagdi The execution of Rama Raya
(P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hon'y Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

Varatungarama Pandya say that "in Vidyanagari the famous Rama Raya was killed by his enemies"¹ The *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that "in one of his invasions against the Yavana kingdoms of the North he lost his life"² Rama Raya's death is also mentioned in the *Krishna Raya Rajya alada vivara*³ Finally his defeat and death are given in the *Jangama Kalajmyana* in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son, staunch devotees of Siva⁴

II When news of the capture of Rama Raya reached Ali Adil Shah, this affectionate Sultan, who sometimes called Rama Raya his father, proceeded to where Husain Nizam Shah was, in order to save the life of the old Monarch, but before he reached the spot his old friend had been beheaded, to the great sorrow of the Bijapur Sultan⁵

The noble head of Rama Raya was soon raised on the top of a pike, according to the Nizam's orders; and this was the cause of the flight of the Hindu army "The Hindus", says Ferishta, "according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field"⁶ towards Vijayanagara⁷ They were pursued by the Muhammadans "Husain Nizam Shah," says Ali ibn Aziz, "pursued the fugitives, and so many were put to the sword that

1 T A S, I, p 84, vv 161-164

2 S Krishnaswami Ayangar, *Sources*, p 302

3 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 345.

4 Ibid, p 272

5. Couto, VIII, p 92, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194 One of the paintings of the P P P, reproduced here, shows the Sultan of Bijapur begging for Rama Raya's life before Husain Nizam Shah Ali Adil Shah is there represented as far too advanced in years The Hindu accounts say generally that Rama Raya was beheaded by Adil Shah, and speak of him as having performed a meritorious action in saving Rama Raya from the disgrace of captivity Cf Taylor, *O H MSS* II, p 142 See for instance Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 181

6 Ferishta, III, p 130, *Basatn-us-Salatn*, p 104 Maratha account, Chandorkar, o c, p 181

7 Ferishta, III, p 249, Maratha account, Chandorkar, l c, p. 181.

the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies" ¹ The river" according to Ferishta, was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities" he continues, 'that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit' ²

What was the fate of Venkatadri the youngest brother of the deceased Raya? Frederick says that both Venkatadri and his brother died ³ and Couto ⁴ and Anquetil du Perron ⁵ agree with the Italian traveller. But Ferishta definitely asserts that Venkatadri escaped from the battle to a distant fortress" ⁶ The *Ramarajiyamu* seems to confirm this, while stating that "the combined armies of Nizam (Nizam Shah) Yedulakhana (Adil Shah) and Kutupusahu (Qutb Shah) altogether gave up the hope of capturing him" ⁷ Finally the Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva, dated at least two years after the Raksas-Tagdi disaster speak of Venkatadri as still alive they say that he shone on earth as a hero and a conqueror ⁸ Probably the fact that he retired to that distant fortress was the cause of the belief that he was dead. Which fortress this was it is difficult to say Chandragiri near Tirupati, would have offered him a safe refuge it is distant, indeed, from the Mussalman realms, and considered as one of the strongholds of the Empire Krishna Deva Raya had imprisoned there his three brothers and his nephew as soon as he was enthroned, according to Nuniz ⁹

12. The victorious Muhammadans did not pursue the Hindus up to the walls of Vijayanagara. Their bloodthirsty pursuit perhaps extended over some leagues but then they

1. *Berkat Ma asir* L.c., p. 194.

2. Ibid., p. 130; *Basatin-us-Salatin* p. 105 The anonymous chronicler agrees, Ibid., p. 414 but the *Berkat-i-Ma asir* L.c. says that the number of the slain was nine thousand.

3. Purohas, X, p. 93.

4. Couto VIII p. 91.

5. Anquetil du Perron, L.c., p. 166. Accordingly Sewell, p. 180 seems to suppose that Venkatadri died also at Raksas-Tagdi.

6. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

7. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* L.c.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 330.

9. Sewell, p. 315-6



VIII Battle of Raksas Tagdi The retreat of the Hindu Army
Tirumala Raya in upper left corner (P P P)

(By kind permission of the Hony Secretaries, Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Poona)

returned to the battlefield and halted some time over there Couto says they halted only three days¹, but the anonymous chronicler, who is more reliable, expressly states that "the allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action"², and Ali ibn Aziz agrees to his statement³

All the riches of the Hindu camp fell into the hands of the Muslims "The victors," says the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, "captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched"⁴ "The plunder was so great," adds Ferishta, "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use"⁵ The Maratha account states that the treasures Rama Raya had brought to the battlefield were valued at 12,357,411 huns⁶ Among all these jewels the Muhammadan writer mentions only "necklaces which had been brought into the treasury (of Ahmadnagar) from the plunder of Ramraj, composed of valuable rubies, emeralds and pearls" These necklaces became later on the cause of one of the mad excesses of Murtaza Nizam Shah⁷

This tremendous disaster to the army of Vijayanagara took place on January 25th, 1565⁸

1 Couto, VIII, p 92

2 Ferishta, III, p 414

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, l c, p 194 According to the *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 105, the Sultans lived for 20 days in the battlefield

4 Ibid

5, Ferishta, III, p 130, *Basatin-us-Salatin*, p 104 "The army became rich in wealth and jewels" P P P, Ap A

6 Chandorkar, *The Destruction of Vijayanagara*, l c, p 172

7 Ibid, pp 264-5

8 Ibid, p 414 The date given by the anonymous chronicler seems the most reliable Ferishta does not give the exact date The one assigned by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, *Ind Ant*, L, p 146, corresponds to January 7.

CHAPTER X

THE END OF THE TULUVA DYNASTY

SUMMARY 1. Influence of the battle of Raksas-Tagdi on the history of the South of India.—2. A criticism of Rama Raya and his rule.—3. Tirumala succeeds Rama Raya as Regent of the Empire.—4. The Vijayanagara court flies up country.—5. Triumphant entry of the Muslim Sultans into the city of Vijayanagara.—6. The sack of the city.—7. Departure of the Muhammadans.—8. Return of Tirumala and the court.—9. The imperial palace at this time.—10. Intercourse between Tirumala and Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda.—11. Sadasiva under the Regency of Tirumala.—12. Tirumala transfers the capital of the Empire to Penakonda.—13. Previous history of this place.—14. Further information about the city of Vijayanagara.—15. The abandonment of Vijayanagara deals a death blow to Portuguese commerce in India.—16. Muhammadan conquests in the North of the Empire.—17. Internal state of the Empire.—18. The Krishnapuram grant at Srirangam.—19. Murder of Sadasiva.—20. An estimate of his reign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. 1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir Basatin-us-Salatin*.—3. Couto, Correa Faria y Sousa.—4. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—5. Chikkadevaraya *Vamsavali* Poona Persian Poem.

THE battle of Raksas Tagdi is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in the South of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion. Impartial history acknowledges its influence centuries after since it paved the way for the Maratha cavalry of Sivaji and his successors fostered the ambitious ideals of Aurangzeb and his Nawabs and attracted the ambitious Haider Ali to overthrow the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The glorious Empire of Vijayanagara, faithful trustee of the inheritance of the Hoysalas for two centuries and a half, was now seriously menaced by its secular opponents, the Muslim powers of central India. Perhaps this action would mark the end of its existence but for a new family of fresh and

Question—How do you account for the falling off in respect towards the European officers of the regiment?

Answer—I account for it by the lax state of discipline which has been allowed, by men being permitted to commit faults, and receiving little or no punishment for the same. Also by the difficulty which officers of companies have experienced in getting adequate punishment for their men in cases when the offences were of so serious a nature as to require reference to a higher authority. In fact, to use the words of old officers of the regiment, the corps was commanded by the late havildar major Mookta Persaud Pandey. I wish it to be understood that the foregoing reply has no reference to the period during which Colonel Wheeler has been in command of the regiment.

The witness withdraws.

5th Witness

Lieutenant A O Bunbury 34th Regiment Native Infantry is called into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

Question—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

Answer—Good.

Question—How do you account for the indifference shown, on the 29th ultimo by the bulk of the men of the regiment in remaining passive spectators of a murderous attack on the adjutant and sergeant-major by a mutineer supported by men on duty from the quarter guard?

Answer—I cannot account for it.

Question—Have you noticed any change in the bearing and behaviour of the men towards yourself or towards any of the European officers?

Answer—None towards myself, but I have heard other officers speak of such a change.

Question—When did you first hear of that change?

Answer—I was absent from the station on fort duty last month, and whilst there I heard of it.

Question—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service in full reliance on the loyalty and good conduct of the native officers and men of all castes?

Answer—Certainly, I would.

The witness withdraws

There being no more officers in attendance except Ensign G R. Hennessy, who informs the Court that he returned to the station only during the current month having been for the three preceding months on fort duty, and consequently unable to speak to recent occurrences, or even present feeling, and also that he received charge of a company only yesterday for the first time, the Court do not think that there would be any use in examining this young officer.

OPINION

The Court, from the evidence before them, are of opinion that the Sikhs and Mussulmans of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, are trustworthy soldiers of the State, but that the Hindus generally of that corps are not trustworthy.

The Court adjourned at 3 P.M. *sine die*.

Under instructions from the Major-General Commanding the Division, conveyed through the President, the Court is re-assembled for the purpose of taking the evidence of Lieutenant and Adjutant B H. Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry (on the sick list), as also that of Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain A. S. Allen, and Lieutenant J T Liscombe, of the same regiment (on duty in Fort William), whose attendance at Barrackpore has been directed

At 6-15 A.M., the Court proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant and Adjutant B H. Baugh

The President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate all present.

6th Witness

Lieutenant and Adjutant B H Baugh, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, being present in Court, is examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate

Question—What is your opinion of the present state of feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry?

Answer—I do not exactly know what their present feeling may be, but their conduct hitherto has given me the greatest distrust in them. About two months ago, on the evening that the order came from Brigadier Grant for the men to be paraded in their Hindustani clothes, in order that the new cartridges might be shown to them, their conduct

Answer—(concl'd.)

at that parade was most unruly and insubordinate so much so that I took up two or three men (whom I had marked for having made use of very insubordinate expressions) to Colonel Wheler, who was on the parade ground. The colonel, however advised that no further notice should be taken of them saying that if the conduct of those men were to be noticed he would for the same reason have to put half the regiment in confinement. Again about a month ago the subadar major was so extremely insolent to me on the parade ground that I was compelled to take him to the quarters of Colonel Wheler by whom he was then and there severely reprimanded. Again on the evening of the 29th ultimo after my conflict with Mungul Pandey when I was retreating severely wounded towards the bungalow of the sergeant major of the 43rd Regiment Light Infantry I looked towards the lines of my own corps and seeing all the men collected outside I said to those of the light company as I passed them— You cowardly set of rascals you see an officer cut down before your eyes and not a man of you advances to assist him. They made no reply but all turned their backs on me and moved away in a slow and most sullen manner. Indeed the conduct of the men generally was at the time such that I do not hesitate to say that it is my firm conviction that all of them were cognisant of what was going to take place fully prepared for what did take place and all more or less implicated. On questioning some of the men a day or two afterwards as to where they were on the occasion referred to, I received the most futile and confused answers.

*Question—*Prior to the occurrence of the 29th ultimo had you observed any change in the bearing and behaviour of the men towards their European officers?

*Answer—*I had observed that they were greatly wanting in respect towards the officers and they performed their duty in such a sullen and sluggish manner that the sergeant major one day remarked to me that he did not know what had come over the regiment.

Question—Would you now accompany your regiment on field service in full reliance upon the loyalty and good conduct of native officers and men of all castes?

Answer—Most certainly not.

Question—Would you do so as regards those of any class?

Answer—Yes, I would rely upon the Mussulmans and Sikhs, because I think that those two classes are overawed by the preponderating influence of the Brahmins.

BY THE COURT

Question—How do you account for the change in the general conduct of the native officers and men, as also for their altered manner and bearing towards their European officers?

Answer—I noticed it in December or January last about the time that the general order was received for the formation of the new rifle depots and the succeeding introduction of the new cartridges, and to that cause I attribute the change in question

This witness's examination is closed. At 7 A.M. the Court adjourn until 11 A.M. to-day, so as to allow of the arrival from Fort William of Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain Allen and Lieutenant Liscombe.

Friday, 19th April 1857.

The Court re-assembled pursuant to adjournment. President, Members, and Officiating Judge-Advocate all present.

7th Witness

Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain A S Allen, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate

Question—What was your opinion of the feeling and temper of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, when you left this station on the 3rd instant?

Answer—With the exception of the parties who misbehaved in the quarter-guard on the 29th ultimo, I am not aware that

Answer—(concl'd.)

the regiment generally has shown symptoms of disloyalty
My reasons for so thinking are—

- (1)—Because on the evening alluded to the pay havildars of both my companies came running to my quarters and informed me that Mungul Pandey sepoy of one of these companies (No. 5) was standing with a loaded musket near the quarter guard.
- (2)—Because when I proceeded towards the lines on that occasion and as I approached the Grenadier Company lines I was stopped by another havildar of my company, and two sepoys of other companies who laid hold of my horse's head and told me not to advance otherwise I would be shot. The names of the two pay havildars are Goorbucus Sing of No. 5, and Jewrakun Towary of the Grenadiers.
- (3).—Because, about six weeks ago a sepoy of No. 8 Company named Ram Sahai Lalla, who reads and writes English came to my quarters one evening and revealed to me the fact of a combination amongst the sepoys of all the regiments at Barrackpore and the intention of their delegates to hold a meeting on that night. I reported the circumstance to Colonel Wheler and Brigadier Grant.

*Question—*It is a notorious fact that a very large number of the men of your regiment witnessed the attack upon the adjutant and sergeant-major on the 29th ultimo, how do you account for the total apathy and indifference of those men upon that occasion?

*Answer—*I can only account for it on the supposition that Lieutenant Daugh was not very popular amongst the men arising perhaps from the circumstance of the late havildar major having been shortly before removed from his appointment by the commanding officer on the representation of the adjutant. For the attack on the sergeant major I am wholly unable to account

Question—Have you noticed of late any falling off from the respect which the native officers and men used to show their European officers?

Answer—I have not.

Question—Are you aware of the existence of a preponderating influence amongst the Brahmins of your regiment?

Answer—I am not.

Question—Suppose your regiment were now ordered on field service, would you have entire confidence in the loyalty and good faith of men of all castes?

Answer—I would have as much confidence in them as I would have in any native regiment.

The witness withdraws.

• 8th Witness

Lieutenant J T Liscombe, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is led into Court, and examined by the Officiating Judge-Advocate.

Question—What was your opinion of the temper and feeling of the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, when you left this station on the 31d instant?

Answer—I considered the regiment to be in a disaffected state, because when, on the evening of the 29th ultimo, I went down to the lines, I saw what I conceived to be the whole of the men in the lines looking on at an armed mutineer, and not attempting to seize him.

Question—Are you aware of any recent change in the manner and bearing of the native officers and men towards their European officers?

Answer—No.

Question—Would you now accompany your regiment on service in full assurance of the loyalty and good faith of men of all castes?

Answer—Having already given it as my opinion that the regiment is in a disaffected state, I would, of course, have no confidence in them in a case of emergency.

Question—Does that distrust extend equally to Sikhs, Mussulmans, and Hindus?

Answer—No, I would depend upon the Sikhs, and I understand that the Mussulmans are also good soldiers.

The witness withdraws.

of the god Narasimha, which was mutilated by their soldiers shortly after. Subsequently, they entered the citadel, where the Sultans took up their residence either in the enclosure of the royal palace or in the Danayak's enclosure, the *zenana* enclosure was also probably reserved for their wives.

6 The Mussulman sovereigns spent six months at Vijayanagara¹. During this time their troops were occupied in plundering the city and its surroundings. "The efforts of the conquerors," says the anonymous chronicler, "were directed to the plunder of the country and of the city"², and Frederick states that they were "searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden"³. The booty was enormous. Couto and Faria y Sousa state that Ali Adil Shah got from the spoil a diamond as large as a hen's egg, and this was affixed to the base of the plume on the headdress of his favourite horse, he also got another diamond not so large but very uncommon, besides a multitude of jewels and precious things⁴.

Was this sack so destructive as it has been supposed? I regret to say that Mr Sewell, whom we may rightly call the pioneer historian of Vijayanagara, has completely misdescribed the state of Vijayanagara as caused by the Muhammadans during those six months⁵. More than three centuries have

1 Anonymous chronicler, *Ferishta*, III, p 415, *Basatin-us-Salatn*, p 106, Frederick, *Purchas*, X, p 93, Couto, VIII, p 93. Faria y Sousa II, p 432, says that they were at Vijayanagara five months only. The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, I c, p 194, states that they remained at Vijayanagara four months only.

2 *Ferishta*, III, p 414 Cf *Ibid*, p 131.

3 *Purchas*, X, p 93.

4 Couto, VIII, p 93, Faria y Souza, II, p 433. Probably several pearls and precious stones the Sultan of Bijapur got from the sack of Vijayanagar were finally presented to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, after the peace concluded between the Deccan and Prince Khurram in 1617. Cf *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p 399-401.

5 Sewell, p 207, says "They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the temples and palaces, and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing *now remains* but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood" (*Italics are mine*). How can it be supposed that the destruction we see at present is the effect of the plunder of the Muhammadans only?

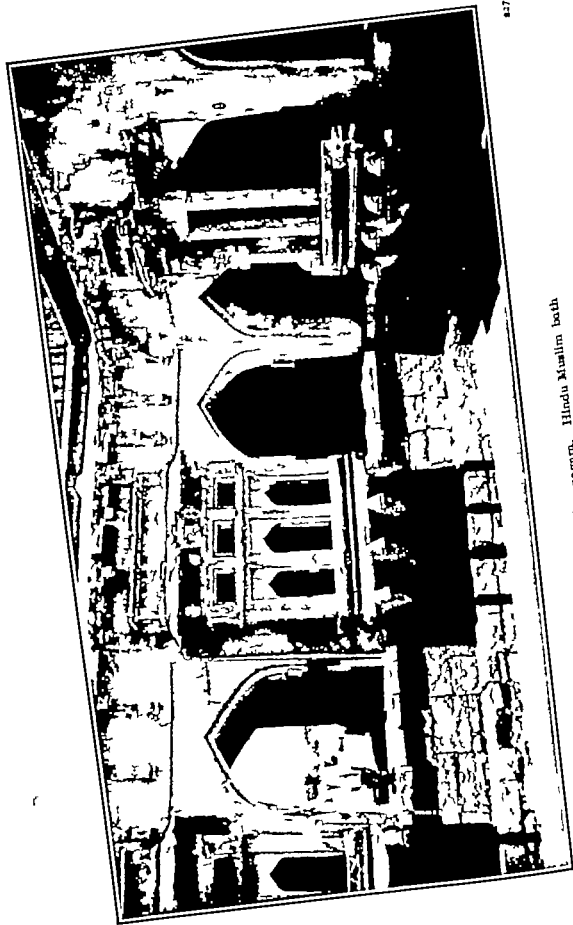
elapsed since those memorable days and time is as sure a destroyer as man. His statement is perhaps founded on the Muhammadan authors, who seem to give a picture of a most tremendous havoc. Ferishta says: "They plundered, razed the chief buildings to the ground and committed every species of excess."¹ The anonymous chronicler states that "the conquerors were directed to the destruction of the stone buildings"² and Ali ibn Aziz relates that during their stay they were busy "destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country."³ I do not doubt that many a temple was desecrated in those days that many idols were partially broken or completely destroyed, or that several shrines were, perhaps, razed to the ground by the fanatical iconoclasts but I cannot admit Ferishta's saying, that the chief buildings were razed to the ground, for the simple reason that the chief buildings of the capital of the old Hindu Empire may be partly seen even now. The huge imposing basements both in the royal enclosure and in the zenana the partly destroyed gopurams of the Vitthalaswami, Krishna and Achyuta Temples, of which only the brick work has partially disappeared, the beautiful well kept gopuram of the Pampapati temple at Hampi, one of the first the invaders saw on their coming from Anegundi even the two small shrines of Ganesa between the Hampi temple and the one of Krishna, of which not a stone has crumbled down after three centuries, are manifest proof of the exaggeration in Ferishta's statement. His religious prejudice against the idols and the temples of the *unbelievers* made him suppose things done in the imperial city of which its invaders were never guilty.

I feel sure that almost all the idols worshipped at Vijayanagara were destroyed during those days because they are not, as a general rule, discoverable in the ruined temples. The huge Narasimha was mutilated, no doubt, at the time, since it is not in the power of centuries to cut off such big limbs as that idol's. Two images nevertheless, inexplicably escaped the general des-

1. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 414.

3. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* 10., p. 194.



IX. Vijayanagara. Hindu Muslim bath

truction, they are the above mentioned statues of Ganesa. As to the temples, the crumbling of the brick-work of the gopurams, the falling in of the ceiling slabs and the consequent shaking of the whole building, are things that require no help from any iconoclast invader. Time does it more quietly and more easily than any human agency can.

Moreover we must admit that several edifices of the city were destroyed by the invaders, partly while searching for treasures and partly by order of Husain Nizam Shah, who set on fire a number of houses, according to the information given by Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri¹. As a matter of fact we have often found traces of a conflagration while going through the ruins.

Besides, the poor inhabitants of the city, who had taken refuge in the valleys of the surroundings, were diligently searched for by the Muslim soldiers, and when found, tortured till something was exacted from them².

7 Anyhow the Mussulman sovereigns did not intend to destroy Vijayanagara. Their long six months' stay within its walls seems to demonstrate their purpose of retaining the city for themselves. Another fact, which has never been pointed out hitherto, tells the same story. their construction of new buildings in the old Hindu capital. There are still at Vijayanagara five or six buildings (such as the bath on the east side of the royal enclosure, the so-called elephants' stable, the lotus-palace in the zenana, the small building at the opposite corner of the same enclosure, the tower house in one of the corners of the Danayak's enclosure and the octogonal pavilion on the road to Hampi), that do not belong to the old Vijayanagara style, but to a new school that marvellously combines both Hindu and Muslim styles, the latter predominating. Moreover, the ancient Hindu structures of Vijayanagara were built without mortar. the basements of the royal enclosure, the walls of both the city and the different enclosures and the ruins of the temples show their mortarless construction. But for building the edifices in question mortar was used, and such mortar as has gloriously

1 *Basatn-us-Salatn*, p 106

2 *Ibid*, p 107

defied the destructive inclemency of the weather for three centuries and a half. Now speaking of the buildings of Bijapur and specially of the flat ceiling of the famous Ibrahim Rauza, Mr H. Cousens, in his monumental work on *Bijapur* says

The whole secret of the durability of the masonry of those days is the great strength and tenacity of the mortar" ¹ Such was the secret of the masons of Bijapur For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the buildings mentioned above were the work of the Deccan Sultans during their sojourn in the capital of the Hindu Empire. My opinion is confirmed by the following words we read in the *Basatin-us-Salatih* "After this (the battle) they (the Sultans) devoted their attention to Vijayanagara and raised mighty and lofty buildings" ²

Yet six months after their triumphal arrival, that is at the end of July or at the beginning of August of the same year 1565 they with their respective armies left Vijayanagara.

They departed to their own kingdom, Frederick relates because they were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie ³ But before leaving they received an embassy which ought to have been for them the cause of immense joy Venkatadri, says Ferishta who escaped from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties to the kings to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had wrested from them" ⁴ By whose authority did Venkatadri make such an overture? No doubt by Tirumala s. If the distant fortress to which Venkatadri escaped was Chandragiri as we have supposed and if the palace of Tremil, where Tirumala and Sadasiva took refuge after the battle, is in upper Tirupati, as we have pointed out as probable in the beginning of this chapter both brothers could have communicated with each other on important state matters and Venkatadri could have opened these pourparlers with the Muhammadan sovereigns, as generalissimo of the Vijayanagara army on behalf of his brother the new Regent of the Empire.

1 Cousens, *Bijapur* p. 72.

2. *Basatin-us-Salatih*, p. 105

3 Purchas, X, p. 94.

4. Ferishta III p. 131.

Misunderstandings among the four Sultans and among their respective generals, that had probably arisen during these six months, hastened their departure. Both the Golkonda chronicler and Alī ibn Azīz, as well as Mirza Ibrahim Zabīrī, refer quite clearly to this disagreement among them¹, and the wars that ensued soon after, and of which we shall speak a little further down, confirm our supposition. Nevertheless, no public manifestation of this mutual enmity was then given. They went together as far as Raichur, where they "took leave of each other and returned to their respective dominions"². The anonymous chronicler informs us that before leaving Vijayanagara, the four Sultans deputed three of their generals, Mustafa Khan, Maulana Inayatullah and Kishwar Khan "to attack Mudkal (Mudgal) and Raichur, which places were easily reduced"³.

8 Vijayanagara was thus abandoned by its own conquerors, and soon after, its natural lord again entered its gates. Tirumala "returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Dekanese," says Anquetil du Perron⁴. Mr Sewell seems to attach little importance to the Regent's return, but to my mind it is one of the outstanding events of those days. It signifies that after the battle of Raksas-Tagḍī the ruler of Vijayanagara did not despair of restoring the Empire to its ancient grandeur, to maintain the capital next to the boundaries of their enemies showed the indomitable courage that could still challenge the Deccanī Muhammadans, with the sure hope of crushing them as in former days for Vijayanagara was the City of Victory!

No inscription at Vijayanagara records this second stay of Tirumala within its walls after the battle of Raksas-Tagḍī⁵. But fortunately we have an account by an eye-witness of this return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muhammadans. C. Frederick, who had seen it with his

1 Ferishta, III, pp 414-5, *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, I c, p 194, *Basatin-us-Salatīn*, pp 109-10. Cf Scott Waring, *History of the Maharattas*, p 40.

2 Ferishta, III, p 131.

3 Ibid, p 414. Cf *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, I c, p 196.

4 Anquetil du Perron, I c, p 166.

5 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I c, p 181, note.

own eyes describes the royal palace as invested with no less splendour than before the Muslim invasion and he relates an episode relating to Tirumala, which is quite characteristic of that ruler. It is worth while to quote it in his own words —

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it and sent word to Goa to the Merchants if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell (of Raksas-Tagdi) or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words until such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses which when the poore men saw they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and grieve" ¹

This episode clearly shows the determination of Tirumala to continue the war with the Muhammadans. For which purpose he was in need of horses and money that was why after obtaining the horses he refused to make any payment to the poor merchants. This fact discredits Tirumala's character in the light of impartial history a ruler who oppresses his foreign benefactors in order to carry out his designs is not a ruler but a tyrant.

9. Frederick goes on to say that he "rested in Bezeneger seven months" ² His description of the imperial palace again proves that the Muhammadans did not raze to the ground

1. Purchas, X, p. 24. This fact is also narrated by Sewall, p. 209 but as having occurred in Penukonda. No doubt it took place at Vijayanagara. Frederick says that he went there with the merchants.

2. Ibid.

every chief building in the city, as stated by Ferishta "I have seene many Kings Courts," says he, "and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports First when you goe into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day, and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines and then the lessor Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the costume of the Gentiles is to doe bisnesse and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day" ¹ P

10 The return of Tirumala to Vijayanagara, and his attempt to repopulate this city, must have coincided with the attack of Bijapur against Ahmadnagar, in which even the Sultan of Golkonda took some part Husain Nizam Shah had died shortly after his retreat from the Hindu capital, and his son Murtaza Nizam Shah, although young, became very unpopular on account of his excesses, so that before the end of the same year 1565, or perhaps in the beginning of 1566, Kishwur Khan wrote privately to the Sultan of Bijapur, inviting him to attack Ahmadnagar where there was, he said, a strong party in his favour Such was the origin of this war in which Golkonda and Birar supported the Sultan of Ahmadnagar ² This was an ideal opportunity to enable the energetic Regent of Vijayanagara to carry out his plan

And such was the luck of Tirumala that, shortly after, he himself was invited to interfere again, like his brother Rama Raya, in the destiny of their opponents For Murtaza Nizam Shah, in order to be revenged on Ali Adil Shah, "sent an

1 Purchas, X, pp 97-8

2. Anonymous chronicler, Ferishta, III, pp. 416-8.

envoy to Golkonda," says the anonymous chronicler "inviting Ibrahim Qutb Shah to form an alliance against the king of Bijapur while at the same time an envoy had been previously despatched for the same purpose to Ahmadnagar by the king of Golkonda, proposing that they should march to the river Krishna, when Yeltumraj (Tirumala), the brother of the late Ramraj might be invited to join with his forces, when they could all proceed to the reduction of Bijapur After reaching the Krishna, the kings of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar wrote to Yeltumraj requesting him to become a member of the confederacy"

This was an excellent chance for Tirumala to recover the countries taken by Ali Adil Shah from Rama Raya, which he expected would be restored by the allies to Vijayanagara he also seized this opportunity to enfeeble his enemies by fostering war among them, following the Machiavellian policy of his late brother But at the same time he received another despatch from the Queen Dowager of Ahmadnagar Khunzah Humayun who was ruling over the kingdom during the minority of her son demanding from him the sum of two lakhs of hunrs for aid to be given him by the allies against the encroachments of the Sultan of Bijapur Tirumala, very much astonished at the Queen's demand, sent a message to the Golkonda Sultan informing him of the circumstance. Ibrahim Qutb Shah promptly deputed a person to Ahmadnagar to express to the Queen his surprise at this unexpected demand remarking that

it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs to make demands of money on Yeltumraj instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking" Khunzah Humayun, instead of acting on this advice, persisted in her demand, and even accompanied it with threats. Tirumala could not tolerate this accordingly he not only refused to pay the money but set out from his capital against the allies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah did not expect such an unfavourable turn of events and fearing the power of the Hindu army dispatched an envoy to Tirumala, advising him to retreat to his country and promising

that his own troops would also move simultaneously. On the following day, both armies struck camp and retreated to their own countries¹

II It seems quite certain that Sadasiva did not come back to Vijayanagara with the Regent of the Empire, the contemporary sources do not give any information on this point, and from their silence we may deduce that he probably remained in the palace of Tremil, Upper Tirupati, or that perhaps he was transferred to the neighbouring fortress of Chandragiri. Frederick merely says that Tirumala "had in prison the lawful king"². This statement is confirmed by the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, which states that Tirumala governed "setting aside the nominal sovereign Sadasiva"³. We know from these testimonies that Sadasiva's imprisonment did not end at the death of Rama Raya. Tirumala, who had probably formerly rebelled against his brother on hearing of his sovereign's imprisonment, now followed the same policy himself. Chandragiri was a splendid prison for a king, and since the only place where we find Sadasiva hereafter is Srirangam, where he made the Krishnapuram grant, we may reasonably suppose that he never went back to the North of his Empire. Venkatadri, who was probably at Chandragiri, might have been his jailor, or perhaps this office was filled by the third son of Tirumala, Venkata, the future Venkata II, who seems to have governed a portion of the Empire during the reign of Sadasiva⁴, and during the reigns of his father and of his brother Ranga I, had been their viceroy at Chandragiri, and was at this time, according to an inscription of Markapur, of 1467, already one of

1 Ferishta, III, pp 418-20. The chronicler says that Tirumala marched to Penukonda, he seems to ignore the fact that the Regent was at Vijayanagara at this time, as we know from the sources mentioned above. This campaign of the Golkonda Sultan against the Sultan of Bijapur is mentioned, too, in the Telugu poem *Tapatisamvaranam*. Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 238, and hinted at in the *Basatin-us-Salatn*, pp 113-4.

2 Purchas, X, p 97

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

4 *M E R*, 1905-6, para 49.

the ministers of the Empire¹ In the year 1567 he made a grant to the Puranist Parankusan Lakshmanaiya² Another of his gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1568³

Tirumala therefore was the sole ruler of the Empire. We know of several grants made in his own name without any mention of Sadasiva at all such was the one given in 1567 as recorded in an inscription close to Siva's temple at Kandakuru, Cuddapah⁴ One year later he granted Holalkere as an *amara magasu* to the great Kamagetti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka⁵ In another similar inscription of the same place, the donee is called Maha nayakacharya and it is further stated that he made over the village to his brother in law Gulliyapa Nayaka, as an *umballi*⁶ In the same year he made two grants to the temple of Vishnu at Khairuwale⁷ Then the fort villages granted to Jvarakandesvara "the lord of Vellore" at the request of Chinna Bomma Nayaka, were the gift of Tirumala alone⁸ Occasionally however some grants of Sadasiva are found among the inscriptions of those days one, for instance of the year 1567 comes from Ahobilam Karnul⁹ Sometimes both the sovereign and the Regent are mentioned in the inscriptions, showing the subordinate office of Tirumala. for example, during the reign of Sadasiva, Tirumala, under his orders, made a charitable grant to the barbers of Battepadu, Udayagiri and exempted them from taxes¹⁰ the Krishnapuram plates of which we shall speak a little further on, are another instance of the same. But we know two inscriptions in which Sadasiva and Tirumala are placed on the same level. The one states that

1 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* Loc. p. 187

2. 163 of 1903

3. 240 of 1897

4. Sewell, I, p. 132.

5. *Ep. Carn.* XI Hk, 7

6. *Ibid.*, 6.

7. Sewell, I p. 93

8. Cf. Ch. VIII No. 12.

9. Sewell, I, p. 101.

10. Butterworth I pp. 217-8.

Question—Were any other sepoys of the regiment about at the time?

Answer—A great number from each company were between the bells of arms, in Hindustani clothes.

Question—Did none of these say or do anything?

Answer—Not one, a native officer came forward Guinness Lalla, jemadar and addressed the sepoy Mungul Pandy One-half what he said I could not understand, as he was at some distance from me

Question—Did the jemadar of the quarter guard, the prisoner now before you address the sepoy Mungul Pandy or say any thing to him?

Answer—No, not a word.

Question—Do you know whether the jemadar is a relation of the late sepoy Mungul Pandy

Answer—No, I cannot swear to that

Question—When the sepoy Mungul Pandy fired at the adjutant, did you see him taking aim?

Answer—Yes he took a deliberate aim standing

Question—Are you still suffering from the wounds you received?

Answer—Yes, I was severely wounded in two places and bruised about my arms with the blows from the butts of firelocks.

Question—Do you know what sepoys struck you with their firelocks?

Answer—I could not recognise them There was one man of the light company but I could not swear to his features.

Question—Did the sepoys of the guard (quarter guard) show any inclination to assist you?

Answer—No, on the contrary they beat me

Question—How do you know they beat you?

Answer—When I left the guard to go out to assist Lieutenant Baugh the guard were dressed Before Lieutenant Baugh came I was standing for ten minutes in rear of the quarter-guard and had full opportunity to see whether any other portion of the regiment had put on their regimentals. I am confident they had not time to do so Also there is a picket mounted at sundown but those men wear blue pantaloons The men who struck me had white pantaloons on all the remainder of the regiment were dressed in Hindustani clothes

his return to the city after the departure of the Muhammadans occurred at the end of 1565 or the beginning of 1566 (since the enemy had left either in July or August) we must admit that Tirumala spent about two years at Vijayanagara.¹

What was the motive of his final departure? Frederick seems to attribute it to another war with the Muhammadans² and the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* says clearly that he changed his capital on account of the constant attacks of the Muhammadans³ which naturally baffled all attempts on the part of the Regent to repopulate the city.

Now we know from Ferishta that about that time, Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur led his army against the Hindus of Vijayanagara and Anegundi. The Hindu chief then applied for relief to Khunzah Humayun the Regent of Ahmadnagar who herself marched at the head of an army accompanied by her son against the dominions of Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah was compelled by this sudden attack to retreat from Anegundi to defend his own country.⁴ The Muhammadan writer does not mention any action between the two armies. But we feel sure that some fighting ensued and it was probably in the course of this war that Tirumala's minister Chennappa Nayadu, defeated the Muslim general Rambikesaru Khanu (Kishwar Khan?) as is recorded in an inscription at Penukonda.⁴

Nevertheless this war showed the Hindus that life in the capital was insecure on account of the proximity of the Muhammadan possessions the few inhabitants who had come back to repopulate the city retired to a more secure place; and Tirumala was obliged to abandon the old capital for good. This however betrayed a certain faintness of heart on the part of the Regent of the Empire. He had returned to Vijayanagara, after the retreat of the Muhammadans as an enterprising hero and worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and of his brother Rama Raya but now giving up possession of the old capital in favour of Penukonda was equivalent to retiring

1. Cf. Gubernatis, *Storia* p. 290.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 302.

3. Ferishta III, pp 131-2 and 251.

4. 241 of 1901.

from the front line to the second post of the Empire, and at the same time to abandoning all hope of victory over his enemies. Vijayanagara was giving up its offensive lines, and retreating to a position of defence.

13 The new capital of the Empire of Vijayanagara deserves some notice here. Penukonda was a hill fort, three thousand feet high, in the South of the present Anantapur District, "eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger (Vijayanagar)", in the words of Frederick. The town is situated at the foot of a hill which gives its name to the place. Penukonda means 'big hill'.

Kriyasakti Wadeyar, an ancestor of the Rajas of Bellur, is said to be the founder of the fort of Penukonda¹, but its main fortifications were built or enlarged during the reign of Bukka I. According to an inscription of 1354 on the eastern side of the northern gate of the fort, Bukka entrusted the province of Penukonda to his son Vira Virupana Udaiyar, by his wife Janema Devi, and during the rule of this Virupana over Penukonda, the fort was enlarged and fortified by his minister Anantarasa Odeyaru². Subsequently, when Narasa Nayaka deposed the last representative of the Saluva dynasty, Immadi Narasimha, the unfortunate young prince was first confined and then, according to Nuniz, murdered in Penukonda by the usurper³. This was one of the favourite towns of Krishna Deva Raya, who, according to tradition, made it his residence for some time⁴. We read in an ancient inscription that Penukonda is a god-built city and that no man could possibly boast of taking its surrounding fortifications⁵.

1 *Kriyasakti Wadeyar*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 345

2 339 of 1901

3 Sewell, p. 308

4 Cf. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p. 191. In an inscription of 1543, Rama Raya is said to be ruling the Empire of the world in Penukonda. *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr, 79. This is probably a spurious inscription, since it represents Rama Raya with imperial titles, "seated on the jewelled throne," which was unusual in the first days of Sadasiva's reign.

5 341 of 1901

Such was the place selected by Tirumala for the capital of the Empire. The Muhammadans were not likely to shake again the throne of the Telugu Empire as long as it was lodged within such a fortress, especially after the Regent himself had repaired its fortifications under the direction of Chennappa Nayadu¹ Penukonda was to be, according to him a worthy successor of the old capital, the second *City of Victory*. And it seems probable that it was called at this time *Vijayanagara-Penukonda*, because the *History of the Karnataka Governors* begins as follows

Vizianagaram Penu Kondaipatnam was for many years the capital of the Rayer"²

14. The transfer of the capital to Penukonda was the cause of the abandonment and destruction of Vijayanagara. Two inscriptions of Tirumala, of the following year 1568 describe the city as destroyed and in ruins³. We cannot believe that the buildings of the city were in a ruinous state only a year after the departure of the court the above mentioned inscriptions refer no doubt, to the moral body of the citizens, to the *Civitas* not to its buildings. Anquetil du Perron expressly says that "the town of Bisanagar being abandoned, became the dwelling of wild beasts"⁴. And Frederick in his memoirs wrote "The Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty and there is dwelling in them nothing as is reported but Tygres and other wild beasts"⁵. Orme records that at the end of the 16th century the city of Bisanagar was part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore (Bijapur)"⁶. Accordingly when Filippo Sassetti passed through Vijayanagara in 1584⁵ he found a Muhammadan Governor there, as a letter of his dated Goa, November 9th, 1585, relates⁷. But at the close of the century

1. 336 of 1901

2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 3

3. *Ep. Carn.* XI Hk. 6 and 7

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c. p. 166.

5. Purchas, X, p. 97

6. Orme *Historical Fragments* p. 61.

7. Gubernatis, *Storia del Viaggiatori* p. 202.

15 Nevertheless the ancient populous capital of the Empire had become a small village showing only in its temples and palaces the past grandeur which was crumbling away little by little. Its decay was the first death blow to Portuguese commerce in India. "From that time onwards says Couto, the inhabitants of Goa have been on the decline" ¹ And Filippo Sassetti in the above quoted letter says also that the traffic between the two cities had completely perished and gives the following instance to illustrate the great loss that this entailed to Portuguese commerce "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats and the present revenue does not reach even six thousand" ²

For the King of Portugal, this news was naturally most disappointing for precisely on February 27th 1568, a few months after the departure of Tirumala from Vijayanagara he wrote from Lisboa to Dom Luiz de Taide (d Ataide) as follows "If the merchandise that comes from Cananor Cochim and other places to be sold in Narsinga (Vijayanagara) passes through Goa, the revenue derived from the tariff duties on them will be a great service to me" ³ The Portuguese sovereign was never to see the finances of his "*state of India*" increased by the commerce with Vijayanagara the Portuguese trade in that city had perished for ever

16. The departure of the Court from Vijayanagara to Penukonda naturally encouraged the secular covetousness of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda that confession of the weakness of the Hindu government was a tacit invitation to them to seize the territories North of the Empire. Accordingly Ali Adil Shah, in the year 1568 captured the fortress of Adoni which "was fortified with eleven walls one within another so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force" ⁴ It was

1. Couto, VIII, pp. 93-4.

2. Gubernatis, o. c. p. 202. See Ap. B No. VI.

3. *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* III p. 14.

4. Ferishta, III pp. 134-5

17 What was the interior state of the Empire in the meanwhile? Both Couto and Faria y Sousa relate that after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the whole territory of Vijayanagara was divided among the sons and nephews of Rama Raya¹ and several modern authors have blindly followed their statements² But we know from epigraphical records that there was at that time no such break up of the empire the members of the Aravidu family remained as united as ever That explains why the anonymous author of the life of St. Xavier who wrote his book a little later writes to this effect after narrating the battle of Raksas Tagdi "Nevertheless the king of this country was not so much knocked down for he is still very rich and powerful and he possesses a large state, and has quite a good number of elephants and great cavalry and infantry"³

In particular Ferishta supposes that Venkatadri had rebelled against his brother and taken over the reins of government⁴ but this is inconsistent with the fact that he is highly praised in the Krishnapuram grant in language which would never have been used in speaking of a rebel His stay at Chandragiri, which we think very probable, would by no means mean a break in the allegiance between the two brothers⁵ The Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, who was already at that time king at Penukonda states expressly that he was respected by his younger brothers"⁶

Nor can the following extract of the same writer be understood in a general sense "The country has been seized by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district"⁷ Of which Sewell's opinion is

1. Couto VIII, p. 93 Faria y Sousa II, p. 433

2. "Different members of the family settled in Penukonda, Chandragiri, Vellore, and some returned to Anegundi" Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 269 "Two members of the Vijayanagara family established themselves, the one at Penukonda and the other at Vijayanagar" Gribble, *Cuddapah Manual* p. 88

3. *M H S. J., Men Xav.*, I, p. 63.

4. Ferishta, III, p. 131.

5. Cf. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 142.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 257 vv 44-62.

7. Ferishta, III p 131

nothing else but a replica "The nobles", says he, "began to throw off their allegiance, and one after another to proclaim their independence. The country was in a state of anarchy" ¹ Ferishta spoke probably of the feudatory chiefs of the North of the Empire, adjoining the Muhammadan possessions, but his statement cannot refer to the states of the South, which we know from the Krishnapuram plates to have been on friendly terms with the imperial power

It seems, indeed, that several petty chiefs and governors of the North of the Empire, either through fear of the Muhammadans, or on account of their own ambition, proclaimed themselves independent in their cities or fortresses. We know of several of these defections in the North from the same Ferishta. The governor of the fortress of Adoni, one of the main officers of the late Rama Raya, was one of them ², Velappa Raya, another of Rama Raya's attendants, likewise assumed independence at Bankapur, Dharwar, and even compelled the Rajas of Jerreh, Chundraguti and Karur to become his tributaries ³, Trukal too was soon lost to the Empire. It had fallen into the hands of Venkuttī Yesu Ray (Venkatayasu Raya) an officer of the Bijapur government, who retained it for himself, throwing off his allegiance with the Sultan ⁴

Perhaps the only one who withdrew his allegiance in the South was the chief of Kalasa-Karkala, South Kanara, although it appears probable that he already enjoyed some sort of independence, ever since the time of the overthrow of the Saluva family ⁵

18 Precisely in the year 1568, the Emperor Sadasiva made a tour through the South of his Empire and received the

1 Sewell, p 209

2 Ferishta, III, p 134

3 Ibid, p 136

4 Ibid, p 135

5 H Krishna Sastri, *Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II*, *Ind Ant*, VIII, p 127 Burgess, *Chronology*, p 21, says that in 1565 Vira Chama Raya Wodeyar, of Mysore, set up as an independent Sovereign. No trace of such rebellion may be found in the original sources. We hope to show further on that the independence of Mysore commenced several years later

homage of many feudatory chiefs, and of Krishnappa Nayaka, the ruler of Madura among them. The reason for this journey might have been to make an imperialistic propaganda by showing to his subjects the person of the Emperor imprisoned so many years ago. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiva show him to us on the banks of the sacred river Kaveri in the presence of the god Ranganatha" ¹ Here Tirumala, at the request of Krishnapapati (Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura) himself respectfully begged Sadasiva Raya to make a gift of the village of Krishnapuram and nine other neighbouring villages to the god Venkatesa. Sadasiva, who is called here 'the respected of the learned man surrounded by his staunch friends, the priests the followers of the imperial retinue, all kinds of learned men and finally the ambassadors of his feudatory chiefs who had come to acknowledge him on behalf of their respective lords, joyously granted the aforesaid village with gold and pouring of water' ²

The information afforded by this grant is of more than passing interest. To see Sadasiva Raya three years after the battle of Raksas Tagdi surrounded by the ambassadors of his subordinate chiefs of the South, acknowledged by the powerful Nayak of Madura requested to do a favour by the very Regent Tirumala, is a scene very different from the dark pictures drawn by some authors. The Empire was not yet split up ³

19 This was however one of the latest grants of Sadasiva. There is another of his inscriptions belonging to the same year in Tinnevely district ⁴ and another of the following year 1569, in Coimbatore ⁵ and besides two other inscriptions of the year 1570, one in Madura ⁶ and another

1. *Ep Ind.*, LX, p. 340, vv 44-45

2. *Ibid.*, p. 341 vv 70-96 and 102-4.

3. Mr T A. Gopinatha Rao and Rao Sahib T. Reghaviaiah seem to suppose that Sadasivaraya ended his days in Srirangam" *Ibid.* p 330. There is no reasonable ground for such an opinion.

4. 64 of 1908.

5. 15 of 1910

6. 403 of 1902

in Nellore ¹, recording facts which occurred during the reign of Sadasiva. But at this time the unfortunate Sovereign had already met his end, as we shall see in the following chapter the news of his death, however, had not reached the distant corners of the Empire.

What sort of death did Sadasiva meet with after his twenty-eight years' rule? "Tirumala", says Mr Sewell, "murdered his Sovereign Sadasiva and seized the throne for himself" ² Messrs Venkayya and H Krishna Sastri seem to admit the culpability of Tirumala in Sadasiva's death ³

It seems, indeed, beyond doubt that Tirumala is more or less responsible for this murder, but whether he committed it himself is not so clear. According to Frederick, "the sonne of this Temiragio had put to death the lawful King which he had in prison" ⁴ But Anquetil du Perron states that "His (Tirumala's) son murdered the son of the ancient King of Bijnagar, who had been imprisoned as well as his father" ⁵

From these two extracts it seems quite evident that the one who committed that murder was not Tirumala, but one of his sons, there is no contemporary authority that attributes such a crime to Tirumala. Nevertheless, the common juridical test '*cui bono*' points to him at least an accomplice and abettor. Whether the murdered man was the king himself or his son is not so evident. As a matter of fact it seems that Sadasiva had a son named Vitthala Raya, who made a grant to a temple as recorded in a copperplate of Tirukarangudi, Tinnevely ⁶. The fact is that the two above-mentioned authorities have not the same value. Frederick was probably still in India, when this abominable crime was perpetrated, while Anquetil du Perron travelled through the country one century

1 Butterworth, II, p 868-70

2 Sewell, p 212

3 Venkayya, *Ancient History of the Nellore District, Ind Ant*, XXXVIII, p 94, H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, 1 c, p 179

4 Purchas, X, p 97

5 Anquetil du Perron, 1 c, p 166

6 Sewell, I, p 315.

later Frederick's authority seems therefore more reliable. Hence we may venture on the assertion that Sadasiva Raya was murdered by one of the sons of Tirumala.¹

It is not an easy task to decide precisely which of the sons of Tirumala was the author of this regicide. Of his four sons we know that the eldest Raghunatha, preceded his father to the grave; and since we hear nothing further of him after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi in which he was dangerously wounded it is reasonable to suppose him dead at this time. The other three, Ranga, Rama and Venkata were still living. If Sadasiva was kept prisoner in the fortress of Chandragiri, Venkata being his jailor we must conclude that the future Venkatapati raya II the most glorious monarch of the Aravidu Dynasty was responsible for the death of the last representative of the Tuluva family. Anquetil du Perron seems to confirm our supposition since he, speaking of Venkata II says that "he caused Sadasiva's son to be murdered"² and "had dethroned the lawful king of Bisanagar."³

20. The Mamidipundi grant of Sadasiva says that he was "the best of the Kings"⁴ and in an inscription in the Madavaswami temple at Vijayanagara he is called "the fortunate, the great king of kings Paramesvara, happy famous and heroic." We cannot but smile at such brazen flattery after having so carefully surveyed the whole of his reign. Though we must really admit that we do not sufficiently know Sadasiva as a king, because he had always

1. What was the fate of Sadasiva's son is not known. Perhaps, he died before his father's assassination, perhaps he was imprisoned for life perhaps he was only a natural son, since we hear no word at all of the Queen of Sadasiva. According to the *Saṣṭama-prakāśamuktavali* Sadasiva had a daughter who having become possessed, was exorcised by the trustee of the Ahobala temple and agent of Rama Raya, Parankusa Van-Sathagopa-Jiyamgaru. Cf. Rangacharya, II p. 971, 579.

2. Anquetil du Perron l. c., p. 166.

3. Ibid. cf. Ch. XV No 5.

4. Butterworth, I, p. 104, v 70.

5. Ravenshaw *Translation of Various Inscriptions*, l. c., p. 35.

been merely one in name, still a nominal king is by no means entitled to the appellation of "the best of kings" As far as we can judge, he was not born to be a king at all, though Correa says he was "a sensible man and a great warrior"¹ A real king, a heroic sovereign, he would even in his youth have found countless opportunities to break the bars of his prison and escape from his unlawful jailors Sadasiva was unable to do so, and history can pass no better judgment on him that he happened to be a king of the type of those who closed the Merovingian dynasty of France

1 Correa, p 282

CHAPTER XI

THE SHORT REIGN OF TIRUMALA

SUMMARY.—1 Accession of Tirumala to the throne of Vijayanagara.—2 Dynastic propaganda through the Empire, revised through contemporary inscriptions and grants.—3. Rebellions of feudatory chiefs and Rajas against the Emperor.—4. Erection of the three Viceroyalties of the Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil countries.—5 Muhammadan conquests in the North.—6. Action of Tirumala against the invaders.—7 Sriranga appointed Yuvaraja. Death of the Emperor.—8. Tirumala's piety and wisdom.—9 Final criticism of the first Sovereign of the Aravidu Dynasty

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection.—3. Periahta.—4. *Anonymous life of St Francis Xavier*—5. Frederick, Anquetil du Perron.—6. *Ramarajiyamu Vasucharithramu Chikita-davanya Vamsavali*

THE assassination of Sadasiva Raya naturally led to the accession of the Regent as Emperor of Vijayanagara. When this event took place, Tirumala was a venerable old man his eldest brother Rama Raya was ninety six at the time of his death, 1565. Now if we allow only a ten years difference between them, Tirumala must have been close on ninety when the last representative of the Tuluva family was murdered four years later

According to an apocryphal prophecy contained in one of the MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection Tirumala's coronation took place in Penukonda¹ "At the coronation of this moon among kings we read in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, foremost among the famous, this earth, being sprinkled with floods of water poured out at donations, occupied the place of queen"² while in two grants of Venkata II and in one of the same Tirumala 1571 it is said that at his anointing the earth was also so anointed as to appear as his crowned

1. Taylor, *O H MSS.*, II p. 98.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, III p. 252 v 16.

Question—Where was the jemadar of the quarter guard then when the fighting was going on?

Answer—He was with the guard in front of the quarter guard.

Question—Did the jemadar give any orders when the fighting was going on?

Answer—He gave no orders. He stood looking on.

Question—Did any men of the guard express a desire to go out to assist their officers?

Answer—Yes, Atma Sing Sobha Sing Sewbuccus Tewary, and I myself asked the jemadar to let us go to the assistance of the officers.

Question—What did the jemadar say?

Answer—He prevented us from going, he said "You are not to go without orders."

Question—When the fighting was going on was a shot fired?

Answer—I heard a shot fired, I heard the report of three shots fired.

Question—Did any sepoy of the guard go out to where the fighting was going on?

Answer—I saw Heeralall Tewary of the quarter guard come back from the place where they were fighting with his pantaloons bloody.

Question—Did you see Heeralall Tewary sepoy strike any one?

Answer—I saw him strike the sergeant-major with the butt of his musket?

Question—Did Sepoy Heeralall Tewary return to the quarter guard?

Answer—Yes.

Question—What did the jemadar commanding the quarter guard say, did he say anything to him?

Answer—He ordered him to change his clothes.

Question—Was the jemadar angry with Sepoy Heeralall Tewary?

Answer—No he was not.

Question—Did he order him into confinement?

Answer—No he did not.

Question—Did you see Sepoy Heeralall go out from the quarter guard on to the parade to where the fighting was going on?

Answer—I saw him go out.

Question—Did he say anything when he was going out?

Answer—No, he rushed out without saying anything.

Question—Did the jemadar call him back ?

Answer—No

The prisoner declines to cross-examine.

BY THE COURT

Question—Why did you want to go out from the quarter-guard ?

Answer—To assist the adjutant, as it was my duty.

The witness withdraws.

8th Witness

Captain C. C Drury, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is called into Court and duly sworn.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—Are you now Acting Adjutant of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry ?

Answer—Yes.

Question—Did you go with Colonel Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, to the quarter-guard of the regiment on the afternoon of the 29th March last ?

Answer—Yes

Question—Will you state what then took place ?

Answer—On arriving at the guard, the sepoy, Mungul Pandey, was pointed out to us parading in front of the guard, about a hundred and twenty yards off, calling out something I could not hear what he said. Colonel Wheler ordered part of the guard to load, and afterwards the whole guard, and gave the order to Issuree Pandey, jemadar, who was commanding the guard, to advance and capture the sepoy, Mungul Pandey. The jemadar took me aside, behind the quarter-guard, and said—"It is of no use, they will not advance, they will take the man's part, they are with the man,"—or words to that effect. I said—"Nonsense, you must go where you are ordered; fall in with your guard, and obey the orders you have received." The jemadar fell in with his guard in a reluctant kind of manner, and advanced them some eight or ten paces, when the guard halted. The jemadar fell to the rear. This state of things lasted for two or three minutes. I went in the direction of the 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, to try if I could get a rifle. As I went along to the left of our lines

Queen" ¹, and in a grant of Ranga III, 1645, it is recorded that "the streams poured forth with gifts made by this most famous of kings at the time of his anointing to the throne, caused the earth to appear as if she also was so anointed" ²

It appears certain from these extracts that the Queen was not present at the ceremony of coronation, being probably still in the palace of Tremil, as a place safer from the Muhammadan incursions. Both the Tumkur and Budihala copperplates say that Tirumala's Queen was named Channadevi or Channamadevi ³, but many other grants give the name of Vengalamba or Vengalambika, as the one belonging to the wife of Tirumala ⁴. Probably Vengalambika had been Tirumala's first wife, since she is declared to be the mother of his four sons ⁵, but it is not improbable that he should have lost her by his ninetieth year, on that supposition, Channamadevi was the second wife who sat beside him on the throne of Vijaya-

1 Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep Carn* XII, Ck, 39, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30, v 20, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1

2 -*Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60, For this ceremony the old jewelled throne of Vijayanagara was no doubt used. It had been carried to the palace of Tremil, and from there, probably on this occasion, was brought over to Penukonda to be used at the enthronement of the first king of the Aravidu dynasty. When later on the court was transferred to the Tamil country by Venkata II, the jewelled throne was probably transferred again to the East, anyhow it went back to Penukonda after more than half a century, because all the successors of Ranga III, so far known, were at Ghanagiri (Penukonda), as the inscriptions often record

3 Tumkur copper-plates, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1, Budihala copper-plates, Cf H Krishna Sastri, *A S I, Report, 1911-12*, p 180, note 8

4 Maredapalli grant of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328. Arivil-mangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 19, Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 23, Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 270, vv 20-2, Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep Carn* VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39, Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198, *Ramarajiyamu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 213. Cf Gopinatha Rao, *Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Karnakoti Pitha*, p 82.

5 *Ramarajiyamu*, Ibid, p 213. *Vasucharitamu*, Ibid, p 216.

nagara. A Telugu poem of Bhattu Murti, a poet at his court speaks of Tirumala and his Queen sitting together and compares them to the god Siva, and Tirumala himself to Sukracharya the preceptor of the Asuras. The propriety of this comparison lies in the fact that "Siva is described in one of his forms as half man and half woman, and as having three eyes, the ordinary two and the eye of wisdom. When Tirumala and his wife sat side by side they had only three eyes between them (Tirumala having lost one in the battle of Raksas Tagdi) Sukracharya the preceptor of the demons, is said to have only one eye, the other having been blinded by the god Vishnu when he took the form of a dwarf. Both Siva and Sukracharya are considered by Sanskrit writers to be omniscient, and are termed Sarvagna (all knowing) ¹ The flattery of the poet is as delicate as it is acute.

Now when did the coronation of Tirumala take place? We have said in the preceding chapter that the inscriptions belonging to the year 1570 but recording facts that occurred in Sadasiva's time were carved in the reign of Tirumala because the year 1569 must be assigned as the year of Tirumala's accession and of the foundation of the new dynasty. There is in Udayagiri an inscription of 1569, "while Tirumala seated on the diamond throne was ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara" ² The above mentioned apocryphal prophecy which was probably written in 1630, also places the beginning of Tirumala's reign in 1569 but it must have been very near the end of the year since the same document gives Tirumala only eleven months rule and lays down the commencement of his son's reign in 1572 ³

2. From this time onwards the inscriptions of Tirumala show him with imperial titles, as successor of the old Emperors of Vijayanagara. In 1571 he is stated to be "ruling the earth" with the title of Maharajadhiraja ⁴ In 1571 he is called Virapratapa Tirumalayadeva Maharaya ⁵ In the same

1 Ibid., p. 231-2.

2. Butterworth III, p. 1328-9

3. Taylor *O.H. MSS.*, II, p. 98.

4 *Ep. Car.*, XII MI 10.

5 497 of 1905

year a stone inscription from the Shimoga district calls him "the glorious king of kings, the great lord of kings, ruling the whole kingdom from his throne at Pehugundi (Penukonda) which belongs to Hampi-Hastinavati (Vijayanagara)"¹. The Tumkur plates of the same date give him imperial titles as used by the old Emperors of Vijayanagara². Finally in his Penuguluru grant, made in the same year, he is described "seated on his throne ruling the whole kingdom extending from the Sethu (Rameswaram) to the Sumeru, and from the hill of sunrise in the East to the end of the western mountain, eclipsing in fame and righteousness even Nriga, Nala, Nahusha and such others on earth"³.

His being anointed 'to the peerless and matchless sovereignty' is often mentioned as being that of the lawful founder of the dynasty, not only in his grants⁴, but even in those of his successors Ranga I⁵, Venkata II⁶, Venkata III⁷, and Ranga III⁸.

Accordingly, the pedigree of the Aravidu family and its connection with some of the ancient and most famous dynasties of India, whether true or forged, were propagated in those days throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, with a view to establishing the new Aravidu family firmly on the throne. Thus in the Madanagopalasvamin temple at Madura, Tirumala's pedigree is found engraved on thirteen stones⁹. Then in an inscription of Gurzala, Krishna District, he is called 'the most excellent in the family of Satyasraya and the gem of

1 *Ep Carn* VIII, Sb, 55

2 *Ibid*, XII, Tm, 1

3 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 256, v 43

4 Tirumala's grant, 1571, *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1

5 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 16

6 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, v 20, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p 30, v 19, Venkata II's grants, 1587 and 1589, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83 and XII, Ck, 39

7 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15, Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198

8 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

9 510 of 1907

the Chalukyas.¹ And in the above mentioned Penuguluru grant he is said to be the foremost of the Chola family.²

3 This propaganda in favour of his family's rights to the imperial throne would appear to suggest that his authority was in danger and we find indeed that a good number of his subjects did not acknowledge him in the beginning of his rule—not on account of his ancestors, who had been several times connected with the previous dynasties, but because of the murder of Sadasiva.

The author of the anonymous life of St. Xavier quoted above, who finished his work during the reign of Tirumala³ writes to this effect. "There were several wars over the question of the succession to the throne for there was no more issue of the royal family and various nobles and leading chiefs of the kingdom did not acknowledge the one who is ruling at present"⁴. This fact is also recorded in a letter of Tirumala⁵ to Velappa Raya of Bankapur kept by Ferishta. The king complains that "most of the dependents of the house of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) had become rebels from their duty"⁶. But Frederick, who was travelling through the Empire at the time, gives us more details. While describing the place where they get Diamants "six dayes journey from Bezeneger (Vijayanagara)" he states that "it is many yeeres agoe since they got any there, for the troubles that have been in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Tamaragio had put to death the lawful king, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their king, and by this meanes there are many kings and great division

1. Sowell, I, p. 58.

2. *Ep Ind* XVI, p. 257 vv 44-62.

3. *Cf. M H S. J. Mex. Xav.*, I p. XXIII XXIV.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

5. Ferishta says Venkatadri but this is an evident mistake. The one who was at Penakonda at this time was Tirumala. Anyhow the letter we are going to quote here would prove the same if written by Venkatadri.

6. Ferishta, III p. 136.

in that kingdom" ¹ Again, Anquetil du Perron, after the account of the regicide, adds "Many troubles sprang from these revolutions the nobles refused to acknowledge the new king" ²

This was certainly a very difficult position for the new sovereign in his ninetieth year. On the one hand there was the Muhammadan menace on the northern frontier, on the other he suddenly saw many of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire rebelling against his authority. We do not know who these rebels were, but we may assume that the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore did not make any movement, because their first rebellion is mentioned as having taken place during the reign of Venkata II. It seems quite certain that the King set out without delay to subdue these disloyal chiefs, and actually received the homage of several of them. One of his grants of 1571 records that "he subdued and made his own the eighty-four durgas, he curbed the pride of Avahalu Raja, and showed his skill in conquering the Utkala king (Orissa), the chief gem in the garland, Araviti-pura, the Suratrapa of Urigola (Warangal)" ³

These were probably some of the rebel chiefs reduced by Tirumala to his obedience, but they were not all, for according to the apocryphal prophecy of the Mackenzie Collection, from the year 1569 onwards, 'the country will be in great confusion then for five years' ⁴. From this we conclude that the rebellion lasted until the first years of the reign of Ranga I, and was perhaps one of the causes of Tirumala's abdication.

4 One of its immediate results was beyond doubt the inauguration of a new system of government, which proved efficient for some years. Such was the division of the whole Empire into three viceroyalties to be distributed among the sons of the sovereign.

The Arivilimangalam plates ⁵ and the Maredapalli grant ⁶

1 Purchas, X, p 97

2 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

3 *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1

4 Taylor, l c

5 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 19

6 *Ibid*, XI, p 328

mention only one son of Tirumala, Ranga the Vellangudi¹ and the Dalavay Agraharam plates² and the Vilapaka grant³ give two names Ranga and Venkata, as corresponding to two sons of Tirumala three are to be found in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*⁴ but the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III⁵ and a grant of Ranga III 1645⁶ along with the *Vasucharithramu*⁷ and the *Ramarajiyamu*⁸ mention four Raghunatha, Ranga, Rama and Venkata. The eldest died probably after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi and this is the reason why no reference to him is made in many of the preceding documents while Rama was also overlooked in several of them because he never ascended the masnad. Ranga and Venkata were the future Ranga I and Venkata II.

At this time Raghunatha was already dead. Hence the whole Empire was divided into three viceroyalties and each of them placed under one of the three surviving brothers. The division was made on a racial basis, and followed the different peoples that occupied the territory of the Empire the Telugu viceroyalty in the North, the Kanarese viceroyalty in the West and the Tamil viceroyalty in the East and South.⁹

"Sri Ranga Raya was the Viceroy of the whole Telugu country with his capital at Penukonda" says the *Chikkadevaraya*

1. Ibid., XVI p. 300

2. Ibid., XII p. 186, vv 23 and 27

3. Ibid IV p 270, vv 20-22

4. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 302.

5. *Ep Ind.*, III p. 252, v 18.

6. *Ep Carn.*, X, Mb 60

7. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o c p. 216.

8. Ibid., p. 213

9. None of the contemporary sources say that Tirumala appointed his four sons to the several governorships of the kingdom, as it has often been asserted. Raghunatha is not mentioned at this time, from which we conclude he was dead. Even in Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p 67 we read that "the Empire about this time, was divided into six viceroyalties 1. Andhra 2. Karnata 3. Madura 4. Chandra giri 5. Jinji 6. Tanjore" Here the three great Nayakships of Madura Tanjore and Jinji have been mixed up with the three viceroyalties created by Tirumala.

Vamsavali ¹ The establishment of his capital at Penukonda took place later, when he was appointed Yuvaraja, but the capital of his viceroyalty seems to have been Udayagiri, in the heart of the Telugu country "Making Udayagiri his residence," we read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, "he conquered Kondavidu, Vinikondapura and other forts, and began to rule at Penukonda" ² The same is recorded in the Maredapalli grant of Ranga I ³, in the Vellangudi plates ⁴ and the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II ⁵, and another grant of the same monarch of the year 1589 ⁶ Another of the same Ranga, of 1576, says that when he was at Udayagiri he conquered the inaccessible fortress of Kondavidu, Vinukonda, etc., and that he was, at the time of the inscription, residing with all the insignia of royalty at Penukonda ⁷ It is quite evident from these grants that Ranga's rule at Udayagiri was previous to his rule at Penukonda At this time and after the conquest of Kondavidu, he is also called governor of this place, when in that capacity he granted a village to a local temple ⁸

"The next brother, Rama", says the *Vasucharitramu*, "was governing in peace the whole country from the Kaveri to the Sea (Arabian Sea), with his capital at the island town of Seringapatam" ⁹ The country under Rama is specified in greater detail in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* "His brother Rama Raya ruled the whole Kanarese country from his capital Seringapatam" ¹⁰ During the reign of Sadasiva, immediately

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 302

2 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 23-26

3 *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328, v 31

4 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

5 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 24-25

6 *Ep Carn*, XII, Cf 39 Ck, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83

7 23 of 1911 One year previous to this grant, in 1576, Kondavidu had been granted by the same Ranga to a Brahman
Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras, p 53

8 Sewell, II, p 188

9 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 217.

10, *Ibid*, p 302

before the battle of Raksas Tagdi Rama Raya seems to have been governor of the fortress of Penukonda¹ and about that time he made a gift of the village of Kolagala to a certain Ramaraja Nayaka². He is said to have previously defeated the Nizam Shah³ but his rule at Seringapatam has been noted as weak⁴. The times however were not favourable to the Kanarese Viceroy. I feel sure that many of the petty chieftains of the Kanarese country were in revolt against Tirumala and the new dynasty several rebellions occurred there, too after the accession of Sadasiva⁵. Rama's task was not at all easy and his life was not to last long. During the time of his viceroyalty he constructed the math of Satyabhodarayalaswami at Penukonda, as recorded in a Kanarese inscription in the same place⁶. By his wife Narasingama⁷ he had two sons Tirumala and Sri Ranga⁸ whose great influence in the history of the Aravidu family will be traced in due course.

The Tamil country was under the third brother Venkata "The last of the four brothers Venkatapati" says the *Vasucharitramu* "was governing as Viceroy the kingdom of Chandragiri having under his authority many feudatory princes"⁹. Who several of these princes were is mentioned in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*. "Venkatapati the third brother was the Viceroy of the Tundira (Junji) Chola (Tanjore) and Pandya (Madura) countries with his capital at Chandragiri"¹⁰. We have no special information about his rule as Viceroy his authority was above that of the three powerful Nayaks of Madura Tanjore and Junji and was similar to that of Prince

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* I. c. p. 183

2. 15 of 1910.

3. *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c. p. 213

4. Cf. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67

5. Cf. Ch. IV No 2.

6. Sowell, I p. 120

7. *Ramarajiyamu* l. c.

8. Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep. Ind.* III, p. 253, v. 21 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep. Carn.* X, Mb. 60; *Ramarajiyamu* l. c.

9. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 217

10. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Vitthala, the cousin of Rama Raya, during the time of his viceroyalty in the South

This new administrative arrangement, inaugurated by Tirumala, was intended to meet the then urgent necessities of the Empire. The monarch, leaving the affairs of government in the hands of his sons, could devote himself to checking the advance of the Muhammadans on the northern frontier. The division being naturally made according to the three great different races of the Empire, a greater administrative success in each part could reasonably be expected, and the Viceroys being of the royal blood, and in this case sons of the Sovereign himself, the fear of rebellion was reduced, since they were bound to be very loyal to the Emperor their father. The only fear was that these viceroyalties being hereditary, the future viceroys, though related to the Emperor, would not feel that love which is natural between close relations, and the consequences would prove fatal to the Empire. But this apprehension was never realised, since the viceroyalties ceased to exist after half a century.

5 The Muhammadans, indeed, continued seriously to menace the northern territories. After the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, Tirumala had delivered the territory from an invasion of Alī Adil Shah, by soliciting the aid of the Queen Mother of Ahmadnagar, Bibi Khunzah Humayun, who by marching an army into the Bijapur dominions had forced Alī Adil Shah to retreat from Vijayanagara¹. But in the year 1569, the same Alī Adil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah met on the borders of their kingdoms, and came to a mutual agreement to extend their conquests in such different directions as not to interfere with each other: the Sultan of Ahmadnagar should be allowed to occupy Berar, and the sovereign of Bijapur should be permitted "to conquer as much of the dependencies of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara) as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of Murtaza-Nizam Shah"².

This agreement was fatal to the Hindu Empire. Alī Adil Shah set out at once to invest the fortress of Turkal, then in

1 Cf Ch X, No 12

2 Ferishta, III, p 135

possession of Venkatayasu Raya who surrendered after seven months of strenuous defence. Then the Sultan proceeded to reduce Dharwar "one of the strongest of the forts in the Karnatik and at that time in possession of one of the officers of the late Ramraj who, though he paid annually a small tribute to Yelumraj (Tirumala) had now acquired great power" The fortress, however took six months to subdue. Then Ali Adil Shah turned his arms to Bankapur Its Raja, Velappa Raya, who rebelled against Vijayanagara after the Raksas Tagdi disaster¹ "shut himself up in the fort, and detached his son with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot to occupy the woods and passes in order to harass the enemy as opportunity offered, and to endeavour to cut off his resources At the same time he sent a message to Tirumala asking for help. But the Emperor's answer carried unutterable despair to his heart for Tirumala replied that "by his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels, and departed from their duty so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penukonda and Chandragiri, the only places which the kings of Islam had left him. He advised him therefore, if money or jewels could purchase terms from the Muhammadans, to procure them on any conditions but if he should find this impossible, he recommended him by all means to induce the neighbouring Rajas to espouse his cause, and to prevail on them to join his son with their followers, in order to harass the Mussulmans by cutting off their supplies and making frequent night attacks. He promised, moreover to issue orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience" Accordingly Velappa Raya prevailed on some chiefs to join his son and they acted with such vigour "that grain became scarce in the king's camp" says Ferishta, "which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins who did much execution They entered the tents at night, and without mercy stabbed the soldiers while sleeping. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops that they were near

1. Cf. Ch. X, No. 17

forcing the king to raise the siege", but the tactics of Mustafa Khan freed the camp of these night marauders, and then confidence was restored among the Muslim soldiers. The siege, however, lingered on for one year and three months. Velappa Raya surrendered at last after the demise of his son, on condition of being allowed to depart with his family and effects.¹ When this fort fell, Ranga I was already Emperor.

6 What was the action of Tirumala against the invaders of his Empire? We have read somewhere that territorially he left it at the time of his death just as it was before the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, but we have not anywhere discovered any source of information so optimistic about his reign. His great military prowess is extolled in many of the grants of his successors², he is called 'the king of the powerful arm'³ who 'defeated his enemies'⁴, 'conquered' or 'subdued hostile kings in battle'⁵ and 'scorched hostile kings with the fire of his valour'⁶.

The *Vasucharithramu* relates that Tirumala destroyed the forces of the Muhammadans sent against him under the command of a certain Khana (Khan). Incidentally the poem says that Tirumala "verily bestowed upon the hills of Penagonda (Penukonda) the *guṇisabhava* (the state of being the best of hills), by spreading thereon the skins of mad elephants and the skulls (of slaughtered soldiers)"⁷. This was probably the

1 Ferishta, III, p. 135-9. This campaign against Bankapur is also mentioned by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, *Ibid*, p. 432.

2 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 256, vv. 44-62, Arivilmangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p. 357, v. 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30, v. 19, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p. 252, v. 15.

3 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

4 Arivilmangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p. 357, v. 16, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 319, v. 20.

5 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p. 254, v. 15, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p. 30 v. 19.

6 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p. 257, vv. 44-62.

7 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I c p. 181.

occasion when Tirumala's minister Chennappa Nayadu, distinguished himself by defeating the Muhammadans near Penukonda, as is recorded in a local inscription ¹

7 It is generally asserted that Tirumala retired from the Karnata throne in favour of his son Ranga. But I cannot support this statement with any contemporary authority. The *Vasucharitramu* only says that 'Sri Ranga was nominated Yuvaraja by Tirumala Raya and was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire' ². His appointment as heir apparent does not imply his father's renunciation of the throne; nor is this implied by the second fact, which was probably contemporary with the first *viz* that he was looking after the affairs of the whole Empire. Tirumala no doubt felt that he was too old to rule so turbulent a country and therefore appointed his eldest living son his heir apparent and associated him in the government. It was then that Ranga began to rule at Penukonda ³.

This occurred probably at the end of 1571 but in the beginning of 1572 Tirumala who was then ninety two, passed away according to the apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie Collection ⁴.

8. The grants of his successors extol the virtues of the excellent Tirumala, as he is called in the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III ⁵. The Penuguluru grant pronounces him 'an ocean of praiseworthy qualities the prosperous abode of unrestrained charities' ⁶ "illustrious distinguished for his prudence the gifts from whose hands excelled even those of the tree of Indra, and who was a fountain of good qualities" ⁷. He is said "to rule the whole earth with great glory and unequalled renown like Hari (Vishnu) among the

1. 341 of 1901.

2. B. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 217.

3. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 186, vv 23-26.

4. Taylor L. c.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v 73.

6. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 257 vv 44-52.

7. *Ibid.* vv 177-178.

Trimurti" ¹, or "to protect the earth like Vishnu among the Trimurti" ²

Two qualities among the rest are selected for special praise his piety and his wisdom. As to the first, the Penuguluru grant says that he is 'a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Vishnu)' ³ "This king," the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II inform us, "performed frequently all the *danas* mentioned in the *agamas*, such as the *kanaka-tuba-purusha* and the *upadanas* in the temple of Kanchi, Sriranga, etc., and at the sacred *tirthas*" ⁴ He built temples and bathing-places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachala, Kanakshaba, Ahobaladri and other places ⁵ In 1569, while 'seated on the diamond throne' and 'ruling the Kingdom of Vijayanagara, he made a grant to the god Anjaneya' at Udayagiri ⁶ In the following year another was made "with pleasure and libations of gold and water, as a *sarva-manyu*, to Brahmans, of several *sakkas*, names, *gotras* and *sutras*, of the rich village named Penuguluru, with the two other villages, Yalanimapadu-Chennapalli and Konduru-Chennapalli, beautiful with gardens" ⁷

His wisdom is likewise acknowledged and highly praised by his successors he is called 'wise' ⁸ and 'learned' ⁹, and even in a Sadasiva's grant of 1558 he is said to be as

1 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357 v 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth I, p 30, v 19, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15

2 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 317, v 20

3 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 245

4 *Ibid*, p 319, v 27

5 Tirumala's grant *Ep Carn*, XII, Tm, 1, Venkata II's grant, 1587, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

6 Butterworth, III, p 1328

7 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 257, vv 44-52

8 Arivilimangalam plates of Ranga I, *Ep Ind* XII, p 357, v 16, Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, I, p 30 v 19, Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 15

9 Ranga III's grant, 1645, *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

learned as Bhoja Raja ¹ He was highly esteemed by wise kings ² He sedulously patronised wise people and endeavoured to propagate wisdom among his subjects. In order to commemorate the first death anniversary of his father he granted the village of Jillellamuduku to a wise man called Srinivasacharya ³ Then when he made the Penuguluru grant to Brahmins the entire village was divided into 128 *vrittis* and given to Brahmins who were highly learned in the sastras and were masters in the Vedanta one of the *vrittis* was granted for the study of the Rig Veda and another for that of the Yajur Veda ⁴ At the end of this volume we shall mention his literary exploits we shall here only quote some words of the Penuguluru grant mentioned already which gives a beautiful description of the pious and wise Tirumala, "being surrounded by pious and loving priests and attendants, and by various wise men who follow the ways laid down in the Vedas and are highly educated" ⁵ Such was the company with which Tirumala loved to surround himself the great warrior never lost sight of the claims of piety and the value of high education.

9 We cannot doubt that Tirumala had the most excellent qualities which must adorn a ruler since he proved it when a minister during the reign of Sadasiva, and specially after the usurpation of his brother when he was in charge of all state matters. He marvellously co-operated with Rama Raya for the welfare of the Empire, and the success they attained was due to the efficiency of both the glory of the Empire of Krishna Deva Raya still illuminated the combined rule of Rama Raya and Tirumala. But after the disaster of Raksas-Tagdi and specially during his short rule as Emperor he was too old to maintain the Empire in its pristine glory The Muhammadan attacks on the northern frontier and the rebellions of the

1. *Ep Carn.*, IX, Op 186

2. Penuguluru grant of Tirumala, *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 257 vv 43-63

3. Rangacharaya I, p. 639-678

4. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 245.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 257 vv 44-62.

feudatory chiefs throughout the whole of the Empire were too much for the old Sovereign. He then thought of dividing his task among his sons, by creating the three Viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Seringapatam and Chandragiri, and as even that was not enough, he associated his eldest son in the government to share with him the conduct of state affairs. The weakness he showed in translating the court and capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda became clearer and clearer every year. The Muhammadans were continuously advancing and even reached the walls of Penukonda. Nor were the domestic revolts yet brought under at the time of his demise. Tirumala was not at all a successful monarch.

His usurpation of the throne may be easily justified. A pageant king like Sadasiva was a grave danger to the Empire at such a turbulent time, and if any relics of imperial power were to be saved, the removal of Sadasiva was a political necessity. Nevertheless political necessity never justified a murder, if Tirumala is responsible for the assassination of Sadasiva Raya, the first monarch of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara will always be blamed for having sprinkled the steps of his throne with the blood of his predecessor.

CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE UNDER SRI RANGA I

SUMMARY—1. Enthronement of Ranga I. Retains his capital at Penūkonda.—2. His officers. Subdues the rebellious chiefs.—3. Muhammadan invasion of Kanara.—4. First attack of Bijapur against Penūkonda. Alliance between Vijayanagara and Golkonda.—5. Second attack on Penūkonda. Ranga imprisoned by his enemies.—6. Third attack. Jagadeva Raya.—7. The Sultan of Golkonda invades Abobillam.—8. The province of Udayagiri captured by the Golkonda troops.—9. Further Muhammadan inroads.—10. Ranga I's religious conduct.—11. His death. A criticism.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants. 2. Ferishta, Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—3. *Ramarajiyanna Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali Annals of Hanve Anantapuram Chavukandrodayas Yayalicharitra Lakshminarasimham*.

SRIMAD Rajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Vira Pratapa Sri Rangarayadeva Maharayalu¹ naturally succeeded his father Tirumala at the beginning of 1572. Ranga was installed in the kingdom of Penūkonda—we read in the Utsur grant of Ranga III² and in the Kunyur plates of Venkata III we find that he was crowned to the kingdom of Penugonda³. As to the actual ceremonies of his coronation a grant of Venkata II 1587 informs us that he was anointed by his chief Brahmans⁴ but the Mangalampad grant of the same records that he was installed according to the rules by the best of the Brahmans⁵. Both grants mention the sovereign's munificence on this occasion and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II even state that by the gifts made by this King at

1. Such is the full imperial title given him in the inscriptions. Cf. Rangacharya, II, p. 1096, 374.

— 2. Butterworth, I, p. 46, v 23

3. *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v 19

4. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, 8h, 83

5. Butterworth, I p. 30 v 22

the time of his coronation poverty was completely wiped out for good men" ¹ His queens were Tirumala Devi and Krishnamba ²

The statement has been made that Ranga transferred the capital of the Empire to Chandragiri ³ This is not founded on any contemporary source The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II say that 'he made Penugonda his capital' ⁴, and the Kondyata grant of Venkata III calls him the 'king of Penagonda' ⁵ Moreover, we know of inscriptions of all the years of his reign, excepting two They clearly state that he was ruling over the Empire from the hilly town of Anantapur In 1572 certain inhabitants of Mannur, Cuddapah, gave away their annual fee from the village to the god Chennakesava, in the reign of Srirangaraya of Penukonda ⁶, an inscription of 1573 says that that he 'was ruling at Penukonda' ⁷, his Maredapalli grant was made in 1574 'in the presence of the god Ramachandra (in Penukonda)' ⁸, and it states that he was residing at Penukonda ⁹, again, another inscription of 1574 records that he was 'ruling at Penukonda' ¹⁰, three inscriptions of 1575 speak of him as still 'seated in Penukonda' ¹¹, another of 1576 again commemorates the fact of his 'ruling at Penukonda' ¹², in 1577-8 he makes the

1 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

2 Venkata II's grant, 1589, *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39 Tirumala Devi is called Timmamba in the *Ramarajiyamu*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar Sources, p 213, and Sewell, II, p 252, calls the second wife Katamba

3 Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p 37, Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer*, p 21

4 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 28-30

5 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 126

6 Rangacharya, I, p 643, 783

7 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

8 *Ep Ind*, XI p 328

9 *Ibid*, v 31

10 70 of 1915

11 Butterworth, III, p 1259-61, Rangacharya, II, p 1143, 688, *Catalogue of the Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 53

12 23 of 1911

Arivilimangalam grant in the presence of the god Ramachandra of Perunkondapura (Penukonda) ¹ again he is said to be ruling over Penukonda in 1578 ² and in 1579 he is ruling the kingdom of the earth at Penukonda ³ this is also said of 1579-80 ⁴ in 1582 he is seated on the diamond throne at the city of Penugonda ⁵ in 1582-3 he is said still to be ruling at Penukonda ⁶ and finally he is called Sri Ranga of Penukonda and ruling at Penukonda both in 1584 ⁷ and in 1585 ⁸ the last year of his reign

No inscription has hitherto been discovered stating that Ranga ruled at Chandragiri. What is more puzzling is an inscription of Podili Nellore District that records a grant of a village by a private person while Ranga was ruling at Vijayanagara in 1575-6 ⁹ We feel sure that the capital of the Empire was never removed again to the imperial city on the Tungabhadra. Two inscriptions of these same years mentioned above record his *domicile* at Penukonda. He may have visited the ancient capital of his predecessors in the course of one of his expeditions against the Muhammadans but this would not imply his ruling at Vijayanagara probably the traditional capital was here mentioned out of the regard which the kings still cherished for that city

2. Penukonda was therefore the town where Ranga I ruled in splendour with all insignia of royalty to quote the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II ¹⁰ Pemmasani Pedda Timma raja seems to have been his minister ¹¹ or at least one of his

1. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 341.

2. Sowell, I, p. 100

3. Butterworth, II, p. 657-9 Rangacharya II p. 1098 374 *As A D Report* 1923, p. 44.

4. Butterworth II, p. 657-9

5. Rangacharya II, p. 1115, 491.

6. Butterworth II, p. 892-4.

7. Rangacharya I, p. 153 193 70 of 1915

8. *Ibid.*, p. 622, 534.

9. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6

10. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vv 28-30

11. Cf H Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* I. c., p. 185

ministers, because in an inscription of 1581 Ranga mentions Megoti Timma Nayadu as his agent and minister ¹ Another who seems to have been in charge of the matters of government is Timmaya Mantri, for the author of the *Charuchandrodayam*, his cousin, says that he "was the right hand of the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya and was presented by him with elephants, horses, palanquins and umbrellas" ² His dalavay, or commander-in-chief, was one Obala in 1572 ³, but nine years later, in 1581, Venkatappa Nayadu occupied this post ⁴ Rayasam Venkatapati was also one of his officers in his poem *Lakshmi-tilasam* he informs us that he got the name of Rayasam after his office in the court, which was despatch-writer, and he was the manager of the Secretariat of the Empire He was much loved by the Emperor, who presented him with a village and gold jewels ⁵

Mr H Krishna Sastri suspects that the whole of the West coast and its petty rulers had asserted their independence in the beginning of Ranga's reign ⁶ He is probably right, because it is certain, in view of the above-quoted apocryphal prophecy in the Mackenzie collection, that the great disturbances and rebellions following the murder of Sadasiva lasted five years, *viz* one year of Tirumala's reign and the first four years of the reign of Ranga This was a trying task for the new sovereign to cope with, but it seems, he finally subdued the rebels It is probably in this connection that his Maredapalli grant and Arivilimangalam plates inform us that he 'destroyed or reduced the Chaurasi-durga (the eighty-four hill forts)' ⁷, the Arivilimangalam plates say moreover that he 'put to shame Avahaluraya' ⁸, while the Maredapalli grant extols him 'as the vanquisher of Avahaluraya and the king of Utkala' ⁹

1 178 of 1913

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 241

3 Rangacharya, II, p 979, 630

4 178 of 1913

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 230

6 Cf H Krishna Sastri, l c and note 3

7 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, v 20, XI, p 328, v 35

8 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 357, vv 21-26

9 *Ep Ind*, XI, p 328, vv 37-38

Moreover the rebellions were not all confined to the West Trouble also arose in the South of the peninsula. The country of Marava and its neighbours the Kallar tribes, had broken allegiance with the Empire; but Ranga, according to an inscription of Tindivanam subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar (tribes) inhabiting Kongu and Malai nadu and their treasures he distributed (among the poor) ¹

3 In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had not yet ceased attacking the northern frontier. In the year 1575, to safeguard his new possessions Ali Adil Shah rebuilt the ancient fortress of Chandragutti Shimoga District, which was built upon a lofty hill ² While here, he was invited by Shankar Nayak, probably one of those petty chiefs of Kanara who had rebelled against the new dynasty of Vijayanagara, to make a tour through his own country. Ali Adil Shah " says Ferishta,

accepting the offer left his army at Chandarguti and with Mustafa Khan and four or five thousand men proceeded to the fortress of Karur (Kadur). This place is situated in a mountainous country full of forests, and so difficult of access that most of the passes allow only one horseman to enter at a time. The king, disliking the appearance of the country returned to Chandarguti leaving all his possessions to the Nayak; but Mustafa Khan tried to make a virtue of his master's necessity by telling the Nayak that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it therefore, if he consulted his own safety he would submit and pay tribute and induce the surrounding rayas to do the same. Shankar Nayak, by these representations prevailed on Siva Nayak of Jerreh, the Rani of Barcelor (Basrur) and several other chiefs to pay their respects to the Sultan to whom they presented offerings of considerable value, and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their state robes from the Sultan women's robes were prepared for Har Devi Bhar Devi, the Rani of Barcelor and another Rani. But these they declined accepting saying that though women in sex they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds upon which the Sultan presented them with men's robes

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri *l. c.*, p. 183-4.

2. Ferishta, III, p. 139

and applauded their high spirit After this the Sultan of Bijapur appointed a Brahman to superintend the -revenue of the newly-acquired country, answering more or less to the modern districts of Shimoga and Kadur ¹

4 Ranga could not render assistance to his rebel chiefs of the Kanara country against the Muhammadans As a matter of fact, it seems that just at this time he was proceeding towards Chandragiri 'in the course of a royal tour' ² Alī Adil Shah, after his short campaign in the Kanara country, again joined the troops of Mustafa Khan and advanced towards Penukonda ³ When Sri Ranga learnt this he rapidly returned to his capital ⁴, but found himself unequal to the forces of Bijapur, so, perhaps even before he reached Penukonda, he despatched an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, demanding his aid against Adil Shah The Golkonda Sultan "readily agreed to the overtures of Sri Ranga Raya," says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "promising him to oppose Alī Adil Shah, and to prevent him from making further aggression Accordingly he detached his general, Shah Muhammad Anju, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of Adil Shah's dominions, while he prepared to move to the South in support of Sri Ranga Raya On the Bijanagar frontier he was joined by Shah Muhammad Anju, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions He was shortly afterwards met by Sri Ranga Raya, and their junction induced Alī Adil Shah to raise the siege of Bijanagar (*viz* its capital Penukonda) ⁵ and to return to Bijapur" ⁶

1 Ibid, p 140-1

2 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p 231

3 Ferishta, III, p 141 Ferishta's following account of the attack of Penukonda is evidently out of place I shall prove in due course that facts narrated here by the Muhammadan writer could not have taken place except during the reign of Venkata II

4 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l c

5 The removal of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda seems to be completely ignored by the anonymous chronicler

6 Ferishta, III, p 435

Such is the account of the retreat of Ali Adil Shah as given by the Mussulman writer but the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram* provide us with some other details. Ranga had also summoned Hande Malakappa Nayadu, the governor of Bukkasamudram and with the assistance of his troops fought with the Muhammadan invaders and routed them.¹ This seems to imply that a battle was fought between the two armies, and it was probably then that Ranga's war-drums were heard in the town of Vijapura (Bijapur) as we read in the *Narapali vijayamu*.²

After this combined action the relations between Golkonda and Vijayanagara apparently became still more friendly. It was perhaps then that Fakl Khan went with a large army as an envoy of the Sultan of Golkonda to the court of Ranga and took the latter to his sovereign's capital, where a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two monarchs.³

5 But not long after probably in the following year 1576, the Sultan of Bijapur reappeared in the territories of Vijayanagara with a large army. Ranga set out from Penukonda to check this expedition. When the two armies met, a great battle ensued, in the course of which the Emperor Ranga unfortunately fell a prisoner into the hands of Ali Adil Shah. This mishap turned the tide against the Hindu army which was beaten and routed by the enemy. The immediate result of this victory was the possession of the territories to the North of Penukonda, which never went back into the hands of the Vijayanagara Emperors. "On hearing about this defeat of Sri Ranga," continues the author of the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, "Hande Malakappa Nayadu, thinking that the Muhammadan fortunes were destined to rise and his master's to wane, transferred his allegiance to them and behaved obediently in their service. So they showed great favour to him, and bestowed upon him the lands formerly granted to him by the Vijayanagara sovereigns. Bukkapatnam in the Elamanchi country

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* l. c. Cf. Brown, *The Wars of the Rajas*, p. 6.

2. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, l. c., p. 183, note 3.

3. *Yayatcharithram* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 236.

and Anantasagaram along with the hamlets under them, with the title of Padishah Vazir" ¹ This misfortune of Ranga justified a strange title given him two years before in a grant of 1574, this sovereign is called 'Establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans' ²

More fortunate still was another chief who also fought in this battle against the Muhammadans Sal Nayaka had, after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, become the leader of a band of freebooters, and succeeded in capturing Kandikere and Shettikere. Incidentally, he joined Ranga at Penukonda with a force, on condition of his conquests being confirmed. After the defeat of the Hindu army and the capture of their Emperor, he escaped to his own country with such plunder as he could secure, including, it is said, twelve elephants. Chiknayakanhall, was founded a while after, made the seat of his government and named after his brother, then Honnavalli, Turuvekere and Nonavinkere were added to his possessions. Such was the origin of the Hagalvadi chiefs, whose territory was finally annexed to Mysore by Chikkadeva Raya ³

6 Ranga I, probably, soon won his liberty by a heavy ransom, because the inscriptions of the following year 1577 show him 'ruling at Penukonda' ⁴ But the attack on Penukonda was renewed that very year, unquestionably Alī Adil Shah was bent on destroying the new capital of the Empire, as he had helped in the destruction of the old. We are not aware whether Adil Shah was present at the siege of the fortress, the *Satyaparinayam* mentions only four generals of his army. Jagadeva Raya, the Sudra chief of Baramahal, was at the moment in charge of the defence of the city, he was closely related to the

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 231-2 Cf Brown *The Wars of the Rajas*, p 6

2 Sewell, II, p 185

3 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 165

4 Cf above No 1 Nevertheless there is an inscription of this year in the Nellore district, in which Ranga appears as 'ruling at Chandragiri' Butterworth, I, p 399, note Was his capture perhaps concealed by saying that he was ruling at Chandragiri, where his brother Venkata was perhaps governing the Empire on his behalf?

Emperor by his marriage with one of the latter's daughters ¹ The attack was more than once valiantly repulsed by this hero One general, Sujata Khan was slain in one of the actions, another Chitta Khan was captured and the other two Murtija Khan and Naru Khan being successively defeated the Bijapur army was forced to raise the siege ²

The Emperor rewarded Jagadeva Raya's services liberally He gave him a large district which extended from Baramahal in the East to the western Ghats in the West He fixed his capital at Channapatna, which his descendants held till 1630 when it was captured after a long siege by the Raja of Mysore ³ Perhaps Koneru Raya also distinguished himself on this occasion because an inscription of 1579 records the fact that the Emperor Ranga gave two villages to him for services rendered in a bloody battle, and exempted them from all taxes ⁴

7 In the meanwhile the Sultan of Golkonda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, had broken the alliance made lately with Ranga and having joined the Hande chief Malakappa Nayadu, who as we have already noted, had been a traitor to the Empire invaded and occupied the Ahobalam district. A local inscription dated 1584 ⁵ from which we get this information, adds that the religious teacher Sri Van Sathagopa Swami then went to the Emperor Ranga and reporting to him the sad condition of the temple of Ahobalam and the surrounding country requested him to recover the district from the Muhammadans and to restore the temples to their ancient glory Thereupon the Emperor Sri Ranga Raya himself prepared to lead an army into the district in person and to drive out the enemy But the High Priest said that he need not lead the expedition in person

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* p. 164, says that Jagadeva's daughter was married to Ranga but he himself in his further work, *Mysore* I, p. 356 and 357 affirms that he was the king's son in law Sewell, I, p. 194 and II, p. 251 agrees.

2. B Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 229

3. Rice, *Mysore* I, p. 22. This author as well as Sewell II, p. 251, assigned the year 1577 as corresponding to the date of this third siege of Penukonda

4. *M A D., Report* 1923 p. 44.

but might entrust it to his subordinates, Kondaraju Venkataraju and Kondaraju Tirumalaraju who were designated by the god of Ahobalam in a dream, as the fittest persons to lead the attack and to restore the temples. The Emperor was struck with this, and having presented the chiefs with jewels and titles, ordered them to march against the enemy. Then the chiefs started with their army along with the priest, and having defeated the Hande chiefs and the other allies of Ibrahim, made vast additions to the temples and bestowed on the temples more than their former prosperity" ¹ This action is probably the one referred to in the *Lakshmi Vilasam*, which states that Ranga I "defeated the large armies of Qutb Shah and captured his royal insignia" ². And again the *Narapati-vijayamu* says that 'his sword split the bodies of the Golkonda warriors' ³

8 Soon, at the end of 1579 or beginning of 1580, the Golkonda troops entered the province of Udayagiri situated at the North-East of the Empire ⁴. After crossing the Krishna they easily captured the forts of Inaconda, Cacherlacota and Cammum (Cumbum), but the fortress of Kandbīr was not so easily taken. "Here Haidar-ul-Mulk", says the anonymous chronicler, "was informed that Kandi Timana, Mudna Chinna and Kasturi Ranga had collected a force of thirty thousand men, and were on the point of marching to attack him. He therefore deferred the siege of Kandbīr and moved to meet them. The Hindu infantry poured in upon the king's troops on all sides from the woods, but they only rushed on to their own destruction. The Muhammadans gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy to the fort of Guram, which surrendered". The fort of Belamkonda and all the minor forts of the neighbourhood fell also into the hands of the Muhammadans, and thereafter Haidar-ul-Mulk proceeded to Kandbīr. "A long time was expended in

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 233-4 Cf 70 of 1915

2 Ibid, p 230

3 *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p 356 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, l c, p 183, note

4 Sewell, I, p 137, has an inscription of a local chief of this province acknowledging Ranga I as his sovereign in the year 1579

attempting to reduce this strong fortress without effect and Haidar ul Mulk found it necessary to apply for reinforcements to Golkonda on which Ibrahim Qutb Shah appointed Syad Shah Tacki known by the appellation of Amir Shah Mir with a considerable detachment of Mughals and Persians, to proceed and to take the command from Haidar ul Mulk of all the forces South of the Krishna. On his arrival at Kandbir Shah Mir made many attempts to carry the place by escalade but invariably failed, till at length he resolved, whatever might be the loss sustained, to drag his guns up the hill to within a moderate distance of the walls. By this means part of one face was battered down and an attack made one morning both at the breach and on the South gateway. The Hindus were prepared to receive the storming parties and fought desperately but they were driven back, though not without heavy loss on the part of the assailants. The fort was eventually taken through the exertions of the elephants who forced open one side of the gate. The Muhammadans then rushing in took the place and Kapury Timraj son in law of the celebrated Ramraj of Bijanagar fell into the hands of the victors " 1

The Aminabad inscription of Amin Mulk gives further information concerning this campaign. Besides the successive capture of the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Tangeda and Kondavidu, it specifies the taking of the fort of Udayagiri which was defended by Venkata Raju—probably the brother of Ranga and his successor to be—who was driven back to the South 2. It seems that one of the leaders of this expedition was a Maratha Brahman called Raya Rao, who was in the service of the Qutb Shah monarch he was the one who attacked Kondavidu, the governor of which place was assailed with bribes and surrendered in 1580 3

It was probably at this time that Vemala Nayadu, second Raja of Udiripikonda, was defeated and sent away to Golkonda to serve the Sultan 4

1. Ferishta, III, p. 436-8.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 230-40.

3. Sowell, II, p. 188, who gives his information as taken from Telugu chronicles on Kondavidu.

4. Francis, *Anantapur Gazetteer* p. 165. Information gleaned from the Mackenzie MSS.

Thus one of the provinces of the Empire that constituted the greatest part of the Telugu country, fell into the possession of the Golkonda Sultan, and was lost for ever to Vijayanagara. Nevertheless, even under the domination of the Muhammadans, inscriptions were carved, specially in the southern taluks, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara Emperors. Naturally the Telugu folk preferred the rule of the Telugu sovereigns to the blood-thirsty sway of the followers of Islam.¹

9 These were the last conquests of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. In the year 1580 Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur was assassinated², and in the same year Ibrahim Qutb Shah passed away and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah. This monarch attempted to conquer the fortress of Naldurg, but without any success. He was even deserted by one of his generals, Ali Khan Lur, who with his army and with the assistance of Mikai Tima, the son-in-law of Ranga Raya, wished to recover some of the fortresses of the province of Udayagiri for the Emperor of Vijayanagara. But his campaign was a most dismal failure. The anonymous chronicler says that Ranga I 'refused them his countenance or support.'³

The new Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, being a mere child, was under the regency of the Dowager Queen, the famous Chand Bibi, but she was soon confined by the minister Dilawar Khan, and this intriguer assumed the reins of government. "The first act of his power", says Ferishta, "after he found himself secure, was to detach Balil Khan with an army to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara). Balil Khan, after being joined by Arsappa Naik, Ray of Jerreh, marched against the fort of Shankar Naik, Ray of Carur, who refused to pay the tribute. One night during the siege, while visiting the batteries, Balil Khan had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a body of the enemy, and was carried into the fort, where he was confined in heavy chains. His troops, missing their chief, raised the siege and dispersed to various quarters. Balil Khan, after

1 Cf Butterworth, II, p 892

2 Ferishta, III, p 142 Cf *Ind Ant*, XVII, p 221

3 Ibid, III, p 447-9

some time, by promises of great rewards, prevailed on his keepers and a seller of grass to assist in his escape and he was carried out by the latter upon his shoulders, concealed in a bundle of forage. When he had gained a convenient spot he contrived to strike off his chains and hastened with all expedition towards the Bijapur frontiers. Arriving in safety he procured a horse and proceeded to Bankapur from whence he informed Dilawar Khan of his escape and requested to be supplied with another army to take revenge on Shankar Naik. But the Regent declined for the present to make any further attempts in that quarter ¹

This was the last attack of the Muhammadans on the possessions of Vijayanagara during the reign of Sri Ranga I. The result was not very satisfactory to him. Most of the petty Rajas of Bijanagar (Vijayanagara)" says the anonymous chronicler "had now bent their necks to the Muhammadan yoke" Of course, the Muhammadan writer speaks only of the Rajas of the North of the Empire, who were near the frontier of the Deccani states.

10. These military operations did not in any way interfere with the piety of the Emperor for he was a staunch devotee of Vishnu, as we shall see² in one of the following chapters. An inscription of 1572, just a little before he ascended the throne, in the Gopinatha temple of Srirangarayapuram Guntur records a gift of land to Gangadeva Rameswara for worship by Prince Sri Ranga, son of Tirumala ³ We know besides several other religious grants made by Ranga during his reign in 1575-6 ⁴ 1578 ⁵ and 1585 ⁶ In 1573 his agent in Nellore made arrangements for a religious festival ⁷ in 1581 the Dalavay Venkatappa Nayadu, under orders of Negota Timma Nayadu, the minister of the king

1. Ibid., p 157-8.

2. Ibid., III, p. 453.

3. Rangacharya, I, p. 762, 130—B.

4. Butterworth, III, p. 1185-6 and 1259-61.

5. *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ch, 23

6. Sewell, I p. 92.

7. Butterworth, III, p. 822-23

PROCEEDINGS of a Native Court of Inquiry assembled at Meerut on the 25th of April 1857 by order of Major General W H HEWITT Commanding the Meerut Division, to enquire into matter which will be communicated to Captain D MACDONALD 20th Regiment Native Infantry Superintending Officer by Major J WATERFIELD Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the Division

PRESIDENT

Subadar Major THAKOOR AWUSTEE, 20th Regiment Native Infantry

MEMBERS

Subadar GUNGA DEEN DOBBY 20th Regiment, Native Infantry

Subadar RAM OHURN 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry

Subadar GUNNESS SING 20th Regiment, Native Infantry

Subadar GOOLAN KHAN 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry

Subadar BUXESS SING 20th Regiment Native Infantry

Jemadar FYEE KHAN 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry

SUPERINTENDING OFFICER.

Captain D MACDONALD, 20th Regiment, Native Infantry

INTERPRETER

Captain W H S EARLE, 20th Regiment Native Infantry

DEPUTY JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

Major F J HARRIOTT attends the Court.

The Court assembled at the Mess House, 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry this morning at six o'clock pursuant to Division and Station Orders of the 24th instant. The President, Members Superintending Officer Interpreter, and Deputy Judge Advocate-General are all present.

Division and Station Orders forming the Court and fixing the hour and place of assembly are read

All witnesses are directed to withdraw

Letter No 342, of the 24th April 1857 from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General of the Division is produced read and explained to the Court by the Interpreter, it is also marked "A" and appended.

1st Witness

Colonel G M C Smyth, Commanding the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry called into Court.

Question—Be kind enough to state whether any cartridges were refused by the men of your regiment yesterday and under what circumstances?

Answer—I ordered a parade on Thursday to assemble on the morning of Friday the 24th instant, at which all the men who

Ranga I, who, according to the Kunyur plates of Venkata III was renowned in the eight regions and had crossed the milk-ocean of policy¹ seems to have been the kindest and most obliging sovereign that had ever sat on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara. He was a *parivra* to dependants says the lampur grant of Ranga III² this is more clear in the Mangalore grant of Venkata II, which states that he was the bestower of wealth on dependants.³ According to an inscription at Nagalapuram, Ranga granted several privileges to the five artisan communities.⁴

The public aspect of his life, as defender of the interests of the Empire, is not as bright as his private one. It is striking, indeed, to read in the *Kannarayana* that Ranga "reassisted the glory of the Karnata Empire which had waned".⁵ This poetical flattery is nothing but an echo of the laudatory expressions which we find applied to him in certain inscriptions. In one at Elvanasur he is called the conqueror of all countries.⁶ and in another at Tindivanam he is said to have received tribute from all countries and from Ilam (Ceylon).⁷ In his own grants we also read some characteristically empty boasts, as the two following in the Alvilimangalam plates he says that he has been praised by the kings of the Kamboja, Bhaja, Kalunga and Karahata countries,⁸ and in the Marcadapalli grant he calls himself the suzerain of the Rattas and Magadhas.⁹ And even several years later the Kallakurra grant of Ranga III

1. *Ep Ind.*, III p. 253 v 19
2. Buttenworth I, p. 46, v 22. Parjola is a mythical tree of the Hindu Paradise.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 50, v 28.
4. 620 of 1904. These five classes of artificers are also mentioned in another inscription of the year 1573 that records the remission of the taxes payable by them by the chief of the Buddha country Sriput Raja Vallabha Rajaya Deva Maharmma. *Ep Cora*, XII Op. 8.
5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 113.
6. Cf. H. Krishna Sastry *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* I, c. p. 183
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 343.
9. *Ep Ind.*, XI p. 328.

states that he was 'honoured by the kings of the Bhoyas and Magadhas'.¹ More inapplicable still is an inscription of Kanchivaram, dated 1574, which gives him the titles of 'establisher of the kingdom of the Mussulmans and destroyer of the Gajapatis'.² We cannot fathom the real meaning of this most original piece of flattery.

Now, if we consider dispassionately the reign of Sri Ranga I, we cannot but say that it is one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vijayanagara. The Mussulmans were not checked at all in their conquests within the boundaries of the Empire, in their depredatory expeditions they thrice reached the walls of Penukonda, and on one of these occasions even Ranga himself fell a prisoner into their hands. The territory to the North of Penukonda was already in the possession of Bijapur, and the Sultan of Golkonda had likewise taken possession of the province of Udayagiri, the only territory that was recovered by Vijayanagara was the country round Ahobila in the Karnul district. We do not deny Ranga's good qualities and military prowess, we even admit that he perhaps deserved the appellation of 'long-armed brave king', found in a grant of Venkata III³, and borne out by the very fact of his imprisonment. But ill-luck dogged his footsteps. In managing his home affairs he was, it seems, more fortunate, but even here the subjugation of the rebel chiefs was only apparent, as the desertions to the Muhammadans prove. Even some of the rebellions that broke out during the reign of Venkata II were nothing but later manifestations of the same antipathy towards the new dynasty which had been created by the bloody event that had opened to its members the door to the throne.

1 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 153

2 Sewell, I, p 185

3 Venkata III's grant, 1639, *Ep Carn*, III, Nj, 198

CHAPTER XIII

THE TAMIL VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY—1. Venkata the brother of Ranga II. Viceroy of the

Tamil country—2. Death of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madurai.

An estimate of his life.—3. Accession of Virappa Nayaka.

Rebellion of the Palayakarn of Mayalliputram—4. His relations

with the Pandya and with Ranga I. First war between Madurai

and Vijayanagara—5. Behaviour of Bevarappa Nayaka of Tan

jore towards the Empire.—6. Beginning of the reign of Achyuta

Deva Nayaka—7. Some information about Jinji—8. Chinnna

Deva Nayaka of Vellore and Ranga I.—9. Other chiefs.

CONTENTS—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2.

History of the Kingdoms of Mysore, Marwar, and

Madurai Rajas Chandra Sahayanaikavara, Kalyanaikavara, Marwar

and Marwar.

BEFORE commencing the history of the successor of Sri

Ranga I we shall give, in this and in the following chapter an

account of the two viceroys into which the whole Empire

was divided after the death of Tirumala. We do not know

whether after Ranga was raised to the throne he still kept the

government of the Telugu viceroyalty or whether a new viceroy

was appointed. But we are rather inclined to believe that the

territory was attached to the Tamil viceroyalty both being

under the government of Venkata, the youngest brother of

Ranga. The above-mentioned Amrabad inscription relates

that when the troops of Golkonda took possession of the fortress

of Udayagiri, Venkata Raju was driven from the place. If

this Venkata is the brother of Ranga, as seems probable, his

being found at Udayagiri would confirm our opinion.

Anyhow Venkata continued to rule over the Tamil

country his capital being Chandragiri. An inscription in the

ancient temple of Triplicane tells us that during the reign

of Ranga, Tirumala Nayanaikavara, the general of Venkata

of Chandragiri made a gift of the villages of Sembayam

and Nidambaram and a garden to the aforesaid temple' Gobburu Tirumala Nayakkar was no doubt another general of his army. In the year 1579 he gave a piece of land at Kunrattur to the temple of Talasayana Perumal at Kadalmallai in return for the services of the King's brother Venkatapadideva Maharaya. It seems that during the time of his viceroyalty Venkata led a military expedition to Ceylon. Ranga I claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon. But we are sure that he was too busy with the Muhammadans to spare the time to force the Ceylon sovereign to pay the tribute due to him. Now Venkata also boasts of having conquered Ceylon, and since we do not know of any Ceylon campaign during the time of his reign, we may reasonably conclude that any such conquest took place only during his brother's lifetime.

2 The most important state subordinate to the viceroyalty of Venkata was Madura. Only a few months after the demise of Tirumala, the King of Madura, Kumara Krishnapa Nayaka also died. The date given for this event by the *Mrtwinyaya MSS* corresponds to December 3rd, 1572.¹ He had been a capable ruler and a worthy successor of his father. His successful campaigns against Tumbichchi and the Raja of Kandi proved him also a valiant and resolute warrior. He thus checked for the rest of his reign the evil ambitions of the other Palaiyakarans. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiya speak very highly of his qualities as well as of his deeds. Krishnapa Nayaka, according to them, was a King "of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kasypa who was always studying the art of protecting others, who was a wise man, whose mind was purified with truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, whose policy was like that of

1 237 of 1903

2 255 of 1909

3 *M E R* 1904-5, para 354 *Ibid.*, 1905-6, para 495 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 119 Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar,*History of the Nayaks*, p 76.

36

Manu on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Visevanatha who was pleased with his devotion. The Kunyur plates of Venkata III eulogize him more than half a century after stating that he was a ruler "who was renowned in the world who seized the diadems of hostile kings in conformity with his name (one who was a worthy namesake of the ancient Krishna) who governed the inhabitants of the earth with justice, whose disposition resembled that of Kubera, the lord of wealth."

Krishnappa Nayaka had founded two towns one to the West of Tinnevely named Kadayam-Krishnapuram and another to the East of Palamcottia called Krishnapuram after his own name. To this he seems to have devoted greater attention for he built there a Saiva temple, a Vaishnava temple and many agraharas he dug out a teppakulam and furnished the town with all customary appointments. The Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiya give some more details by his care was built a temple at Krishnapuram they say which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *prawa* and surmounted a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *ranga mandapa* raised on a series of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of apouts. He built a car like the *Madara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple for the propitiation of the god Vishnu set up there. Then in 1563 he made a gift of six villages and some lands to the same temple of Vishnu (venerated there under the name of Tiruvengalanatha) for the merit of his father. Two years earlier he had presented a piece of land to the Nellyappar temple at Tinnevely.

He seems to have continued his father's policy towards the Pandyas, as the title *Pandyanthilashapamacharya*, given him in

1 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 341, vv 45-57

2 *Ibid.*, III p. 254, v 50.

3 *History of the Karnatak Government* Taylor O H MISS, II p.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, L. c

5. 17 of 1913; V E. R. 1912 p. 70.

6 121 of 1891.

the Krishnapuram plates¹, shows His relations with the Emperor Sadasiva were those of loyalty, as the aforesaid plates prove in them he is said 'to know the truth about duty',² and his influence at the court of Vijayanagara is seen in every verse of their text. Then a damaged record of Sadasiva, belonging to the year 1568, also mentions Krishnapuram Nayaka³, and another inscription by the same King, of the year 1571, records a gift for the merit of the son of Visvanatha and others.⁴

3 Krishnapuram was succeeded by his two sons Visvanatha and Virappa, according to the *Pandyan Chronicle*.⁵ But the former is never mentioned either in the inscriptions or in the *History of the Kurnoolka Governors*, from which we suspect that he died shortly after and that Virappa Nayaka remained the sole ruler.⁶ He is called Vira-Bhupati in the Vellanguudi plates of Venkata II.⁷ His queen was Tirumalambika.⁸ An inscription at Goripalayam, Madura, on a pillar set up within the Muhammadan Masjid, declares that a considerable quantity of land was presented to the Mussulmans by Kuna Pandya, and that the grant was confirmed by Virappa Nayaka in 1573.⁹ This is probably the earliest lithic mention of this King.

It was probably not long after his accession that Virappa had the opportunity of giving a proof of his resolute

1 *Ep Ind*, IX, 1 c

2 *Ibid*

3 64 of 1908

4 403 of 1912

5 Taylor, *O H MSS*, I, p 38 The succession of both brothers

is also confirmed by the statues of the Nayaks in the Tirumala's choultry at Madura. The third statue is that of Periya Krishnapuram Nayaka, another name of Virappa, it seems Cf Nelson, p 105. The inscription of the fourth statue, as much damaged, cannot be read I suppose this statue represents Visvanatha Cf Heras, *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, *O J M S*, XV, p 212

6 Vellanguudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ibid*, p 297, vv 62-64

7 *Ibid*

8 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 65-66, Vellanguudi plates of the same, *Ibid*, p 320

9 77 of 1905, Sewell, I, p 292

character "The king of Mavalipuram," says the *History of the Karnataka Governors* came with hostile intent placed a fortified camp before Manamathurai and Kalayaracovil, and conquered some places in the Pandya country. This king of Mavalipuram was one of the Palayakkaras belonging to the family of Maval Vanaadarayana of whose ancestors at the beginning of the sixteenth century we know several inscriptions. The action of the Nayaka was swift and decisive; he at once set out from his capital defeated the chief, conquered his kingdom and annexed it to his own possessions. That was a good lesson for the rest of his subordinates.

His rule over Madura was also distinguished by the buildings he constructed, some of which still proclaim his might. The southern walls of the Trincomopoly fort as well as the fortress of Aruppakkottai, Ramnad, were built by him. But his chief work was the *madapa*, erected in front of the shrine of Sundareswara, the presiding deity of the famous temple at Madura, which is supported on beautiful pillars of rare workmanship. It was completed in 1583.

1. 109-113 and 121 of 1903-885 and 187 of 1902. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II, p. 143-4, is inclined to believe that the chief of Mavalipuram was the king of Mahavilipuram or Bevan Pagoda.

2. *History of the Karnataka Governors* Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 25. One of the Palayakkaras of Madura at this time was Kumarappa Nayak who had founded the city of Bittayapuram about 1567 shortly after the disaster of Haksar-Tagdi. In one of the wars of the Nayaka of Madura, Kumarappa Bittappa helped the Madura Nayaka, but he was treacherously killed during the war. The Nayaka, who was probably Virappa Nayak out of regard for the deceased chief conferred Kalungumalai on his family and granted the title of Aliyan to his successor. Kotobilla Bittappa Nayak Aliyan, Kumarappa Bittappa's successor was a great warrior and an intrepid rider. He defeated the Betupati of Ramnad and captured from him some insignia of royalty and two state horses. Madhava Rao *The Ruling Chiefs* I p. 587.

3. Ibid. Cf. Hanganahary *The History of the Nair Kingdom Ind.*, *Amr.*, XLV p. 91, note 30.

4. Vellangudi plates of Venkata II *Bp Ind.*, XVI p. 320; Mahany Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Bp Ind.*, XII, p. 187 and 67-79 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Bp Ind.*, XVI, p. 288.

5. Hanganahary, *op. cit.*, *Ind Amr.*, XLV p. 91.

This was not the only act of devotion towards that temple. He also presented the goddess Minakshi with a *karuachia* or man-made of gold and set with rare gems. He also made the sixteen *Alahadanas*, beginning with *hemasva*.

4 His relations with the Pandyas continued on the same good terms as during his father's life. The copper-plates of Sri vallabha and Varatungarama Pandya record the gift of the village of Pudukkottai by a certain Tirumala Nayaka, with the approval of Virappa.

His subsection to the Vijayanagara overlords is clearly shown in the epigraphical records in the first years of his reign. In 1577, 'during the reign of Sri Ranga Raya, Virappa Nayaka made a gift of land for the merit of his father Krishnappa Nayaka to a temple of Krishnapuram, as stated in a local inscription'. In the following year Virappa Nayaka, who calls himself 'an agent to the King,' made a gift of land to a temple in Sernadevi for conducting certain festivals. And in the year 1579, a record of Ranga in the Appar temple of Sernadevi, Tinnevely, mentions Visvanatha Krishnappa Virappa Nayaka as his feudatory.

But somewhat before 1583 a war broke out between the Nayak and Venkata of Chandragiri, the Viceroy of Vijayanagara. What was the cause of this rupture of relations? The success of Virappa against the Mavalipuram chief perhaps excited his ambition, and he consequently refused to pay his tribute to the Emperor. This was invariably the cause of all the following wars between Madura and Vijayanagara. Nor do we groundlessly attribute the same cause to the first of these wars. We are made aware of it by the Pudukkottai plates

1 Ibid, and Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 62-64 About his acts of devotion, see *Ep Ind*, XIII, p 161

2 T A S, I, p 61-88

3 16 of 1912, Sewell, I, p 310

4 663 of 1915

5 187 of 1895

6 The tribute paid by Madura to Vijayanagara was, according to Barradas, 600,000 pagodas, Sewell, p 230 Fr A Vico writing to Fr A Laerzio from Madura, August 30, 1611, states that the annual tribute was of six to ten million francs, Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure*, II, p 124. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceyla*, p 308, says "O Naigue de Madura le paga cinco centos pr ano"

of Srivalldha and Varatungarama Pandya. They speak only of the final battle between the two armies. Venkataraja himself was at the head of his huge army, one of his officers being Basavaraja a Telugu chieftain who had also been present at the battle of Rakasa Jagdi. Achyutaraja the Tanjore Nayak, had also joined Venkata against Virappa. The army of Madura was commanded by Tirumalaraja, who in the same places, is called the right hand of Virappa. He employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots. This Pandya document states that Tirumalaraja killed Basavaraja in the battle of Vallaprakara, and defeated Venkata's army. "The armies of Viraraja" it says were destroyed, but that of Achyutaraja fled away. Tirumalaraja collected all the horses from the battlefield. We may admit the first fact, but the defeat of Venkata's troops is a flimsy argument. How can we explain the fact that Virappa Nayaka himself acknowledges the authority of the Vijayanagara Emperor in the beginning of the reign of the same Venkata, a few years later? These plates are all a panegyric of Tirumalaraja, at whose request the Pandya sovereigns made the grant of Pudukkottai. We are sure that Venkata obtained a victory over his enemies on this occasion. This implies also the payment of the tribute due.

5. Passing from Madura to Tanjore, we find again in the old Chola capital the venerable person of Sevappa still ruling over his kingdom, and making extensive grants to many temples during the considerable period of his peaceful rule.

Sevappa Nayaka's attitude towards the Empire seems to have been that of a faithful vassal. There is an inscription in

1. C. C. IX, No. 3

1. T. A. S. I, p. 84 vv 61-67 and 161-164. If the date of these plates is correct, and there is no ground hitherto for reasonable doubt, we must place this battle during the time of Venkata's vicereignty in Chandragiri. It is very strange that Prof. Bhatya Nayaka at all.

3. *Tanjavur Nadhu Rakhia Chattru*, B Krishnaswami Aiyangar Sources p. 353

the Vallallopuram in the Arunachalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai, in which the names of both the Emperor and the Nayak's son are to be seen together. It deals with the remission of certain taxes in the villages belonging to the temple. This was done by order of Achyutappa Nayaka, Sadasiya still reigning.¹ Again, in the year 1566, one year after the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi, and during the reign of his father, Achyutappa Nayaka made a gift of the village of Tiruveshkalam to several shrines of the Tirumalasthanam, for the merit of Tirumala Raya, then the Regent of the Empire.² Finally one year later, an inscription of Sadasiya at Tiruvannamalai records the remission of taxes in the villages belonging to the temple by order of Achyutappa Nayaka.³ This policy of Sevappa continued unchanged during the reign of Ranga. In 1574, at the request of Sevappa Nayaka, Ranga I granted the village of Arivilimangalam to the Madhva guru, Vijayindra Tirtha. The grant had been made by Prince Achyuta, but now the formal sanction from the Vijayanagara Emperor was obtained.⁴

6 Further, these inscriptions show that during the last years of Sevappa's rule, his son Achyuta took a prominent part in the government of the state. He was actually made Yuvaraya some time before the death of his father,⁵ most probably before 1577, because there is an inscription of this year in which Achyuta appears as actually ruling over the whole kingdom. Sevappa's last inscription is of the year 1572-73, it refers to the son of Timappa Nayakkar of the chaturtha gotra.⁶ Achyutappa's first inscription is dated 1577, it is found in the southern outer wall of the second gopura of the temple of Brahathesavaraswami in Tanjore, and records that Achyutappa Nayaka gave some land on perpetual free tenure to goldsmiths.⁷

1 567 of 1902

2 259 of 1913

3 567 of 1902

4 *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 357, vv. 27-44 Cf. *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 53-4

5 *Sahityaratnakara*, canto III, v. 14

6 497 of 1907

7. 22 of 1897 Cf. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p. 5

His Queen was named Murtyamba¹ and his minister and general was the famous Govinda Dikshita² a very learned Kannada Brahman of whom we shall speak at length when dealing with the literature of this period. The *Tanjavur Andhra Rajula Charitra*—says that Achyutappa ruled the kingdom in peace and prosperity for a considerable period.³ During his time, the *arical* across the Kaveri was repaired and rights of steps at various places along its course were put up as for example at Mayavaram, Kumbhakonam, Tiruvadamardur etc.⁴ We shall speak again of Achyutappa when we come to the reign of Venkata II.

7. Going northwards Jinji offers us no better information at this period than during the reign of Sadasiwa. According to the drama *Bhavanagapurushollama* Surappa Nayaka was still ruling at Jinji during the reign of Ranga. He seems to have helped the Emperor of Vijayanagara, either Trimala or Ranga I, to repulse one of the Muhammadan invasions for which he is given the title of the firm establisher of the throne of Karnataka. He founded the villages of Surasamudra, Peta samudra and Vengalambapura, calling them after himself his father and his mother respectively.⁵ Such is the slight information we get about Jinji at this time.

8. During the time of Ranga, the chief of Vellore was still Chinnu Bomma Nayaka, of whom we have previously spoken.⁶ We find him mentioned several times by the Emperor himself one of the latter's inscriptions records the gift of the village of Perumal, North Arcot, by Krishnappa Nayaka, his feudatory at the request of Chinnu Bomma Nayaka to the Jvarakandeswara shrine at Vellore.⁷ Two other inscriptions mention the donation of the villages of

1. *Raghunadabhyudaya* 8. Krishnaswami Alayanagar Sources p. 285

2. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Raghunadabhyudaya*, Cl. Ep. Ind., XII, p. 343.

5. B. Krishnaswami Alayanagar Sources, p. 273 note.

6. Cl. Ep. VIII, No 12.

7. 43 of 1887

- 1 41 and 42 of 1887
- 2 399 of 1912
- 3 395 of 1911
- 4 399 of 1912
- 5 30 of 1905
- 6 *M E R*, 1916, para 73
- 7 Ibid
- 8 Rangacharya, I, p 622, 534

Sattuvaacheri and Sampanginallur under the same terms¹ Chinna Bomma Nayaka is again mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ranga I of 1578 at Devikapuram, North Arcot² In 1582 he was still living, since an inscription of his at Adapalam records that Appaiya Dikshita constructed the temple of Kalakanthesvara³ Some other members of this family are occasionally mentioned in the lithic records of those years. An inscription of Ranga, of 1578, at Devikapuram registers a gift made to the temple for the merit of Agastyappa Nayaka of Vellore⁴ Another of the same, of the year 1583, at Tindivanam, South Arcot, records that Virappa Nayaka, son of Pappu Nayaka of Vellore, who was apparently the governor of Padaividurajya, ordered that toll should be levied according to a fixed scale on all the articles brought into the market at Gidangil on Wednesdays, and that the proceeds should be spent on the repairs of the Tintimisvara temple⁵ 9 Some other chiefs of the Tamil country are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of those years first one Vayappa Krishnappa Kondama Nayaka, who built the wall round the Srimushnam temple⁶, then one Achyutappa Nayaka, son of Bayyappa Nayaka, who established a shrine for the goddess in the temple of Adivarsha Perumal of Srimushnam, besides making several other gifts to the same temple⁷, finally one Kanchi Paparaju, who gave some land to the Reddis at Kottapalli in 1585 in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda⁸

CHAPTER XIV

THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY—1. Government of Rama Viceroy of Benhagapattam. Rama is succeeded by his sons Tirumala and Ranga.—2. The Nayaks of Ikert.—3. Channarj Wodeyar and Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.—4. Dealings between the Queen of Gerooppa and the Portuguese as to the possession of Honavar.—5. War between the King of Tolar and the Portuguese. Capture of Basrur.—6. The Portuguese defeat the Nayak of Bengulicer.—7. Dom Luis d'Alaide settles some differences between the Queen of Ullal and the King of Benhar.—8. The Nayaks of Bellur.—9. Other chiefs.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants—

2. *Parla y Soua*.—3. *Kannanittiyannu Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*
Keladi Arasa Vamsavali *Shivadityavarmakara*.

WHEN Ranga I ascended the throne, the Kanarese viceroys were under Rama, the third son of Tirumala. It has been said that his rule at Serungapattam was weak, and that on account of this the local chieftains rebelled. Now we have previously spoken of the rebellion of several chiefs of the Kanara country who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Aravidu family the head of which did not spare bloodshed in order to ascend the throne. This not the weak rule of the Viceroy was the origin of the rebellion. Nevertheless if his Government was really weak (though of this we have no established proofs) we may naturally suppose that this was the ultimate cause of the rebellion. The *Kannarayannu* only tells us that Rama defeated the troops of the Nizam Shah. Whether this victory was obtained during his viceregency or previously to that time, we are not in a position to ascertain. The Kunyur plates of Venkata III praising Rama's generosity state that his deeds put to shame the celestial trees. One of his agents was named Danthakan Lingappana, who in the year 1577 repaired the *bund* across the stream

1. Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 213
 3. *Ep. Ind.*, III p. 255 v. 21.

Bhogavati, on the West side of the Mallikarjuna temple on the top of a hill near Srisailam, Karnul.¹ We know from this inscription that Rama was still living in the year 1577, but his death must have occurred shortly after, because the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* states that 'Rama Raya died after a short time' and soon after Tirumala's death.²

Rama had married Narasingama and had by her two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, who must have been quite young at the time of their father's death, for when the throne was vacant some years later after the demise of their uncle Ranga I, they were still considered too young to rule the Empire, as we shall see later on. On this occasion both brothers jointly succeeded their father in the viceroyalty, but probably on account of their tender age, its administration was left in the hands of their Dalavay, Remati Venkatayya.³

2 No reliable information is extant concerning the Nayaks of Ikəri during this period. Sewell says that the reign of the second son of Sadasiva Nayaka, Chikka Sankana Nayaka, lasted till 1603, in which year he retired from government⁴, and it seems that the *Keladi Arasu Vamsavali* of the Mackenzie collection agrees with this statement.⁵ He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga, of 1570.⁶ According to the *Svatalavaraiahkara*, he once defeated and routed the Bijapur general, Mayjhula Khan, who had attacked him with a number of horses and elephants. He likewise vanquished Bhairava Devi, Queen of Gerasappa (Gersoppa) and other chiefs in its neighbourhood, getting much wealth from them.⁷ No more information is hitherto available about the Keladi Nayaks before the accession of Venkatapati, of whom we shall

1 43 of 1915

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 202

3 *Ramavajyanu*, Ibid, p. 213, Kurniyur plates of Venkata III,

Ep Ind III, p. 253, v. 21, Vilapaka grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant*,

XIII, p. 126 Cf Ap C, No 5

4 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Ibid, p. 202

5 Sewell, II, p. 177

6 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333

7. 170 of 1901

Emperor speak when dealing with the reign of his namesake the

3 As to the neighbouring state of Mysore, nothing worthy

of mention occurred until 15/1. In this year *Heri Chamaraj* succeeded to the government of the state. He was probably one of those princes of Kanara who did not pay homage to the new dynasty on account of the murder of *Sadasiva*. It is stated that he evaded payment of his tribute to the Viceroy of *Sernagapatam* and obtained permission to erect works ostensibly for the purpose of keeping away wild hogs from destroying crops but no sooner were the works erected, than they were converted into barriers against the collectors of the royal tribute, who were ignominiously expelled from Mysore. These measures rendered him obnoxious to *Rama* at *Sernagapatam*, and led to an attempt to seize his person while performing his devotion in the temple of *Ranga*, at the very court of the Viceroy but as the Raja was previously warned, the attempt failed. Emboldened by his successful resistance, he continued with impunity to withhold all payment of tribute.

Heri Chamaraj Wodeyar died childless in 1576 after a reign

of five years, and was succeeded by a cousin of the elder

branch of the family named *Bettad Wodeyar* son of *Dodda*

Chama Raja Wodeyar. The new Mysore Raja had no

capacity for government. He was brave, but wild, thoughtless

and imprudent. Accordingly in the short space of two years

he had thrown the finance into such disorder that the elders

of the family thought it necessary to depose him and to install

his younger brother *Raja Wodeyar* but the latter declined

the appointment on the ground that the financial state of the

country was in too hopeless a state for him to try to mend it.

The treasury was empty, the total arrears of tribute due to the

Viceroy of *Sernagapatam* amounted to 5,000 pagodas. But his

way was smoothed by a contribution from the members of

the royal family and thus he started his rule in 1578.

1 *Bp Carr*, III Sr 157 and TN 116

2. He is supposed by *S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Ancient India*, p. 280 and p. 285 to be his cousin.

3. Cf. *S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar* o. o. p. 279

Raja Wodeyar, who may be taken to be the real founder of the dynasty of Mysore, began gradually to subdue all the lesser chiefs in his neighbourhood. Once the chief of Carugali, a relation of the family, attempted to seize Mysore by surprise, and accordingly appeared suddenly before it, but he was thoroughly defeated by the action of Bettad Wodeyar, and his estate subsequently annexed to Mysore. Shortly after, in passing to the court of Seringapatam accompanied by his usual retinue and band, he met the petty chief of Kambala going to court, also attended by music. The Mysore chief inquired whose retinue it was, and on ascertaining it, ordered his own music to stop. On his arrival at Seringapatam he was asked why he had not come to the court with his usual state. And it is said that he answered —

"Music is no distinction, if my inferiors are also allowed to use it"

On hearing this insinuation, the Raja of Kambala, incensed with fury, made some outrageous remarks

"Let us meet", replied Raja Wodeyar, "and determine the superiority, and with it the right to the music"

In vain did the viceroy try to appease them. The next day Raja Wodeyar marched against Kambala, defeated its chief and captured the place

These annexations formed from the first a part of the policy of the dynasty of Mysore, and continued to the time of Chikka-deva Raya. We shall see the same Raja Wodeyar, during the reign of Venkata II, taking possession of the very capital of the viceroyalty, Seringapatam. The aim of Raja Wodeyar was obvious to become the supreme lord of the Kanara country.¹ The Portuguese chronicles supply us with abundant information about several petty chiefs of the Kanara coast, some of whose sea-ports were gradually taken by the successors of Albuquerque. Several of these petty rulers had, as we have seen during the reign of Sadasiwa, been compelled to consent, against their will, to pay an annual tribute to the viceroy of Goa. One of these was the Queen of Guarcopa (Gersoppa), named Bhaira Devi², who a little after, by the instigation of

1 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p 35-8

2 *Sivatalavathakara*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 339

some of the rulers of Malabar refused to pay the promised tribute. In order to chastise such contumacious conduct the Viceroy Dom Luiz de Alaide, sailed thither in November 1569, with a fleet of more than 130 ships and about three thousand Portuguese and Indians. Having entered the river Onor which flowed through the possessions of the sovereign of Gersoppa, he succeeded in landing 2,300 men but not without opposition on the part of the enemy. The city of Onor (Honavar) was by nature very strong for it was built on the top of a rocky hill near the sea-shore, and was well fortified. The Queen was there herself with five hundred soldiers and several pieces of ordnance and ammunition. The Portuguese, notwithstanding commenced to ascend the hill in the face of a shower of bullets and as soon as they reached the summit the enemy along with their Queen deserted the city and retired inland. Onor which contained much wealth and many fine buildings, was first plundered and afterwards reduced to ashes. The fort was then attacked, and after four days bombardment the garrison surrendered upon condition of being allowed to march out without arms. The Portuguese then occupied the fort, and Mass was said there on St. Catherine's day November 25th. At the end of the same year the Queen of Gersoppa manifested her desire to come to terms with the Viceroy, but in the meanwhile she was secretly making preparations to carry on war against the invader of her possessions. On receiving this information Captain Luiz de Mello burnt many of her towns and laid waste the country around. Nevertheless the Viceroy was not without anxiety about Honavar as the enemy had endeavoured to annihilate the Portuguese, and to effect by treachery what they had failed to do by force. The Queen and her generals bribed some Kanarese, who were there in the service of the Portuguese, to poison them with the fruit of the Stramonium, which has the effect," says Faria y Sousa, when eaten of making men forget all things and of rendering

1. Faria y Sousa, II p. 472.

2. Ibid. p. 474-5

3. Ibid. p. 480

4. Ibid. p. 481.

them insensible even to their wounds." The treachery was discovered, and the conspirators hanged over the walls as a warning to those who had bribed them. That was the cause of open hostility, but at about the same time a galley and three other small vessels with some picked troops entered the port of Honavar to relieve the fortress.

It happened after a while, in the beginning of March, 1570, that Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur prevailed upon the Queen of Gersoppa to declare war against Honavar. He was then attacking Goa in alliance with the Zamorin of Calicut, and thus wanted to weaken the Viceroy's forces by division. She collected an army of 3,000 men which, in conjunction with 2,000 soldiers of the Bijapur Sultan, invested Honavar. News of this further attack reached the Viceroy in July, 1570. He immediately dispatched Antonio Fernandes de Chale with command of two galleys and eight other vessels, and such troops as the vessels could accommodate. In five days Antonio Fernandes reached Honavar, and having joined the commander of the place, Jorge de Moura, fell upon the besiegers, driving them back with great loss. The latter fled in panic, and nearly all their cannon fell into the hands of the Portuguese. As subsequent to this action no other mention of this Queen is made in the Portuguese chronicles, we must take it to imply her subjection to them.

1 Ibid, p 181-2

2 Ibid, p 500

3 Ibid, p 511-2

4 In the narrative of Archbishop Meneses' travels there is an account of an idol-procession annually celebrated in this city of Gersoppa. "Faz-se hua grande procissam, & acode a ella muita gente de todas as partes do Canara na qual hay hum Fagode (idol) metido em certas charolas ricamente lauradas, o qual se poem em hu carro muyto concertado, em q uao seruindo alguns Brameses, & offercendolhe ofertas Diante do carro nao muitas bailadeiras cantando, as quaes todas sao molheres publicas, q ganhao em suas deshonestidades pera o Fagode (idol), and das rendas delle se sustentao, viuendo em casas ao redor delle, como em casa publica, & destas andao sempre acompahados os Fagodes (idols) grandes da India q tem rendas, & sao como servidoras suas O carro te huas pontas agudas que cortao como navalhas, e em quanto a procissam hay andando acodem muitos que ve offerrecer suas vidas ao Fagode (idol), & depois de se asentarem de joelhos, & fazem sua reuerencia muy profunda se lancao no chao de fronte do carro, & assim hay passando por cima dellas, & os vay espedacando, nos quaes elles te por sanctos, como nos aos martyres" Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p 126, back.

5 For a similar refusal to pay the tribute Dom Luiz de Ataide, after attacking Honavar at the end of 1569, despatched a fleet of thirteen sail under the command of Pero da Silva e Meneses to wage war against the chief of Tolar. The Viceroy was anxious, it seems, to seize the fort of Bascior (Bastur) which belonged to that King. Accordingly the first place to be attacked was this fortress. Bastur rivalled Honavar in natural strength and position but the Viceroy had made arrangements with the commander whereby he was to betray it to him. Accordingly the commander of Bastur delivered up the fort to Pero da Silva at night and the Portuguese rushing into the town slaughtered and captured more than 200 of its inhabitants. But the ruler of Tolar informed of this treacherous surrender advanced the same night accompanied by the neighbouring King of Cambolim (Gangolli). They were easily repulsed since their joint force consisted only of 1 500 men but they reappeared on the following night reinforced by 5 000 more soldiers. After a hot engagement in which both parties suffered heavy losses the Portuguese came to the conclusion that the fortress was untenable; so they quitted it with the honours of war taking with them twenty cannon and a great quantity of ammunition and arms.¹

But the Viceroy wanted the fortresses at all costs and after some months proceeded himself to take possession of it. The landing was very difficult indeed as the Portuguese were opposed by a force of 11 000 men but after some hard fighting the Portuguese captured some of the outworks. This so dismayed the defenders that those in the fort abandoned it into the hands of the invaders. The two rulers of Tolar and Gangolli mentioned above, joined forces again and made another attack by a very dark night. But the commander of the fort, Pero Lopes Rebello with 400 men was ready to receive them. Within a short time the Hindu army lost 300 men and the two rulers, despairing of success concluded a treaty of peace by which they bound themselves to pay a greater tribute than before. The Viceroy held, before leaving, an interview with those rulers as well as with the Queen of Gangolli after which

they parted on terms of great friendship. Then the Portuguese constructed a new fortress in a more convenient place between the city and the mouth of the river, which was finished within two months. Antonio Botelho was appointed its commander. The building of this fortress roused the inhabitants of the neighbourhood against the Portuguese. In 1571 an army of six thousand Hindus appeared suddenly before its walls. Ruy Goncalves da Camara, the commander, having sent to the Viceroy for assistance, made preparations for a regular defence. Five ships came immediately to his relief, and then twelve others followed under the command of Dom Jorge de Menezes, who on arriving at Basrur found all was safe, thanks to the timely arrival of the first five ships. Nothing worth relating about Basrur is found in the years that followed. But we shall return to Basrur and Gangolly in the next volume.

6 In the neighbourhood of Honavar stood the fortress of Sanguiçer, which had belonged to the Queen of Gersoppa. But one of her captains had seized the fortress for himself and styled himself the Nayak of Sanguiçer. He fortified the place and defied the power of the Portuguese, protecting the pirates who infested the coast, and doing great damage to the Portuguese trade. To put an end to his insolence, Dom Giles Yanez Mascarenhas was sent there in the year 1584, with orders to destroy the fort. Dom Giles carried with him a fleet of fourteen sail and 300 men from Goa, but his own vessel ran aground between the reefs and would not float again. He was immediately attacked by the enemy from the shore. The rest of his force could not send him assistance. He was unable to retreat and was massacred there with all his men. The expedition thereupon retreated.

But Dom Duarte de Menezes, who had been recently appointed Viceroy, at once decided to avenge the death of Dom Giles, and having in the meantime received an ambassador from Adil Khan, entered into negotiations with him for that purpose. He also wanted to put down the piracy that existed along

1 Ibid, p 476-7, Dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, II, p 293
2 Baria y Sousa, II, p 564-5
3 Ibid, III, p 8
38

the coast of Kanara. It was agreed that Rostu Khan the Governor of Ponda, should assist with 40,000 men by land, whilst Dom Jeronimo de Mascarenhas should attack the Nayak by sea. The attack was so well combined and carried out that the Nayak's forces were entirely routed. The Nayak fled to the woods for safety. Thence he sent an envoy to implore mercy and promised to submit to any conditions provided he were restored to his power and his territories spared. Arrangements to this effect were accordingly concluded, and the invading armies then retired.

7 Things were not yet settled at Mangalore. The Portuguese fortresses stood between the possessions of the Queen of Ullal on the South and those of the ruler of Banggher on the North. Between these two there existed an ancient discord which was very prejudicial to Portuguese trade. Dom Luiz de Alaide went himself to Mangalore in 1569 to settle these disputes. His reception was better than he had anticipated. After an interview with these two rulers their differences appeared completely settled. Very likely it was then that in order to establish peace more firmly between the two states, the Queen of Ullal married the King of Banggher more for honour's sake than anything else says the traveller Pietro della Valle, who personally knew the Queen Bukka Devi Chautar. Of this capricious union which was the cause of many a romantic adventure we shall speak later on.

8. In Bellur Krishnappa Nayaka was still the head of the Balam family in the beginning of Ranga's reign. In an inscription of 1578 he acknowledges King Ranga as ruling sovereign. But not long afterwards he was succeeded by his son A Bellur Kanarese inscription of Sri Ranga I, of July of the same year records a grant by Krishnappa Nayaka's son Venkataadr Nayaka. This Venkataadr or Venkatappa, in an inscription of 1576 is called the champion of adulterers.

1. Ibid., III, p. 22-3
2. Ibid., II, p. 479
3. Della Valle, II, p. 313.
4. Rice *Mysoor Inscriptions* p. 220
5. Kishbom, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 90 530.
6. Ep. Coram., IV p. 4, 58

9 The inscriptions mention several others of the minor chiefs of the Kanarese country. In the village of Hattiyangudi, South Kanara, four grants by an Udayar chief, between 1570 and 1576 are recorded. In 1573 the chief of the Budihal country, Sripathi Raja Vallabha Rajaya Deva Maharasu, who acknowledged Ranga I, remitted taxes payable to the five classes of artificers. Finally a grant of a Nandyal chief in the reign of Sri Ranga Raya of Penukonda is recorded in the year 1584.

- 1 Rangacharya, II, p 851, 42-45
- 2 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck, 8
- 3 Sewell, I, p 102

8 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 304. Nevertheless there is ground for doubting that this succession was immediate. An inscription of the Mallikarjuna temple at Srirangam, Karnul, records a fact in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Virupaksha Hamarajaya-dova Mahadeva, son of Viru Tirumalaya-dova Mahadeva, 43 of 1515. This was no doubt the third son of Tirumala, who had been victorious of Belimpuram. Moreover a Kumbakonam grant of Venkata II 1590, mentions one of his brothers, Tirumala Deva Raya or Sridaya Raya (a wrong name) and states that he resigned for a short time. Sewell, II, p. 3. Was this brother the same Hamar? Then the Jesuit letter which we shall quote later on, says the following:—"After the demise of this Prince's father viz. Hamar the kingdom was given, by the unanimous vote of all the classes, to the brother of the deceased, that is to the one who is ruling at

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319 vs 31-35. Cf. *Calicutvaraya Vamsavali* non of the reign of Tirumala's fourth son Srinata. Thus the Vellangudi plates' announce the inauguration ascended the throne and ruled the earth with justice brother Venkatapadideva Raya, born of the same mother

"After Sri Ranga Raya had reached the region of Vishnu his *Venkateswara Prabhavata Salla Mahima, Chakrabhaktam Chaturam, Vamsavali Venkateswara Mahima Venkata Gita Mahatmyam, mahatmyadayam, Bhaktashtochanam, Chakrabhaktam, Ragha* Patron.—5. *Bharata*.—6. *Ramavijayam Prapnawam, Ragha* Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric Guerreiro.—4. Anquetil du

COURTESY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB.—1. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. temples.—16. Irrigation works. right to Vellore.—14. Fudatory oblate.—15. Donations to the return to Chandragiri.—13. Transfer of the capital from Chandra Vellore. Venkata takes possession of this city.—18. Tirumal Venkata to this temple.—11. Rebellion of Lingama Nayaka of Venkata's court.—9. Account of Tirupati.—10. Devotion of this place.—7. Venkata II at Chandragiri.—8. The nobles of —6. He transfer of the capital to Chandragiri. Previous history the Empire.—5. Renewal of rebellion among the fudatory oblate. Guru Tacharya.—4. Officers of Government. Administration of of the seat of Government to Penkundara.—3. A note on Venkata

SUMMARY.—1. Election and coronation of Venkata II.—2. Transfer

VENKATAPADIDEVA RAYA II

CHAPTER XV

Rajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri Virapratapa Sri Virapadmanabha Venkata-patideva Maharaja. This, his full imperial title, is given in an inscription at Atmakur, Nellore.¹

It would appear that Venkata's nephews, the Princes

Tirumala and Ranga, who were governing Seringapatam, had a better established right to succeed their uncle Ranga I, being the sons of the third brother, the late Viceroy Rama, but a Jesuit letter of the year 1602, speaking of the demise of this Prince's father, the kingdom was given by the unanimous vote of all the classes to the brother of the deceased, that is, the one who is ruling at present, rejecting the rights of the deceased's children, who on account of their age, were not able to rule over a kingdom".² According to this testimony the election of Venkata was made by the consensus of the Brahmans, nobles and warriors of the Empire, as implied by the expression 'the unanimous vote of all the classes'.

Venkata was then "anointed, according to the prescribed rules, by the spiritual preceptor of his gotra, the famous Tatacharya, who was the ornament of the wise, just as Rama was anointed by Vasishtha".³ On this occasion, the new king "poured forth gold from his hand like rain from a cloud".⁴

present", etc. According to this testimony the election of Venkata followed, not the death of Ranga I, but that of Rama. Finally, according to the information supplied to Mr Sewell by the then Raja of Anegundi, the brother whose rule was placed between Ranga and Venkata, (called also by him Tirumaladeva or Srideva), 'reigned for a short time'. Cf Sewell, II, p. 252, note 4. We hope new discoveries will throw light on this point.

1 Butterworth, I, p. 264

2 *Litterae Annuae* of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa December 21, 1602. See Ap C, No V

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p

186, vv 27-39

4 Venkata's II grant, 1587, *Ep Cann*, VII, Sh, 83, Venkata II's

grant, 1589, *Ep Cann*, XII, Ck, 39. The following grants also describe

Venkata's coronation Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butter-

worth, I, p. 31, v. 24, Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI,

p. 319, vv 31-35, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ibid*, p. 297 v. 29,

Kondyatta grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ann*, XIII, p. 127

"When thus" continue the Dalavay Agraharam plates,

Venkatapatideva Raya assumed the sovereignty. Adidesha and other supporters of the earth were relieved of their burden and consequently they having assumed the shape of Vishvasala (viz. the Tirumala hills at Tirupati) are ever praying Venkata chalapati to grant a long reign to him." This transparent flattery of one of his grants shows that Venkata II was to be a worthy successor of Krishna Deva Raya and Rama Raya. He is called in another inscription "the fruition of the religious merit of previous births of Sri Venkateswara" and in one of his letters, mentions the pompous and incredible titles which were conferred upon him by his subjects "The Husband of Subvast (that is) of good Fortune, God of great Provinces, King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings, Lord of all Horse forces, Master of those which know not how to speak, Emperour of three Emperours, Conquerour of all which he seeth and Keeper of all which he hath overcome. Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the World the Vanquisher of Mahumet an Armes, Ruler of all Provinces which he hath taken, Taker of the Spoils and Riches of Ceilan which farre exceeded the most valiant men which cut off the head of the Invincible Virasalan Lord of the East, South North, West, and of the sea Hunter of Elephants which liveth and glorieth in virtue Militaire. Which titles of Honour" adds Fr Piment, "enjoyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin Ragiv Devanagaran Ragel, which now reigneth and governeth this World".

"Two of this grants lay special stress on his extreme beauty. His cheeks they say "resembled the moon he rivalled or eclipsed the god of love in beauty". Fr Du Jarric seems to agree when he writes, "The King is quite handsome, although a little dark his eyes are big he is of a medium size, but his limbs are in good proportion he dresses quite nicely and shows

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186 vv 27-39
2. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butcherworth, I p. 31 v 23
3. Purbas, X, p. 208 10 Cf. Du Jarric, *Thevenet*, I, p. 663
4. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 187 vv 27-39; Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butcherworth, I, p. 33 v 36



XI Venkatapati Deva Raya II Upper Tirupati
(By kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology)

always a special regard for royal majesty mingled with a charming plainness of manner" ¹ Venkata's statue at Tirupati confirms both descriptions his big round eyes are specially remarkable

2 Venkata was at Chandragiri when his election took place So naturally the ceremony of his coronation was performed there This point is quite evident from the study of contemporary sources Du Jarric says —" A few years ago he was crowned, according to his predecessors' custom, at Chandegri (Chandragiri)" ². Anquetil du Perron states likewise that " he was crowned according to custom at Sehandegri, where he used to have his court (when Viceroy of the Tamil country)" ³

But not long after he removed his court to Penukonda, the capital of his two predecessors, whence he might rule over the Empire " When the throne of Bijanagar", says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "devolved on Venkatapati, it appears that that prince removed his seat of Government to the fort of Penukonda" ⁴ Accordingly his grant of the year 1587 states that he 'established his throne in Suragiri (Penukonda)' ⁵ This fact must have occurred in 1585, for in two inscriptions of this year Venkata already appears as 'ruling in Penukonda' ⁶, and in 1589 he is shown 'seated on the throne of the Empire in Suragiri (Penukonda)' ⁷ How long this period of rule from Penukonda lasted is not yet ascertained, because the cause of Venkata's retreat to Chandragiri is misplaced by Ferishta, hence its date cannot be realized Sewell points to the year 1592 as the date of Venkata's return to the Tamil country ⁸ As a matter of fact, Venkata appears as 'ruling on the jewelled throne at Penukonda' in several inscriptions of the years

1 Du Jarric, I, p 662

2 Du Jarric, I, p 655

3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

4 Ferishta, III, p 454

5 *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83

6 71 of 1915

7 *Ep Carn*, XII, Ck, 39

8. Sewell, I, p 150

1593¹ 1599² 1603³ 1605⁴ 1608⁵ 1609⁶ 1610⁷ and 1612⁸. We know for certain that during several of these years Venkata was actually ruling from Chandragiri this would mean that either his subjects were not aware of the change of the capital or the old capital of Tirumala and Ranga was mentioned out of respect, as Vijayanagara itself is sometimes occasionally mentioned.

3 While speaking of the coronation of Venkata we have seen that the *pattabhisheka* ceremony had been performed by his family guru, Tatacharya or Tatayarya. We shall now give some particulars of this man who exercised so much influence on the rule of Venkata, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak frequently in the course of this volume. He was according to the *Prapannamrtam* a descendant of the maternal uncle of the great reformer Ramanuja and two of his ancestors had been the cause of the conversion of the Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism⁹. He was the son of Pancha mata-bhajanam Tatacharya, according to the same poem¹⁰ but a copper plate grant of 1590 in the Government Museum Madras states that he was grand-son of Etur Tatayia and son of Srinaivasa¹¹. He is styled the ornament of the wise¹². He is mentioned in an inscription of Ranga I along with the temple officer of Tiruppukkuli¹³. Again the *Prapannamrtam* informs us that Venkata became a disciple

1. 377 of 1904.

2. Sewell, I, p. 134.

3. 236 of 1903 Sewell, I, p. 101

4. 235 of 1903

5. Rangacharya, I, p. 623 535

6. 67 of 1915.

7. 184 of 1913

8. *Ep. Carn.*, II, TN 62; XII, 81 84 Butterworth III, p. 1284-8.

9. *Ol. Ch.* XXVI, No. 6.

10. *Ol. Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 162 and p. 347

11. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p 54.

12. Mangalampad grant of Venkata II l. c.; Butterworth I p. 31, v 24.

13. 209 Ap. O. of 1916

of the Srivaishnava teacher Lakshmikumara Tatacharva' ¹, this being his full name. Moreover, in the same poem we read that the King "entrusted the whole kingdom to his preceptor, and he himself led a life of retirement doing service to him, like Kulasekhara of old" ². The second part of this statement is absolutely false. Venkata II was certainly not an idle sovereign, he actually ruled (as we shall see further on) except during the last years of his life, when disabled by age and sickness he made over the cares of Government to one of his wives and her brother. Nay, we have further grounds for doubting even the veracity of the first part of the same statement. The whole passage sounds merely like a poetical exaggeration of a real fact. According to the above-mentioned copper-plate grant in the Madras Museum, Venkata, on December 27th, 1590, made the gift of a village (which he named Venkatapura) to the Srivaishnava teacher Tataya, the village was situated in the Konadu district which formed a subdivision of Uttukkadu Kottam ³. Moreover, an inscription of the year 1600-1 at Tirunirmalai, Chingleput, shows that he was supervising several Vaishnava temples ⁴, he was also the manager of the temple at Tiruppukkuli ⁵, and the supervisor of the Vaishnava temples at Kanchivaram ⁶, we know of an agent of his named Punyakoti-Aiyar ⁷. According to tradition, Tatacharya was so famous for his virtues and talents that he was believed to have been born from the spirit of Vishnu ⁸.

But Fr B Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at Venkata's court, who personally knew *Se Tatachare*, as he calls the famous guru, testifies in one of his letters that 'he is unworthy of his post because of his vices'. It seems that he was specially

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 251

2 Ibid

3 *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants*, I c

4 565 of 1912. He is again mentioned in the inscription 564 of 1912

5 208, Ap C of 1916

6 *M E R*, 1913, para 62

7 174, Ap C of 1916

8 Cf Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind Ant*, XXVII, p 327

lacking in continence, as he had many wives at home says Fr Coutinho, "and is one of those who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes" ¹ According to Fr Coutinho, Tatacharya was a hypocrite of the Tartuffe type, who duped the people with scrupulous practice of infinite petty unsubstantial ceremonies, and forgot the essentials of the natural law I can not reject the testimony of such an eye witness, who mentions the fact of the guru's many wives and who was not likely to derive any advantage from calumniating the King's preceptor in one of his letters to his Superiors in Europe.

4. Along with Tatacharya, the names of several ministers of Venkata have reached us mainly through the contemporary poems A Sidhout inscription of 1605 states that the chief Matla Ananta was like the right hand of the Emperor of Karnata (Vijayanagara) ² he was no doubt one of Venkata's chief officers as is shown by this appellation and his achievements which will be narrated further on Tarigoppula Mallana in his *Chandrabhann Charitram* says that his elder brother Tarigoppula Datta Mantri "was a minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya, son of Tirumala Raya All the members of the Emperor's court used to extol him for his patronage and helpfulness to them on various occasions" ³ Another one, Tammaya Mantri who, according to the *Charu chandrodayam* had been the right hand of Sri Ranga, was also the minister of the Emperor Venkatapati Raya ⁴ From

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th, 1607 See Ap. O No. XVIII. This passage was published in *Relacam Anual* of the years 1606 and 1607 (Lisbon, 1609) but without mentioning the name of Tatacharya; he is only described as the "high priest at whose feet the same king prostrates himself, and whose yearly revenue surpasses two hundred crusades" (p. 106) Before being acquainted with the original of Coutinho's letter I published a translation of the account of *Relacam Anual* in the *Q J M S.*, XIV p. 134-7 under the title *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*; and in a note I already pointed out that the high priest referred to ought to be Tatacharya.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 248.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 247

4. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

literature we gather likewise that Pemmasani Pedda-Timmaraja, who had also been a minister of Ranga I, continued to hold the same office under Venkata II ¹ The chief military officer of this Emperor was Gubburi Obarajaya ², who may perhaps be identified with Obaraja, the brother-in-law of Venkata, as mentioned in Barrada's account ³, or his father-in-law, as stated both in the *Ramarajiyamu* ⁴ and in the Jesuit records ⁵

Now the Empire, although deprived of some of the northern provinces which had fallen into the hands of the Muhammadans, was yet possessed of vast territory Fr Du Jarric describes the Empire of Venkata as follows "The kingdom of Bijnagar," says he, "contains the greatest part of India that lies to the south of river Ganges (sic) For besides the western kingdoms of Malabar, that depend upon it, as formerly the kingdom of Goa, there are several others towards the North, as Onor (Honavar) Battikala, (Bhatkal) and so on, that acknowledge the imperial authority It has on the East two hundred leagues of coast along the gulf of Bengal, viz from cape Comorin to the kingdom of Orisa (Orissa), and this length comprises the Coast of Coromandel and Meliapor or San Thome ⁶

The viceroy of Seringapatam and the Nayaks and feudatory chiefs were a great help to the Emperor in the administration of such an extensive Empire But the country which was immediately subject to him was, it seems, divided into different administrative units A grant of 1596 of the temple authorities of Kanchivaram gives a clue to this supposition, it states that this city is situated in the Chandragiri portion of the Tondaimandalam province of the country of Soramandalam ⁷ According to this inscription, the smallest administrative unit was the so-called *portion* or district, which, if we must judge from the distance between Chandragiri and Kanchivaram, was

1 Cf H Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I c, p 185

2 Ibid, p 188-9

3 Sewell, p 223

4 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 243

5 Du Jarric, I, p 654. Cf Ch XXIV, No 3

6 Ibid, p 652

7 Sewell, I, p 179.

not very small the next higher and larger administrative unit was the *province* and the highest, the so-called *country*. We venture to say that during the time of the Tamil Viceroyalty two *countries* probably composed it, the Chola and the Pandya *countries*.

Venkata was indeed a very powerful monarch¹. According to Du Jarric "the neighbouring kings call him Emperor and king of kings as he is the most potent of all the kings"². Accordingly at the end of his reign he was called by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore Master of the four Oceans³.

5 Nevertheless from the beginning of his reign the new Emperor had to face great difficulties within his own dominions. There were among the petty chiefs fresh outbreaks of rebellion against Venkata, who was supposed to be the murderer of the late Emperor Sadasiva. 'Before 1595 says Anquetil du Perron, the Nayaks of Tanjore, Madurai and Gingi (Jinji) gave up all allegiance, as they did not want to acknowledge as their sovereign one who had dethroned the legitimate King of Bisnagar"⁴. We shall speak later of the rebellion of these three powerful Nayaks but we feel sure that, encouraged by their example, and even perhaps before them many petty chiefs rebelled against Venkata. This is more than a mere supposition, because in the contemporary sources we find abundant evidence of the internal troubles during those years. Venkata is called in the Mangalampad grant the crusher of the pride of Avahaluraya⁵ and the hero who punished kings who break their word⁶. The Dalavay Agraharam plates, after speaking of his campaigns against the Muhammadans style him the only excellent conqueror of the Chaurasidurga, (who) terrified the hearts of the hostile kings in the eight quarters, (who) was a destroyer of his enemies (who) was broad armed like Adisesha (who) was a bear to the earth, *i.e.* the provincial chiefs, a

1. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 169

2. Du Jarric, l. p. 633

3. *Ep. Carn.*, III, TN 116.

4. Anquetil du Perron, l. c., p. 166

5. Butterworth, l. p. 32, 27

6. *Ibid.*, p. 33, v 38.

Ramabadra in battle" ¹ These general remarks are a clear reference to the action of Venkata against the provincial chiefs of his Empire who 'broke their word' of faithfulness and allegiance to the imperial power. But there are also other and more pronounced testimonies

Venkata is said in the *Ramarajyam* to have 'defeated some enemies at Nandela' ² Those enemies must have been the army of the chief Krishnama' of Nandyal, into whose mind the faithful Matla Ananta 'instilled fear', according to the expression of the Sidhout inscription ³ This means that this Anantaraja, one of Venkata's ministers, defeated on behalf of the Emperor, or even in conjunction with him, the Nandyla chief who had revolted against his sovereign. Matla Ananta's campaigns are likewise a recapitulation of these provincial revolts. "he killed on the battlefield the chief Ravelia Velikonda Venkatadri," we read in the same inscription, "he was the conqueror in the battle of Jambulamandaka (Jammalamadugu) and reduced the fort of Cuttack. He defeated the chief Kondaraju Venkatadri and captured from him the town of Chennur" ⁴

Along with the Emperor and Matla Ananta his right hand, the minister Tammaya Mantri, 'compelled recalcitrant chiefs to go to him (the Emperor) and accept his suzerainty', as it is stated in the *Charuchandrodayam* ⁵ The Mahanayakacharya Harwati, son of Immadi Rangappa Nayaka, is also called a "subduer of chiefs who break their word" ⁶ He must have aided his sovereign in subduing these rebellions. The same was done by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu and his relative Singama Nayadu, who in the year 1601 defeated Maharaja and Devalpupa Nayadu at Utramaltur, according to the *Valugutivaru Vamsavali* ⁷ Velugoti's campaigns are also

1 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 243

3 *Ibid*, p 248

4 *Ibid*, Cf *M E R*, 1915-16, para 19, 1916, para 75

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o c*, p 241

6 *Ep Carn*, XII, S1, 84

7 Wilson, *The MacKenzie Collection*, p 274 Cf. Carr, *Papers Relating to the Seven Pagodas*, p 115, note c

narrated in the *Bahulasvacharithram*. After defeating the Chief Davalu Papa at Uttaramalluru, he marched as far as Tirumala (Tirupati), defeated the mountain chiefs there and captured Chingalpat (Chingleput). Outside the fort of Palembukota (Palembukota, South Arcot), he fought the chief Yatiraju and defeated him.¹ Finally Ragunatha, the heir apparent of Tanjore, who had helped Venkata against the Muhammadans at Penukonda² also lent his aid to the Emperor for the suppression of these rebellions. The *Ragunathabhyudayam* says that he waged war with the Murasas, a people in the North of North Arcot and the adjacent portions of the neighbouring districts. "Having defeated all these enemies" says the poem, "he brought all the territory and the fortresses of Karnata once more under the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya. After this victory the Emperor Venkatadeva Raya in public court acknowledged the great assistance of Raghunatha and said that he was able to destroy his enemies only with the assistance of Raghunatha. He also honoured him with presents of horses and jewellery"³

It appears that the rebellion spread all over the Empire and lasted several years. But the stout hearted sovereign at last put it down and was acknowledged by all his feudatories. This is the reason why he is said in some of his grants to have conquered the throne of Karnata by the strength of his arm.⁴ *viz.* though he was rightly crowned and anointed, his throne was hardly his as long as the revolts all over the Empire lasted. It was by the strength of his arm that he established it as firmly as he did. We read in Anquetil du Perron that Venkata "experienced how wrong was his elevation to the throne, but at last the Nanques were bound to submit to the tribute"⁵

6. In or about 1592, on the occasion of the attack of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur which will be narrated in the next chapter Venkata went back to Chandragiri and

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 305

2. Of. Ch. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *o. c.*, p. 285-6.

4. Vilapaka grant of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, IV p. 270; Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ibid.*, XII, p. 187 vv 27-39

5. Anquetil du Perron, *l. c.*, p. 166

established there the capital of the Empire ¹ This action betrayed the weaker side of Venkata's character He had hitherto strenuously fought against the hereditary enemies of the Empire, but now he felt perhaps the first signs of premature old age Nevertheless we suppose that the main reason for this change was not the Muhammadan incursions, but a sort of home-sickness for the city where he had ruled many years as governor and viceroy of the Tamil country Chandragiri was like a second birthplace to him, and thither he retired, when a premature old age began to weigh upon him, and rest became necessary

Chandragiri had in ancient times been the stronghold of the Yadavas One of its rulers, Toya-Yadava, entertained Ramanuja when fleeing from the Chola country ² According to a palm-leaf book, once in the possession of one of the village officers, the founder of the town was the Yadava King Immadi Nārasimha, who lived about A D 1000 ³ According to local tradition, the Chandragiri fort had been built or at least enlarged by the Vijayanagara Emperor Nārasimha Saluva, who made it the store-house of his treasures ⁴ As a matter of fact the Portuguese used often to call it Narsinga, after the name of this sovereign Since Krishna Deva Raya is occasionally called 'Raja of Chāndragiri', it is likely that he either conquered or improved this fort, or even that he lived in it at times ⁵ In that case the great Mahal, still standing at the foot of rocky hill crowned by the fortress, may have been built by that great Emperor, while to his brother and successor, Achyuta Raya, is attributed the smaller Ladies' Mahal ⁶ The same Achyuta makes mention, in the copper-

1 Cf *MER*, 1916, para 75, S Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I c, p 185

2 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 85

3 Sewell, I, p 150

4 Cf Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p 3, Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely*, p 48

5 Sewell, I, p 139

6 *Ibid*, p 150 For a description of these buildings see Chisholm, *The Old Palace of Chandragiri, Ind Ant*, XII, p 295-6

plates of July 13th, 1532, of the kingdom of Chandragiri ¹ and in another inscription of 1540 at Pushpagiri mention is likewise made of the general Timmarasayya son of Somarasayya of Chandragiri ²

7 This was the palace which was for so many years the residence of Venkata, when Viceroy of the Tamil country It was now to be the royal palace of the Emperor of Vijayanagara. A modern memorial stone over its central entrance, inscribed by a hand who had no knowledge of the more extensive sovereignty of Venkatapati Raya, records that the building was the Palace of the Rajas of Chandragiri ³

The earliest reference to Venkata as ruling from Chandragiri is dated 1602 ⁴ but Fr N Pimenta, in the account of his tour through the South of India, made in 1597 says in speaking of Venkata that Hee now resideth in Chandragiri ⁵ and Fr Du Jarric, in the course of his account of the arrival of the Jesuits in 1601 says that Chandegiri is the residence of the King ⁶ the same fact is recorded in two inscriptions of 1603 ⁷ one of 1625 ⁸ and another of 1608 ⁹

Now there is an inscription of 1587 in which Venkata appears in the residence of Hampe-Hastinavathi (Vijayanagara) ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom ¹⁰ then another of 1602 ³, which shows him seated on the diamond

1. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 51-2.

2. 302 of 1903

3 Orme, *Historical Fragments* p. 227 says "It still remains to know whether the king of Chandergherri to whom the Jesuits went in 1599 was a descendant of Timiraglio or of the rightful king of Bianagar murdered by Timiraglio's son but we believe of Timiraglio."

4. Brakenbury *Cuddapah Gazetteer* p. 37

5. Fr Pimenta's letter Purchas, X, p. 210.

6. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

7. Rangacharya I p. 576, 16.

8. Siddhout inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 248.

9. Rangacharya I, p. 653 863

10. *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Cm 79

throne at Vijayanagara ruling the kingdom of the earth' ¹, and even two more, of 1613 ² and 1614 ³, in which he is simply said to be 'ruling at Vijayanagara'. It is obvious to us that Chandragiri received also at this time the appellation of Vijayanagara, as Penukonda was likewise formerly called ⁴. In the map of India by Sr Sanson d'Abbeville, published in the year 1652, Chandragiri is marked as 'Bisnagar or Chandragiri' ⁵. Moreover a traveller from Holstein named Mandelslo, who visited the Coromandel coast in 1639, says that the king 'resides sometimes at Bisnagar, sometimes at Narasinga' ⁶. This must be respectively understood of Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire, and of Chandragiri, which was also called Narsinga, as already stated. This information is of great importance to us, because it seems to prove that the capital of the Empire was always called Vijayanagara, whether it was Hampi-Anegundi, or Penukonda, or Chandragiri, as at this time, or as some years after, Vellore.

8 At Chandragiri not a small coterie of nobles had naturally gathered round the Emperor. Fr A Laerzio, Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Malabar, who visited Venkata's court in 1603, writing to Fr J Alvarez at Rome in the following year, says "Those nobles are very rich and powerful, some have a revenue of five hundred thousand *crusados*, some of six hundred thousand, and some of four hundred thousand" ⁷. Fr Du Jarric gives interesting information about one of the social institutions of the nobility at Chandragiri, corresponding more or less to our modern gymnasium. "The house fitted for this", he says, "has a yard in the centre, the pavement of which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror, there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed. One who would wrestle

1 Butterworth, I, p 269-71

2 452 of 1916

3 *Ep Carn*, III, Sr, 157

4 Cf Ch X, No 13

5 See plate XII

6 Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, p 94

7 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

strips himself. Then several strong and brawny youths called *gattas* who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman then they box, jump fence and take other kinds of exercise with him in order to strengthen him and this they do until perspiration flows freely. Then the *gattas* cover the whole of the nobleman's body with sand and massage him and move his arms and legs in every direction as if they would disjoint his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, anointed and washed with warm water and when dry dresses himself. Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner in order to be fit and healthy thus men as old as seventy years look only thirty.¹ Such is the description of the exercises taken in the gymnasium of Chandragiri into which Fr Simon de Sa, Rector of the College of St. Thome was once admitted as a spectator.

9 After this re-transfer of Venkata's capital to Chandragiri, his extraordinary devotion to the god Venkatesa at Tirupati was naturally revived perhaps with greater zeal and ardour. The excellence of the rock of Tirupati, which we have several times spoken of is sung in the *Venkatesvara Prabandha Baila Mahima*. The temple is stated to be near the famous mythic mount Meru, where the gods hold their assembly.² According to the legend, Vishnu himself once became incarnated here.³ If we are to believe the Vaishnava literature, Tirupati, dedicated at its foundation to Vishnu became later on a temple of Siva till the time of Ramanujacharya the reformer who once more converted it into a Vaishnava shrine. To effect this he is said to have agreed with the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in it at night a conch and a discus, which are the insignia of Vishnu, and a trident and a small drum which are those of Siva the temple was then closed and on its being re-opened, it was found that the image had assumed the two first symbols. Accordingly Vishnu's cult was restored.⁴ The great temple was built by one of the Yadava Princes in or about A. D. 1048.

1. Du Jarric, I p. 684-5

2. Wilson, *Catalogue Raisonnee* p. 589

3. *Venkata Giri Mahatmyam* Ibid., p. 588.

4. *Venkatesvara Mahatmyam* Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 254-5.

Vishnu is worshipped there under five forms Sri Venkatachala Pati, Malayapa or Utsavabari, Srinivas, Kolavu Bari and Venkata Toravar ¹

"The city of Tripati (Tirupati)", says one of the Jesuit letters, "is very large and beautiful, and on account of a temple much venerated and dedicated to their Pimal (Perumal), is for these heathens what Rome is to us. Crowds of people from the whole of the East flock here with gifts and offerings to pay a visit to this temple" ² The pilgrims, says another letter of Fr Simon de Sa, "purge their sinnes by washing their bodies and shaving their heads and beards. The Idoll is in a cold hill compassed with fertile valleys abounding with fruits, none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are so tame that they will take meate out of ones hand. The people take them for a Nation of gods which held familiaritie with Perimal. They worship Perimal in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horse, Lion Hog, Ducke, Cocke" ³

10 The vicinity of Chandragiri to Tirupati fostered the special devotion of the Emperor for that holy place. Several of his inscriptions and grants of those years are more or less connected with Tirupati and the god Venkatesvara. On August 18th, 1598, Venkata, while at Tirupati, made a grant of a village to several Brahmans and re-named it Tirumalambapuram ⁴. In the same year he made the Padmaneri grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa whom he invokes in the beginning of the grant ⁵, the same is seen in the Dalavay Agraharam Plates ⁶. Then a Tamil inscription around the Varadaraja shrine in the first prakara of the Srinivasa temple at Tirupati, dated 1606, records a grant by Venkatapati Raya to provide for offerings of rice to the god ⁷. Again

1 Ibid

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap C, No VIII

3 From Fr Simon de Sa, Mylapore, November 20th 1598, Purchas, X, p 219

4 *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 54.

5 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, vv 46-48, and p 296, vv 1-3

6 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 187, vv 41-66, and p 185, vv 1-3

7 *M A D*, 1920, p 39.

in 1601-2 he made the Vilapaka grant in the presence of the god Venkatesa, at Tirupati.¹

The principal ceremony performed at Tirupati is at the time of the Durga Puja about October. Fr Coutinho, who happened to be there at this time, gives the following account of what he had seen. At the Feast of Perimal's marriage was such concourse of people that that day's offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King, Queen and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and a half. The Feast of Kowes was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them for they hold Perimal to have beene the sonne of a Kow.² Purchas does not give the full narrative of Coutinho preserved in a letter of Fr N Pimenta. The carr was drawn by ten thousand people," says he, the King himself being one of the first. It was begun at the close of the day but at midnight it started to rain and then the king retired but the rest remained hard at their work till the carr was carried back to the place where it was taken from, two hundred and fifty feet in distance.³

II In the year 1603, while Venkata was residing at Chandragiri, the rebellion of the Nayak of Vellore took place. We have frequently spoken of the chiefs of Vellore, who had always remained faithful feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors. Chinna Bomma Nayaka was still living in the beginning of Venkata's reign for in a Sanskrit verse by an unknown author he is called Viceroy of Velur during the reign of Venkatapati Raya.⁴ The same authority describes the ceremony of bathing in gold, which Chinna Bomma Nayaka performed in order to do honour to the scholarship of Appaya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel.⁵ Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that this Nayak was not Chinna Bomma

1. *Ep. Ind.*, IV p. 270.

2. *Purchas*, X, p. 223.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1602, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. O No V.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 51.

5. *Ibid.*

himself, but his son and successor Lingama. This Lingama was the one who in 1601-2 obtained from Venkata II the Vilapaka grant "With a libation of water (poured) over gold, the glorious King Vira Venkatapati Maharaya joyfully granted (the village of Vilapaka), sanctioning the request of the glorious Prince Linga, who was the renowned son of Prince Bomma of Veluru, who was the victorious grandson of prince Virapa Nayaka, who was ever devoted to the shrine of Vira at Sri Nellaturu, who resembled the sun (in conferring prosperity) on the lotus group, the hearts of scholars, who terrified the mind of prince Ballalaraya, who was engaged in establishing Mahadevas (lingas of Siva) and Mahidevas (Brahmans), who was the foremost of those who assert the priority of Siva, whose pride were the works (relating to) Siva, who was full of splendour, who, as the moon from the ocean, (rose) from the renowned Anakula gotra" ¹

Not long after the concession of this grant, Lingama Nayaka rebelled against his Emperor², we know not why. Was he one of those who refused to acknowledge Venkata on account of the murder of Sadasiva? From the Jesuit letter, which is the best source hitherto known for the history of this event, and from which we shall quote extracts as we go on, it seems clear that Lingama wished to form a small principality independent both of his immediate lord, the Nayak of Jinji, and of the Emperor himself. He was bold enough to defy both rulers, trusting no less to his immense wealth than to the strong fortifications which rendered Vellore all but impregnable.

Venkata, without any delay, despatched in the month of October, 1603, his Adelaraya (Dalavay) or commander-in-chief to storm the capital of the rebel chief. Who was then the Dalavay of his army? In the first part of this Jesuit letter there is no reference whatever to the proper name of this general,

1 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 271. Lingama Nayaka had probably a brother called Nangama Nayaka, one of whose gifts is recorded in an inscription of 1602 in Malayappatu, North Arcot 70 of 1887.

2 Anquetil du Perron, I c, p 170, assigns the year 1609 as the date of Linga's rebellion and destruction. Our sources written in 1606 says that the siege of the fort took place two months before January, 1604.

but we are informed by the *Bahaduracharitra* that Chenna, of the Kalahasti family defeated Linga of Velur on the plains of Munnali (Munnal?) and captured the fortress of Vellore with its high fortifications and deep moat. We may conclude from this that Chenna Nayaka was the commander-in-chief of the army sent against Lingama Nayaka. Once he started on his march there, the Dalavay pretended to have lost his way on the first day with the first object of marching so fast throughout the night as to reach Vellore unexpectedly before dawn. Unfortunately his plan fell through for only his vanguard reached the neighbourhood of Vellore at the desired hour early in the morning but the bulk of his army lagged behind, and did not arrive till later when the garrison of the town was ready to repel the attack. Accordingly showers of bullets were poured on Chenna and his soldiers just as he was preparing to storm the city and he was finally forced to retreat. But with indomitable courage he invested the fortress in spite of the rainy season which had already begun. The siege lasted two months. Then two officers of Chenna's army who were on friendly terms with Lingama Nayaka, and even perhaps his relations (so suggests the Jesuit letter) were admitted into the fort to present their compliments to the chief. On returning to their camp Linga, who seems to have been very kind and polite accompanied his visitors a little way out of the gates of the fort. That was too golden an opportunity for the soldiers of Vijayanagara. Lingama was made prisoner and brought to Chenna's camp.

The siege nevertheless dragged on. Neither the sons of Lingama nor his generals were willing to surrender the fort, in spite of the imprisonment of their chief while he, on seeing that all chances of escape were cut off offered twenty lakhs to the Dalavay if he could abandon the siege of Vellore of those twenty lakhs fifteen would be given in gold coins and the other five in pearls and other precious stones. But the commander-in-chief at once wrote to Venkata summoning him to come forthwith to Vellore, saying that now was the time to fill the royal coffers and to extend his sway by the annexation of this most fortified town. The Emperor set out at once on January 9th,





1614, with an enormous army, besides a train of camp-followers and elephants, and hastened towards Vellore. Linga prostrated himself at Venkata's feet as soon as the Emperor reached the camp. In the meantime his sons kept up a continuous fire, and tried their utmost to prevent Venkata from entering the town. But at last Vellore fell, and Venkata with his Queen took lodging "in the marble palace of Lingama Nayaka, adorned with gold and precious stones" ¹

12 Venkata remained at Vellore till the following month of May. Then, "after having extorted from Lingama Naichen a large number of precious stones and pearls," he "took him prisoner to grace his own triumph from the fortress of Velur to Chandegri" ². Fr B. Coutinho, who was himself an eye-witness of this magnificent state procession, wrote an account of it in the aforesaid Jesuit letter which we shall quote here. "On May 27", he writes, "four hours after sunrise (*viz* at about ten o'clock in the morning) this procession entered the town. The road through the middle of the city by which he had to pass was decorated with a big arch in the centre, and with very many carpets and hangings made of green boughs. But what added more dignity to the king was the fact that a large number of attendants in groups of three, dressed in gorgeous uniforms, were stationed at different intervals by the roadside, there were besides military bands with brass instruments and others with the vina and other classical instruments, these were followed by many other insignia, and finally by the royal standard itself, in which a golden lion and a golden fish were painted, thus showing Venkata's sovereignty over land and sea. This made the opening of the procession. Many

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII. The account does not say that one of the Jesuits accompanied Venkata's army on this occasion. Nevertheless this seems likely as the Jesuits were on good terms of friendship with the Emperor, moreover the detailed narrative of this campaign seems to be that of an eye-witness. Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p 228-9, also mentions the siege and conquest of Vellore by Venkata. Cf. Henrion, *Histoire Generale des Missions*, p 187. Fr Pimenta says only that Fr F. Ricio went there after a while.

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII.

horsemen came next among whom there was Obraias himself (Oba Raya) the King's father in law and with him many other grandees adorned with gold ornaments and precious stones at the end the King himself accompanied by Connanaiche (Chenna Nayaka) riding a beautiful elephant, the body and the head of which were painted yellow and adorned with feathers and silk drapery¹ the silk pillow on which the King sat was embroidered with gold thread, and he was himself covered with pearls and precious stones. Being thus triumphantly carried, he was looking graciously on the crowd below and having finally reached his palace, sat on the golden throne, where he received a present from the Adelaraya, the governor of the city as it is customary. Then all the nobles presented their homage and left. We also (says Fr Coutinho) went there, and Fr Francis Ricio offered the King a gilt drinking-cup of glass which he had kept for this occasion.²

13 It is not on record whether Vellore was once more restored to Linga but from the fact that he is no longer mentioned in the contemporary documents, we may reasonably conclude that Vellore was thereafter retained under the Emperor's immediate authority according to the advice of his Dalavay. Moreover two years later about the middle of 1606 Venkata established his court in the old city of Vellore³ an event recorded also in the *Ramarajiyamu*⁴. But he used to reside at times at Chandragiri⁵ and that is the reason why both cities are by the Jesuit Missionaries called *royal*⁶.

The fort of Vellore, according to local tradition was built

1. The fact that Ohenna rode on this occasion at Venkata's side goes again to bear out the supposition that he was the command er in-chief of the victorious army.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar quoted above.

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606 Ap. C, No XIII.

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 243.

5. Cf. above No 7.

6. No other change of capital of the Emperors of Vijayanagara is so far known, though some authors state that it was finally established at Chingleput. Cf. Rice *Mysore and Coorg* p. 120 Francis *South Arcot Gazetteer* p. 36 etc.

by one Bommi Reddi, or Naidu, a native of Bhadrachalam¹, and converted by Narasimha of Vijayanagara into a place of residence²

According to an inscription of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of 1582 at Adaipalam, the Vellore temple was constructed by Appaiya Dikshita³, but since we know that this temple existed earlier we must understand that Appaiya Dikshita's work was some enlargement of the same. The pavement round the building was laid by China Bomma Nayaka himself in 1549, for the merit of Macha Nayaka of Vellore⁴. In 1702 Fr Maudit said that 'the fortress of Vellore was one of the strongest throughout the whole of the country'⁵. As a matter of fact this fort is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of military architecture in southern India, and fortunately it is still in a very good state of preservation.

14 We have already mentioned several feudatory chiefs of the time of Venkata, but to those we must add several other known through different sources. An inscription of Venkata of 1592 records the grant of a house for the location of a *matha* to Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram by Periya Errama Nayak of Punnarrur⁶. Venkatapati Nayaningaru, the grandson of Velugoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kummara Timma Nayadu, declares himself feudatory of Venkatapati Raya in an inscription of 1612⁷, in another of the same year he is said to be 'an Arjuna in war'⁸. In another of 1616, Narakampi Nayaningaru, likewise a feudatory

1 Cox, *North Arcot Manual*, II, p 418

2 Garstin, *South Arcot Manual*, p 3, Caldwell, *History of Tinnevely* p 48

3 395 of 1911

4. 60 of 1887 At Torudur, Tanjore, there is an inscription recording a gift of land to this temple in 1596 Sewell, I, p 272

5 From Fr Maudit to Fr Le Gobien, Caruvepondi, January 1st, 1702, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p 310

6 61 of 1887

7 Rangacharya, II, p 1053, 36

8 Butterworth, I, p 246

of Sadasiva, gave the hereditary privilege of worship in the temple of Kona Vallabharaya to one Kandagada Guruvayya¹ The Venkatagiri Raja Pedda Yachama Nayadu known as Yacha Surudu, got the Permadi country as a gift from Venkata II and proved his loyalty to him in the following civil war² Yachama Nayaka, one of the feudatories of Venkata, of whom we have previously spoken was, it seems, amongst the most powerful chiefs of the Empire. the *Bahulasvacharitra* speaks of him as having received presents of elephants and horses from Nizam Shah, Adil Shah and Qutb Shah. He was highly esteemed by the people of the cities of Cuttack, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadnagar Mahur Shiraj Kalamba, Manduva, Makkha Bedandakota (Bidar) Hukumi and Mahishmati³ Finally the Jesuit records mention another chief named by them Paparagi (Papa Raya), identified, according to Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar with the chief Davalu Papa who was defeated by Velugoti Yachama Nayadu at Uttaramaluru⁴ Fr Simon de Sa, writing from Mylapor on November 20th, 1598, says that this chief "in one house kept three hundred Brachmans and gave hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went on or came from Tripeti⁵ Fr Du Jarric, who calls him a powerful chief mentions the same fact⁶ and says moreover that he placed his dwelling on the top of a very high mountain encompassed by shady forests. The town was built all over the slopes of this mountain from the valley to the top⁷"

15 Venkata II appears to have been as generous as his predecessors to the temples and Brahmans for the maintenance of the Hindu cult Being still Viceroy of the Tamil country on June 24th, 1577 he made a gift of four villages

1. Rangacharya II, p. 1049 L.

2. Madhava Rao *The Ruling Chiefs* p. 490.

3. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 305-6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 305 note. Cf. above No. 5

5. Purchas X., p. 219

6. Du Jarric, I p. 657

7. *Ibid.*, p. 675 I cannot verify which city is referred to by Du Jarric It must be between Mylapore and Tirupati

to the temple of Chidambaresvara and Sivakamasundari-Ammal to provide offerings and sacred morning baths for the merit of Kondama Nayaka¹ In 1588 he made a gift of 300 *pon* to provide 20 rice offerings to the god Chidambaresvara at Chidambaram, to be distributed among the begging devotees² In 1593, for the merit of the above mentioned Kondama Nayaka, he declared that the four districts and the five villages and all others whose possession had been enjoyed by the temple of Chidambaresvara from early times, were now made tax-free In 1603 he imposed a tax on the weavers of Tindivanam, the proceeds of which were to go to the local temple³ In 1604 he gave the village of Vengalambapuram to a number of Brahmans coming from several places⁴ The year 1607 witnessed a grant of Venkatta to the god Narasinga⁵. Lastly, in 1608 the Emperor regulated the festivals and the daily services in the temple at Alagiyasingar at Narasimhapuram⁷

We also know of several gifts of the feudatory chiefs and other influential persons during Venkata's reign In 1589 Madagan Basavareddi Kumarudu remitted the tax on the lands of the gods Mallikarjuna and Virabhadra at Vipinagandla (Karnul)⁸ In 1592 Krishnappa Nayaka granted to the god Ramanujakuta two villages in the Gangaikonda-sima⁹ In 1593 Naga Reddi and other jugglers gave away the allowance which they had received for the bamboo play to the god Agastyesvara of Chadipirala¹⁰ In the same year Gangadhara Cholamaharaya granted land to the deities at Palagiri¹¹ Rayanamantri Bhaskarayya gave the god Chennakesava a fee of one *kasu* for

1 334 of 1913

2 385 of 1913

3 369 of 1913

4 31 of 1905

5 Rangacharya, I, p 461, 1146

6 *Ep Carn*, V, Bl, 145

7 243 of 1910

8 Rangacharya, II, p 961, 500

9 Ibid, I, p 153, 191-B

10. Ibid, p 610, 424

11 Ibid, p 615, 465.

every bullock load of salt, two *kasus* for one of cotton and $\frac{1}{2}$ *kasu* for other goods in the Gandikota district¹ In the same year an iron lamp was set up in the Mallikarjuna temple at Srisaïlam, Karnul for the merit of Mudiappa Nayaka, by a certain Chikaiya, son of a carpenter of Henjera² In 1605 Chandra Sekhara Vodeyar made a grant to the family god and his dancing girls³ In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big gopura of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati, Karnul, and of two fly whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu, for the merit of 150 headmen of their community⁴ In the same year a certain Kala Vaiyyappa built a temple for Agaresva Udaiyar at Polichchalar Madras, endowing it with a piece of land for the merit of the king Venkatapaturaya⁵ In 1614 Gangappa Nayaka, the governor of Srigrî-*mandala*, son of Venkatadri and grandson of Ganga, made a present of four villages in the Dupati-sima, Karnul, to the Chennakesa temple⁶ During this reign Matla Tiru vengala, the son of Anantaraja, built the gopura of the Govinda raja Perumal temple at Tirupati⁷

16 Some agricultural improvements were effected during Venkata's reign but none by himself. All are due to the enterprise of chiefs and of private persons. Venkatapati Nayanîgaru, his feudatory deserves special mention for his efforts to encourage irrigation⁸ In 1612 the grandson of Velogoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu, and son of Kumara Timma Nayadu, sent for Rudrappa, the ruler of Kulluru, Nellore, and asked him to construct the eastern weir of the Kullur tank, which he did⁹ It is further recorded that a certain Nayinappa

1 Ibid., p. 620, 512.

2 33 of 1915.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, IV Ch 23.

4 67 of 1915

5 516 of 1913.

6 286 of 1903

7 *M.E.R.*, 1913 p. 124.

8 *Ol. Ind. As.*, XXXVII, p. 97

9 Rangacharya, II, p. 1033, 36.

Nayaka, son of Krishnappa Nayaka, improved certain land in South Arcot by constructing a tank near it and digging wells¹. Finally, one Polusani dug a well in the village of Sowadardinne, Karnul, in 1603².

1 388 of 1912

2 Rangacharya, II, p 918, 111 We know of the existence of a guild of merchants in the city of Aravidu during Venkata's reign. The merchants who formed this guild were devotees of Vasavakan-yaka, followers of Bhaskaracharya and supposed to be the progeny of the celestial cow, born of its ears 67 of 1915

CHAPTER XVI

WARS WITH THE MUHAMMADANS

SUMMARY—1. Venkata starts an offensive campaign against Golkonda immediately after his coronation.—2. Great victory of Venkata over Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah.—3. Beginning of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—4. The Jagirdars of the Telugu country rebel against Golkonda.—5. Victory of the Raja of Kasmkota over Amin ul Mulk.—6. Second invasion of Kandhūr.—7. Result of Venkata's campaign in the Telugu country.—8. Siege of Penukonda by the Sultan of Bijapur.—9. Embassy of the Mughal Emperor Akbar to Venkata II.—10. Further projects of Akbar on Vijayanagara.—11. Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur sends an embassy to Venkata II.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1. *Ferishta* Anonymous chronicler of Golkonda.—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Du Jarric, Guerreiro.—4. Hindu inscriptions and grants.—5. *Ramarajiyamu Raghunathabhyudayam*.

A GRANT of Emperor Venkata, dated 1589 says explicitly that his campaigns against the Muhammadans were started immediately after his coronation¹. Accordingly the anonymous chronicler says that Venkata in the beginning of his reign made some incursions and invasions into the Golkonda dominions². This policy marked the opening of a new era in the long standing struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muhammadans. Since the battle of Raksas Tagū Tirumala, and after him Ranga I, had been satisfied with defending themselves against the followers of the Prophet. Ranga had only dared to expel the Muslims from Ahobalam and its surroundings³. But it seems that Venkata II inaugurated his rule as Emperor of Vijayanagara with an offensive campaign which was successfully carried on some years later.

1. *Ep. Carm.* XII, Ck, 39

2. *Ferishta* III, p. 454.

3. *Cl. Ch.* XII, No. 7

The Sultan of Golkonda, Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah, invaded the Vijayanagara territory, with the object of driving Venkata out of his dominions. He marched towards Penukonda "where he arrived without opposition," says the aforesaid chronicler, "and immediately commenced the siege." Venkata, who was at Penukonda, shortly afterwards deputed his minister Gobraj Tima (Govinda Raja Timma) and his general Pavia Chitti (Papaya Chetti) as Ambassadors to the Golkonda Sultan, "who, upon their making due submission, agreed to an armistice preparatory to negotiating terms of peace." The shrewd Sovereign decided to take advantage of this so-called armistice to prepare himself for a long defence. "The Hindus", the anonymous chronicler continues, "taking advantage of the absence of the Muhammadans from the vicinity of the fort, supplied themselves in three days with provisions for a siege, and on the fourth the famous Jagdew Row (Jagadeva Raya), accompanied by Gulrang Setti, Manupraj and Papia Samywar, at the head of thirty thousand musketteers, threw themselves into the fort"¹. It is most likely that at this juncture Venkata requested Achyuta Nayaka of Tanjore to send the prince Raghunatha to his assistance. At his father's behest "Raghunatha started on the expedition followed by hundreds of tributary chiefs", says the *Raghunathabhyudayam*. He reached Penukonda in a few days². When the King discovered these proceedings", continues the Golkonda chronicler, "he renewed the siege, but his forces made little impression. The rains were now approaching, provisions also were scarce in the camp, and aware that the inundation of the Krishna river would cut off all communication with the Golkonda territory, the King deemed it advisable to raise the siege"³. Thus does the Muhammadan writer conceal the humiliating defeat which was on this occasion inflicted by Venkata upon the army of Golkonda.

2 Reference is found to this action in different sources,

1 Ferishta, l c

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 285

3 Ferishta, l c

and we cannot question their veracity specially when we consider the account of the following victorious campaign of Venkates in the Udayagiri country given by the same Mahamadan author. The above-mentioned *Kaghamahabhyudaya* relating only Raghunatha's exploits, states that "many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penukonda when they learnt of the arrival of Raghunatha with troops (a common poetical topic), while a few mounted horsemen opposed him. But they were easily defeated by the valiant Raghunatha, and were scattered as the Kalshasas were by Rama." This was only a partial victory obtained by one of the wings of the great army of Venkates. The Siddhant inscription of Ananta Raya also records that this chief displayed his heroism in humiliating the Muhammadan Pachisa (Fadischah) in the battle of Penukonda. After careful consideration of all the sources it seems that the Golkonda army after having been repelled by the garrison of Penukonda, retreated northwards pursued by the Hindus. Venkatesapati Raya" says the *Ramaratnam*, collected his army and drove the son of Ibrahim (Ibrahim Qutb Shah) far as Golkonda. He chased his army back and defeated it on the banks of the Pennar. The water of the river was crimson with the blood of the Muhammadan soldiers killed in the battle. This battle was no doubt a remarkable event in the history of the Hindu Empire for almost all the grants of Venkates make mention of it. The Vilapaka grant and the Dalavay Agraharam plates, besides two other grants, state that the Muhammadan ruler was forcibly deprived of troops, of horses and elephants, weapons, white umbrellas, parasols, etc., at the head of a battle by the excellent soldiers of the army of this powerful (king)." The Vilapaka grant records moreover

1. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *loc.*

2. *M.R.A.*, 1916, p. 148, para 78.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

4. Vilapaka grant *Ep. Ind.* IV p. 270 Dalavay Agraharam plates *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 188, vv 27-39 Grant of 1587 *Ep. Carr.* VII, Sh. 83 Grant of 1589 *Ep. Carr.* XII, Cl. 38

that the son of Malik Ibrahim (Malik Ibrahim), Mahamandasahu (Muhammad Shah), reached his house in despair, reduced in lustre, and 'thus daily,' it ends ironically, 'makes his name significant (or famous)'.¹ It appears that there was more than one battle, because the Vellangudi plates say that Mahamandasahu was "defeated repeatedly by the army of this King, and used daily to return dejected from the battlefield after being deprived of his elephants, horses, arms and umbrella"² The defeat of the Golkonda Sultan is again mentioned in both the Padmaneri grant³, and the Mangalampad grant of the Hindu Emperor⁴

3 The anonymous chronicler of Golkonda says that "the Muhammadan troops having been required to join the grand army against Penuconda, had left the district of Kandbir wholly unprotected." This was a magnificent chance for Venkata to recover part of the territory lost in the last war. It seems that even before the final defeat of Muhammad Shah, Venkata despatched a force to assist Kowlanada, the Raja of Udgerrydurg (Udayagiri), ordering him to plunder and lay waste all the territory as far as Kandir and the Krishna, and that the Raja sent his son-in-law, Wurias Ray, to carry this project into effect. After he had fought with the Muhammadans several times he was finally defeated by Afzul Khan and Ayda Khan, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded and taken prisoners, and all his camp-equipage."

In the meantime Venkata mustered an army of one hundred thousand men, the leaders of which were Veltumray, Gulang Setti and Manupray, and set out to recover Gandikota from the hands of Sanjur Khan. Here the Hindus were daily harassed by sallies from the garrison, but they persevered in the siege till they heard that Murtaza Khan, with the main army of the Muhammadans, had captured the city of Karpa and destroyed its famous temples. Venkata, on being told of this, detached Veltumray and Manupray with ten thousand cavalry to attack

1 Vilapaka grant, I c, grants of 1587 and 1589, II cc

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319 vv 31-35

3. *Ibid*, p 297, v 31

4 Butterworth, I, p 31, v 26

Ep Ind, VII

Murtaza Khan and probably followed them shortly after with the rest of his army

As soon as the Sultan of Golkonda heard of this course of events, he despatched a force of five thousand horse under the command of Rustom Khan to reinforce Murtaza Khan. "Meanwhile" says the chronicler "Murtaza Khan continued to defend himself for three whole months against the Hindus whose numbers increased to such an extent that the Muhammadans found it impossible to give the battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies. Rustom Khan on arriving assumed command of all the troops, according to the Sultan's instructions. "On the day after his arrival" continues the Muhammadan writer "he crossed a river in front of him and imprudently encamped on a black clayey soil where the rain had fallen but did not proceed to attack the Hindus. The enemy having ascertained that a reinforcement had arrived delayed also to engage the Muhammadans. At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or for some other reason which is immaterial, the Hindus dressed up a red bullock² with gilded horns, and having painted it with many different colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck drove it towards the Muhammadans. Rustom Khan, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, became alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal. He galloped off to the rear in dismay and caused a panic among his own troops.³ The Hindus observing confusion in the lines of the Muhammadans, took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Muhammadan cavalry which constituted the strength of their army

1. Here the chronicler we are quoting says that after a severe action the Hindus were defeated and compelled to seek safety in flight. How can this be true when the same writer records immediately after the brilliant siege of the town by the Hindus, the distress of the Muhammadans, who required help from Golkonda and the latter's final defeat?

2. Biggs thinks that the Pola festival is meant here

3. Such cowardice could not be believed of such a general if the case was not narrated by the Muhammadan chronicler. Rustom Khan was, according to the chronicler a notorious boaster

unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but 'for Murtaza Khan, who, collecting a small party, forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahammadans, but all the camp-equipage was taken and a heavy loss sustained" The defeat of the Muhammadans on this occasion seems to have been very severe the chronicler adds at the end of his narrative "Rustom Khan was disgraced on his return to Haidarabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished from the kingdom" ¹

4 At this time Amin-ul-Mulk, the Minister of the Sultan of Golkonda, sent officers to collect the taxes due to the Government by the different jagirdars But those of the Telugu country were in hopes of throwing off the Muhammadan yoke with the help of the brave and fortunate new sovereign of Vijayanagara Moreover the anonymous chronicler says that 'this demand had been so long deferred, that the jagirdars refused to pay the taxes demanded, and even invited the Vijayanagara sovereign to join them in opposing Muhammad Kuli's forces As a proof of their intentions, they plundered the country belonging to Golkonda in the neighbourhood of Kandbir These jagirdars were not all Hindus both the Golkonda chronicler and the Aminabad inscription mention four out of these chiefs who rebelled against the Sultan, and of them, two were Muhammadans and two Hindus The names given by the chronicler are the following Alam Khan Pathan, Khan Khanan, Sabaji Maratha and Balla Row, which correspond to these given by the inscription Alamakhanundu Khanakhana, Sabaji and Ballerayandu This inscription states that there were other chiefs who joined the revolt

When the dis-affection of these jagirdars was reported to the court by Etibar Khan, Amin-ul-Mulk himself volunteered to lead a force against the rebels, and after a while set out from Haidarabad at the head of ten thousand horse On his arrival near Kandbir he was met by Kowlananda, the Raja of Udayagiri, who on account of his recent intercourse with

1 Ferishta, III, p 455-9

Venkata, was believed to be the instigator of the rebellion. Accordingly the Muslim general seized the Hindu chief and ordered him to be hanged. This prompt measure alarmed the insurgents. They had an army of seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry and were strongly posted in the fortress of Ardinga but now they shrank from an encounter with the army of Amin-ul Mulk and retreated to join the army of Venkata. The Golkonda general pursued them, but did nothing more than devastate and occupy their estates. Hence the Aminabad inscription states that Amin Malka crossed the river Krishna with a large Golkonda army and drove away the enemies before him as darkness before the rising sun. On returning to Kandbar Amin ul Mulk seized a number of Naigwaries who had been the allies of the rebels and ordered about 200 of them to be executed. Nevertheless in spite of this drastic measure the Muslim general was not able to put down the rebellion and after his retreat to Haidarabad no other authority was acknowledged in the Telugu country but that of Venkata, who was still with his army in the South.

5. One instance of this was afforded shortly after by the conduct of Makund Raj the Raja of Kasimkotta. After having received the robe of instalment from the hands of Muhammad Kuli himself in Golkonda, this young prince attempted to seize the person of Birlas Khan the Sultan's representative in the country. "Such outrages says the Golkonda chronicler "called for the immediate interference of the King particularly as the Raja, confiding in the valour of his troops and his native woods and mountains for protection had not sent the annual tribute to the court."

Accordingly Muhammad Kuli sent his general Mir Zain ul Abidin with a force to proceed against the Raja. "Upon his arrival near Kasimkotta the general deputed a person to Makund Raj requiring of him to pay the arrears of tribute, and to promise greater punctuality in its future payment but as they were too few to enforce their demand, Mir Zain ul-Abidin wrote

1. *Farishta*, III, p. 460-1. *Aminabad Inscription of Amin ul-Mulk*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 240.

to court for reinforcements. The King immediately directed the Amir Jumla, Amin-ul-Mulk, to join the former detachment with more troops, and to assume the principal command. Amir Jumla was accompanied by Shankar Raj, the nephew of the late Bhayabalandar (the father of the young Raja) Makund Raj, alarmed at the serious preparations made to attack him, wrote to the neighbouring Rajas for assistance, as well as to Venkatapati, Raja of Vijayanagar, to induce him to take advantage of the moment and to detach a force to Kandbir, while he waged the King's army in the neighbourhood of Rajmundry. After a hard-fought battle, in which Shankar Raj was killed, the Muhammadans were defeated with the loss of several brave officers and men. The Raja on reaching Kasimkotta "put to death Birias Khan and Ghuzunfur Beg, together with several other Muhammadans whom he inveigled into his presence".

6 In the meantime Venkatapati Raja, on the invitation of the Raja of Kasimkotta, again invaded the district of Kandbir. The Sultan of Golkonda, who was then defending the city of Ahmadnagar against the army of Prince Murad, Akbar's son, was informed of the intentions of the Vijayanagara Emperor. So he directed his army under Adil Khan Bungy or Bangush, accompanied by two hundred elephants and many guns, to oppose him. Adil Khan went straight to Kandbir with his cavalry, but was obliged to remain there sometime waiting for his guns. Venkatapati with his army of two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants, was still advancing.

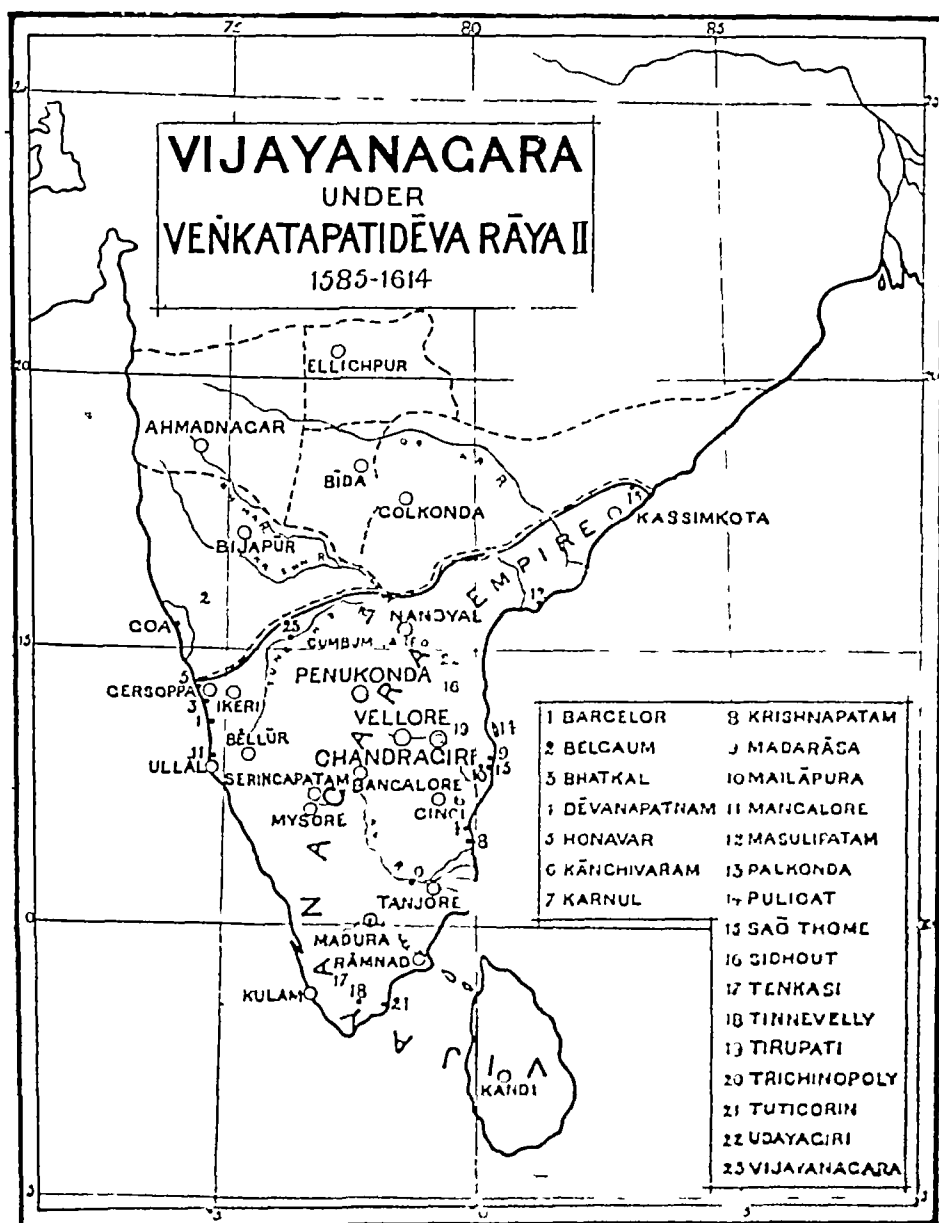
1 Ferishta, III, p 464-5 The Muhammadan writer says that the Golkonda forces were 'nearly defeated', that the Muhammadans lost several brave officers and men, and that the Raja on reaching his city 'put to death Birias Khan, etc. Nevertheless, he attributes this victory to the same Muslim army. The imposture is evident. To save the honour of the Muhammadans after describing their defeat, he proclaims an imaginary great victory obtained by them over the Hindus. If the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Birias Khan, the Sultan's representative, when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda, it is impossible to suppose that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla, especially after his own army had been entirely routed by the army of Golkonda.

cing but "finding that the King's troops had arrived and that the army was very formidable, he thought it prudent to send ambassadors with rich presents to the King of Golkonda. The ambassadors had directions to proffer his excuse, by saying that the object for which he had left his capital and come towards Kandyur was merely to see the lake Cammum (Cumbum?) Orders were accordingly issued to Adil Khan Buggi to refrain from invading his territories, but to remain with the army at Kandyur as a corps of observation."

Such is the incredible account given by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, in his anxiety to conceal the defeat of the Golkonda troops. Is it not strange that Venkata, with the whole of his army of two hundred thousand foot and horse and one thousand elephants dared not give battle to the Muslim general, with an army accompanied only by two hundred elephants, and an artillery lagging behind him? As a matter of fact the Muhammadan army that opposed Venkata was not at all formidable. The story of the ambassadors sent by the Vijayanagara Emperor and of his desire to see the lake Cammum is still more obviously the writer's concoction.

7 This becomes more than evident if we consider the version given in the *Ramavijayam* and the further history of the Telugu country during Venkata's reign. Both accounts show clearly the final success of the Hindu sovereign in the North-eastern corner of the ancient Empire. The *Ramavijayam*, for instance, shows us the Sultan of Golkonda as a suppliant seeking terms of peace and settling finally with Venkata that the Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories. Nothing could have been more pleasing to the Hindu ruler. It meant the recovery of all the lost territories and the re-establishment of the old limits between Vijayanagara and Golkonda. Hence the Vellangudi plates state that just as Rama

1. Fortified, III, p. 455-8
2. B. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar *Sources* p. 243
3. The Villapaka grant *B. Ind.* IV p. 270, and the Mangalam pad grant, Buttermworth, I, p. 32, v. 38, states that Venkata defeated the king of Oddiya or Orissa. Probably the Sultan of Golkonda is meant in this passage.



XIV The Empire of Vijayanagara under Venkata II

conquered the Rakshasas, this King defeated the Yavanas (Muhammadans)'¹ And the Dalavay Agraharam plates say that 'he was ruling the earth triumphantly after destroying the demons, the Yavanas'² Venkata's victories over the Muslim forces are again mentioned in other grants of his and those of his successors³

Accordingly, numerous inscriptions of the following years acknowledge Venkata as the sovereign of the Telugu country In 1586-7 while the first campaign was going on, two inscriptions proclaim Venkata the ruler of Udayagiri⁴ A similar inscription dated 1612 is found in Rapur, Nellore⁵ In 1514, the chief Marakampi Nayaningaru, in Nellore, declares himself feudatory of Venkata⁶ At the end of his reign, a village in Udayagiri which had been bestowed before by his father Tirumala was again granted by him to some one⁷, and there are besides two inscriptions of 1616, that mention Venkata as the ruling sovereign⁸

A certain Srīman Mahamandalesvara Muddayoadeva Maharaja, son of Kondadeva Maharaja, seems to have been the governor of the Telugu country under Venkata and acknowledged the latter's suzerainty⁹ In 1602 he presented the village of Nandirayi, Nellore, to Sri Chennakesavaraya of Palnaru, for providing light, refreshments, incense, etc¹⁰ But according to an inscription 1613-4 at Kandukur, it seems that the Muhammadans retained their sovereignty over the northern part of the district¹¹

1 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35

2 *Ibid*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

3 Padmaneri grant, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 297, v 29, ~~grant of Venkata III, *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 127, grant of 1587, *Ep Ind*, VII, Sh, 83, grant of 1589, *Ibid*, XII, Ck, 39 Orme, *Historical Enquiries* p 229 says that one of Venkata's title was *Indra*~~
norum exercituum debellator

4 Butterworth, III, 1365-7 and 1637-9

5 *Ibid*, p 1284-6

6 Rangacharya, II, p 1049

7 Butterworth, III, p 1359-60

8 Rangacharya, II, p 1049, 1 and p 1071, 2, 3

9 Butterworth, I, p 269-71

10 Rangacharya, II, p 1056, 54.

11 Butterworth, I, p 485,

8. No other wars between Golkonda and Vijayanagara are recorded in the Muhammadan histories. But in the mean time the Sultan of Bijapur Ibrahim Adil Shah II had sent several expeditions against the Kanarese country as we shall relate in one of the following chapters. As a consequence of these incursions an alliance was made between Venkata and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar against Bijapur. Then Ibrahim Adil Shah again marched his army towards the South and laid siege to Penukonda¹. According to Du Jarric, Venkata in this war against the Sultan of Bijapur opposed his enemy with an army of seven hundred thousand infantry and forty thousand cavalry besides five hundred elephants². Ferishta relates that on the approach of the Sultan Venkata entrusted the command of the place as well as of his army to one of his nobles and retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chandragiri. The Muhammadan writer does not tell us who this noble was, but we feel sure that he was no other than Mantla Ananta, called at that time the right hand of the Emperor of Karnata. The Sidhout inscription referring to him says that in the battle of Penukonda he destroyed the pride of the Muhammadan Padishah³. This piece of information very likely refers to this action.

Ibrahim besieged the city investing it closely for three months. He was, it seems determined to remain there, until he could either take it by storm or compel the besieged general to surrender. Ferishta relates that at the end of these three months the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provi-

1. Ferishta III p. 141, evidently misplaces this event, as we have previously pointed out. The ruler of Penukonda Venkatadri giving the command of the place to one of his nobles and retiring to Chandragiri, is a fact which cannot be placed in 1576-7 during the reign of Ranga I, precisely when this sovereign was made prisoner or when his capital was so brilliantly defended by Jagadevaraya Cf. Ch. XII, Nos. 5 and 6. The misplacement of a page of the MS. may explain this incongruence. Mr H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijaya nagara Dynasty* I. c. p. 185 and Dr S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar before us have acknowledged the anomalous occurrence.

2. Du Jarric, I p. 653.

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 249

sions' On this point, if we are to rely upon this writer's authority, Venkata "bribed Handiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King and harass his camp" Accordingly, Handiatum deserted the army of the Sultan, who was consequently compelled to retreat to his own kingdom, "leaving Mustafa Khan to protect the frontiers" 1

9 Towards the beginning of the 17th century Vijayanagara was free from the Muhammadan attacks. The Jesuit letters are silent about the wars between Venkata and the Sultans of the Deccan, during the remainder of the former's reign. A great danger for those sovereigns was then rising in the North. In 1593, after the complete subjugation of the northern provinces, the Mughal Emperor Akbar had despatched an army under the command of Prince Murad and Khan Khanan, to start the conquest of the Deccan. They besieged the city of Ahmadnagar, which was bravely defended by the gallant Regent Chand Bibi. Ahmadnagar, however, fell into the hands of Sultan Daniyal, Akbar's third son, seven years later in 1600 2

At the same time Akbar, while still before the walls of Asirgarh, sent an embassy to the Emperor of Vijayanagara 3. The account of this embassy has never been published hitherto. The letter of Fr B Coutinho which gives this informa-

1 Ferishta, III, p 141. It was probably not long after this event that Abdul Wahab was deputed by the Bijapur Sultan, with a powerful army to take the fort of Karnul. He invested the town, which was then governed by the last of its Hindu rulers, Gopala Raja, a grandson of Rama Raja, the Regent of Sadasiya. He was stoutly defended the town, which was strongly fortified. He was assisted, it is said, by a force sent by his relation the Emperor Venkata. Gopala Raja, however, was eventually forced to yield, and he is said to have fled from the town through the northern gateway of the fort, still known as 'Gopal Darwaza'. Gopala's palace, even in its present ruinous state, shows to this day its ancient beauty and richness. Cf M E R, 1915-16, p 44, para 26.

2 Cf Smith, Akbar, p 266-72.

3 Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IV, p 214, says that Akbar "captured several cities of the kingdom of Narsinga (called otherwise Bisnagar and Vidya Nagar)". I am sure that Valentyn's information was not good on this occasion. He also says that Akbar reached Goa and Calicut (Calicut), which is certainly false.

tion is dated Chandragiri August 1600 and seems to have been written during the stay of the ambassador at the court. Fr Coutinho does not give the name of the ambassador but only states that he is a prudent and experienced man. On reaching Chandragiri, since there was no building fitted for receiving such visitors the official who was responsible for the entertainment of the ambassadors and their introduction to the King asked the Jesuit Fathers to lodge him in their own house for two days. "We gave him a suitable place," says Fr Coutinho "where he is staying for a month. It is he who informed us of what our Fathers had done at Achebar's (Albar's) court. The reason why the ambassador of Chandragiri stayed so long was that Venkata did not receive him in audience till he had waited twenty days" as he (Venkata) had been warned by his councillors says the aforesaid Jesuit not to trust Achabar because, if those three Muhammadan kings of Abdelegan or Melique (Ahmadnagar) Daulacan (Bijapur) and Mussalepatan (Golconda) were to submit to him he would hearing this the King they say replied that his kingdom was in the hands of God, and that if He wishes to deprive me he said, of my Empire, who will be able to stop Him? So much is certain, however I shall never kiss the feet of a Muhammadan should he come over here, war is sure to follow."

At last Akbar's envoy was received by Venkata. He presented the Emperor with four horses and other gifts on behalf of his sovereign but Venkata returned them to the ambassador the sums of money he had brought as a present were also handed back to him by Venkata's order to defray his expenses. Fr Coutinho says nothing of the political affairs discussed by the Hindu sovereign and the Muhammadan ambassador he only states that the latter was loud in his praises regarding the Jesuits at his Lord's court who held them in great honour? "The King in his reply" continues Coutinho, "said that he too was quite pleased with us. More-
 1. The Jesuits who were then at Akbar's court were those of the third expedition of—
 Bro Bento de Gons.

over, he added that he would give us a church, house and whatsoever we needed" ¹

10 The suspicions aroused among the nobles at the court of Venkata were very well grounded Fr Jerome Xavier who was in Akbar's retinue when he was about to besiege the fort of Asirgarh in the kingdom of Kandesh, writes that "the purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and the Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) after having taken the Deccan kingdoms" ² And one of the secret purposes of the embassy to the court of Venkata was probably to examine the efficiency of his army and the strength of his fortresses, in order to enable Akbar to plan his intended campaign in the South Fr Xavier informs us that this was Akbar's method of ascertaining the enemy's strength "And for this purpose, (*viz* for conquering Goa), he very often sends some one of his courtiers to Goa with the title of ambassador But it is understood that he is really a spy, sent in order to see either what the Portuguese are doing or what they are able to do, and he does this at the time of the arrival of the ships from Portugal, in order to estimate how much wealth and how many people have come" ³ The same kind of espionage was probably now employed in the court of Venkata Hence Fr Coutinho rightly suspected that the formidable army, headed by excellent generals which Venkata had assembled round him, was for no other purpose than "for driving back the army of Akbar, and garrisoning the northern cities and fortresses against the Mughal invasion" ⁴

After a while the fortress of Asirgarh too fell into Akbar's hands ⁵ That event added fresh encouragement to the old

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V Cf Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

2 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 17, Du Jarric, III, p 43

3 Guerrero (*sic*), o c, p 29-34 Cf Heras, *The Emperor Akbar and the Portuguese Settlements*, *Indo-Portuguese Review*, 1924, p 20

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

5 Cf Heras, *The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh*, *Ind Ant*, LIII, p 33-41

Emperor's imperial ambition which would not be satisfied until he had the whole of India under his feet and accordingly four years later another embassy was despatched to Venkata's court, to get fresh information of the Hindu ruler's position. The annual letter of the Province of Malabar of the years 1604-1606 informs us that the Jesuit Provincial could only be received by Venkata after some days, because there were at that time at Chandragiri several embassies waiting for the King's audience and one of these legations was that of the Mughal Emperor¹. Death suddenly cut short the warlike projects of Akbar in the following year.

II Another embassy that the Jesuit Provincial found at Chandragiri in 1604 was one from Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur². No other information is given about this legation; it means however that the two sovereigns, though formerly irreconcilable foes, became friends in face of the common enemy. And probably even Bijapur went to the length of inviting Vijayanagara to form a defensive alliance against the ambitious schemes of the Mughal Emperor as she herself had been invited by the Portuguese Viceroy with further instructions, to seek the co-operation of the other Deccan Sultans³. Such an alliance served no useful purpose: forty years later we see both Bijapur and Golkonda taking possession of the territories and fortresses of Vijayanagara and subsequently the great-grand son of Akbar, Aurangzeb, also appears on the stage sweeping away the relics of those two Muslim thrones and obliterating the ruins of the Hindu Empire.

1. *Litteras Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Heras, The Portuguese Alliance with the Muhammedan Kingdoms of the Deccan*, B B R. A.S., I (N.S.) p. 125

CHAPTER XVII

THE NAYAKSHIP OF MADURA

SUMMARY —1 Behaviour of Virappa Nayaka towards Venkata II —
2 Virappa's death 3 Short reign of Visvappa Nayaka —4
Accession of Krishnappa Nayaka II Death of Ariyanatha
Mudaliyar —5 Krishnappa's piety His war with Travancore
and relations with the Pandyas —6 His rebellion against
Vijayanagara —7 Death of Krishnappa Nayaka II Short reign
of Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka —8 Accession of Muttu Krishnappa
Nayaka His action in the Fishery Coast —9 Establishment of
the Dynasty of the Setupatis at Ramnad —10 The reign of
Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati —11 Friendly relations between
Muttu Krishnappa and Venkata II —12 His successor Muttu
Virappa Nayaka —13 War between Madura and Vijayanagara —
14 War between Madura and Tanjore

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2
*Pandyan Chronicle, Supplementary MSS, Mrtyunjaya MSS, History of
the Karnataka Governors, Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis* —3
Jesuit letters —4 *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —5 Du
Jarric —6 Anquetil du Perron —7 *Chukkadevaraya Vamsaval*

THE southern throne was still in possession of the grandson of Visvanatha, Virappa Nayaka. After the defeat sustained by his forces in the battle of Vallaprakara at the hands of Venkata, while Viceroy of the Tamil country¹, Virappa rendered unwilling submission to the Emperor of Vijayanagara, as several inscriptions of the first years of Venkata's reign prove. In 1586, Virappa requested and obtained from Venkata the Dalavay Agraharam plates, by which the village Ganga Varappatti with other villages around were given to a number of Brahmans. The plates say that Virappa was then 'living gloriously'². An inscription of 1588 of Venkata himself at Pirammalai, Tiruppattur, Ramnad, shows that his sovereignty was at that time acknowledged in the Madura

1 Cf Ch XIII, No 4

2 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 187, vv 41-66 and 67-79

country¹ Another inscription of the same year at Erode, records a grant of Virappa, as Venkata's subordinate² In 1590 Venkata, while at Kumbakonam granted some villages in the Tinnevely district to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of a certain Krishna Das³ this also shows that his jurisdiction over the Madura country was unquestioned. Then in 1592 the Emperor made another grant to a temple at Tirukkurungudi also in the Tinnevely district⁴ But suddenly such acknowledgements of Venkata's suzerainty over the South are no more found What is the cause of this interruption?

Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar says that there is no doubt about Virappa's loyalty to Venkata⁵ But we are sure that on this occasion the former's rebellion recorded in the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* took place. Anquetil du Perron says that before the year 1595 the Madura Nayaka refused to pay due homage to the Emperor of Vijayanagara on the ground that the latter had murdered his legitimate sovereign⁶ This cannot be understood to refer to Virappa's first rebellion which took place about 1583. For then Venkata was merely Viceroy of the Tamil country moreover both sources the French traveller and the Hindu poem, state that at the time of this rebellion of the Madura Nayak Venkata was already seated on the jewelled throne of Vijayanagara

Again Anquetil du Perron informs us that the first manifestation of this rebellion was the refusal to pay the tribute At once Venkatapati Raya declared war against Virappa Nayaka of Madura" says the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali* and laid siege to the fort of Madura with a large army"⁷ The subsequent details given by this poem are not at all

1. Bowell I, p 297 Rangacharya, II p. 1189 223

2. 13 of 1891.

3. Bewell, II p 3

4. Ibid., I, p 315

5. Sathyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks* p 81.

6. Anquetil du Perron, L c., p 166 This rebellion or the following one of Krishnappa II is mentioned in the *Litterae Annas* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ap. C, No XXVI.

7. Ibid.

8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p 302-3

trustworthy¹ But Anquetil du Perron records the forcible submission of the Nayak before 1595², which means a second defeat of Virappa by the imperial army

2. In the beginning of September of the same year, 1595 Virappa Nayaka died after a reign of 22 years and several months³ His last known inscription, dated 1594, records the building of the temple of Kadirinaga Perumal and of a tank by his agent⁴ During his reign a *mandapa* was constructed in the Sundaresvara temple at Madura in 1582⁵, and he is said to have "levied tribute from every country"⁶ His right-hand man in Government affairs, according to the Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya, was Tirumalairaja⁷ This chief's grandfather was Rama Nayaka, and his father Timma Nayaka He was the chief of Chintalapalli, and a great devotee of the god Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam, he was brave in war, generous, just and courteous⁸ We have

1 According to this poem, "Virappa Nayaka managed to bribe the several generals of the Emperor's army Tirumala Raya, the Emperor's nephew, was also one of those who accepted the bribe and, without continuing the siege of Madura, retired to the capital of his own viceroyalty to Seringapatam" Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 19 and p 248, note, and Mr Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, p 67, admit this account without further discussion Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 17, p 81, note 17, and p 99, note 9, where Dr Krishnaswami gives a similar account of the course of events This account is quite inconsistent with the information given by Anquetil du Perron, viz the submission of the Nayak, confirmed by the inscriptions of his successor Krishnappa II, early in 1595 Neither can we believe that Prince Tirumala was one of the generals of the army, for he would have been too young then for such a task The whole passage seems to be a poet's concoction for justifying Raja Wodeyar's capture of Seringapatam "Hearing of these events," continues the poem, "the Mysore chief Raja Wodeyar resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty" 1 c Now the poet speaks of this capture of Seringapatam as immediately following Tirumala's supposed treason in Madura Fourteen years separate these two events

- 2 Anquetil du Perron, 1 c
- 3 *Mrtunayya MSS*, Taylor, *OH MSS*, II, p 119 Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 83
- 4 470 of 1907
- 5 35 of 1908
- 6 470 of 1907
- 7 *TAS*, I, p 61-2
- 8 *Ibid*, p 84, vv 61-67

of the following

of the following

seen him opposing Venkata's army at Vallabprakara. His activity in the government of Madura was probably due to the old age of Ariyanatha Mudaliyar.

Virappa continued his predecessor's policy with the Pandyas. About 1583, his officer Tirumalairaja obtained from Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya the grant of the village of Pudukkottai for a number of Brahmans.¹ The whole text of the grant shows a most intimate friendship between the Madura Nayak and the representatives of the old rulers of the Pandya country.

3 Periya Virappa Nayaka "had three sons who were named respectively Visvappa Naicher, Kumara Krishnappa Naicher and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher. Among these, Visvappa Naicher was crowned."² Thus does the *History of the Karnataka Governors* announce the succession to the throne of Madura after the death of Virappa Nayaka. We can no longer entertain any doubt about the existence of this intermediate king between Virappa and Krishnappa II. The *Supplementary MSS.* also mention Visappa or Visvappa as having ruled after the death of his father and as having been succeeded by his younger brother Kumara Krishnappa.³ His statue under the name of Visvama Nayaka may also be seen though misplaced among the statues of the Nayaks in the famous Tirumala's *Pudū Mandapa* at Madura.⁴ The aforesaid *History* states that his brother Kumara Krishnappa Naicher was second to him in power. This does not mean that both brothers were Kings, as Mr. Rangachari assumes.⁵ Only one, Visvappa, is said to have been crowned while Krishnappa was, during the life of his brother, only *Chinna Dorai* associated in the government.

1. Ibid., p. 84 vv 68-77.

2. Taylor O H MSS., II, p. 25.

3. Ibid. I, p. 205. In one of *Mrtynajaya MSS.*, Ibid., II, p. 260 Visvappa is called the younger brother of Krishnappa II.

4. The inscription over the fourth of these statues is damaged and illegible; but it cannot be other than the name of Visvanatha Periya Krishnappa's brother Cf. Heras *The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura*, O J M S., XV p. 212.

5. Rangachari *History of the Nayak Kingdom*, Ind. Ant. XLV p.

Visvappa Nayaka's reign must have been short. The Tamil chronicles mentioned above do not give any date, but since Krishnappa is mentioned in the future inscriptions we may conclude that Visvappa's reign had ended. In an inscription of 1696 Kumara Krishnappa appears as ruling over Madura ¹, and in a copper-plate grant of 1597 the same Kumara Krishnappa is styled 'the Pandya King' ².

4 "After this", says the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, "the crown devolved on Kumara Krishnappa Naicher, and Kasturi Rangappa Naicher was his second in power" ³. Kasturi was then only 'associated in the Government'. The most notable event that occurred during the reign of Krishnappa II was the death of his minister, Ariyanatha Mudaliyar. While Krishnappa was ruling, Ariyanatha is said, in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*, to have 'delivered up both seal-rings to his lord and obtained the world of Siva (i.e. died)' ⁴. The date given by this chronicle corresponds to April 19th, 1588, which is clearly wrong, as the same MSS places his demise in the reign of Kumara Krishnappa II. Prof. Sathyanatha Aiyar gives the year 1600 as an approximate date for Ariyanatha's end ⁵.

We read in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS* that Ariyanatha Mudaliyar "held the united offices of minister and generalissimo during four reigns, or thirty-eight years and nine months" ⁶. I feel sure that the power and efficiency of Ariyanatha in the Government of Madura have been hitherto exaggerated. Mr. Rangachari describes him as the real sovereign of the southern country ⁷. Such a mistake comes probably from Ariyanatha's account in the *Mrtyunjaya MSS*. That document is a

1 404 of 1907

2 Sewell, II, p. 19

3 Taylor, *O. H. MSS*, II, p. 25. Kumara Krishnappa's statue is placed in Tirumala's choultrie before the one of Visvappa, under the name of Lingama Nayaka, which seems to be another name of Kumara Krishnappa. Cf. Nelson, p. 107.

4 Ibid., p. 119

5 Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p. 86

6 Taylor, *o. c.*, II, p. 119

7 Rangachari, *o. c.*, *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 91

panegyric on this minister very far from the truth, as we have already remarked a little above. The story of his appointment as Emperor of Vijayanagara by the dying sovereign Rama Raya on the battlefield of Raksas-Tagdu and of the subsequent undertakings of Ariyanatha, is evidently false. Such a document is not at all trustworthy when praising its hero specially as there is absolutely no evidence of his dominating influence. Moreover the silence of the inscriptions about him specially in the reign of Virappa Nayaka (who is described by Mr Ranga chari as a puppet in the minister's hands) is worth considering while writing the history of Madura. I am however far from denying the general influence of Ariyanatha throughout the Pandya country as the prime minister of four successive Nayaks. His architectonic works are still an enduring proof of his efficiency in his post. The *Mriyunjaya MSS.*, say that he constructed thousand-pillared choultries in Madura, Tinnevely and other places ¹ His equestrian statue at the entrance of the thousand pillared *mandapa* of the famous temple at Madura is the most evident proof of Ariyanatha's power under the first Nayak of Madura.

5. Krishnappa Nayaka II is said, in the Vellangudi plates of Venkata II to have been a very pious monarch. He gave to the god Rangapati a *kavacha* studded with precious stones, a similarly bejewelled *ushnisha*, yellow silk garments, neck-laces, crown earrings, waist zones, and presented him further with villages and gardens and made arrangements for the celebration of car festivals and the daily services. He set up a number of lights in the presence of the god Sundara Nayaka, made arrangements for bathing the image of the god in milk and for the car festival. He performed the ceremony of weighing himself against gold he founded *agrarahas* for Brahmans and protected them. he paid the Brahmans enough money to enable them thereby to redeem their lands situated in the countries of other kings, which were mortgaged for the purposes of paying taxes ²

Fr Pimenta, who knew him personally gives another proof

1. Taylor o.s., II, p. 111.

2. *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 320.

of his piety "Hee daily sits in judgment," says he, "a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whinet out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa (Ranganatha), and when one is weary another succeedeth and continueth that exclamation, though hee sits six houres" ¹

In the same Vellangudi plates, and again in the Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, he is called 'the conqueror or taker of the army of Panchar Tiruvadi' ² Fr Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor who, in the year 1596, passed through Travancore, relates that the king of Travancore had "certified to us that the king of Madura was coming against him with seventy thousand armed men and many elephants" ³ Three years later, in 1599, when the Archbishop of Goa, Frey Aleixo de Menezes, was in Malabar, he could not meet the king of Travancore, who "was at the frontier of his kingdom, defending it against the attacks of the Nayque of Madura (the Madura Nayak)" ⁴ The same account states a little later that this war was made towards the South of the Travancore kingdom ⁵ We do not know the result of this war, which was probably due to the refusal of the Travancore king to pay the tribute, but we deduce that the Madura Nayak was victorious, from the fact that Fr Barradas, writing from Cochín on December 12th, 1616, says that the king of Travancore is under the Nayak of Madura ⁶

The relations between the Pandyas and the ruling family of Madura continued most friendly. The Pandya prince Abhirama Ativirarama, had a chief named Ayyakarappa, son of Peddappa and grandson of Nagama Nayaka, who bore the title of Kanchipuradhisa, being probably a nephew of Visvanatha Nayaka. At his request the aforesaid Pandya granted two

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 219

2 Vellangudi plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320, Padmaneri grant of Venkata II, *Ibid*, p 227, vv 67-77

3 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 206 Cf Da Jarric, I, p 627

4 Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p 37

5 *Ibid*, p 95 back

6 Sewell, p 230

villages Muvaraikondram and Sattaleri naming them Peddappanayaksamudram to sixty nine Brahmans on October 2nd, 1593¹ Some years later the same Pandya at the request of Ramakrishnappa Nayaka who was sitting on the lion throne of Vallabha Narendra, granted the village of Nadikkudi under the name of Ativiraramapura, to a number of Brahmans² Ativirarama acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II as an inscription of the year 1595 recording a grant of a piece of land to three private persons proves³

6. In the beginning of his reign Krishnappa II appears as faithful feudatory of Venkata II. In 1597 Venkatapati at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka, who is styled King Krishna, the Pandya King issued a grant of the two villages Marudan gudi and Karupuram in the Madura district to several

1. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum Madras* p. 33

2. Dalavay Agraharam plates of Ativirarama Pandya, *T. A. S. I* p 134 Sewell, II, p. 31.

3. 615 of 1915 The above-mentioned account of the travels of Archbishop Meneses through Malabar gives some interesting details about this Pandya King and his dealings with the Christians. He is called by Fr Gouvea Punhati Perumal but must be identified with Ativirarama the then ruling Pandya, because of the following words of the same author "O qual Rey foy antigamente senhor do Pande (Pandya), mas ao guerras que teve com o Naique de Manduree veio a estas serras, & na faldá dellas comprou muitas serras (terras) ao Rey de Tecacutes (?) donde agora mora, posto que inda lhe obedecem alguns povos no Pande It happened at this time that a tribe called of the *Malleas* who were under his dominion, wished to become Christians. They requested an *olla* from the Pandya King securing them from molestation on account of their conversion. The *olla* was duly obtained through the influence of an old Christian who was the chairman of his council This *olla* caused great excitement among the courtiers and Brahmans of the Pandya sovereign They told him that the neighbouring kings were ready to wage war with him if the *olla* were not cancelled and the king of Turuguro (a palai yakaran) would also cause damage to the Pandya King's territory by diverting the course of a river that was the source of much fertility to it. The mother of the Pandya sovereign was the first to try this *olla* revoked, but the King always replied that he would never revoke

Vaishnava Brahmans ¹. In 1598 Krishnappa obtained from Venkata, who is acknowledged the paramount sovereign and original donor, the village of Padmaneri, surnamed Tirumalam-bapuram, for a number of Brahmans, most of whom were well versed in the Vedas ². In this grant of Venkata, Kumara Krishnappa is called 'Lord of the southern Ocean' ³. In the same year the Emperor, again at the request of Krishnappa, granted as an agrahara to a large number of Brahmans and Brahman ladies, the village of Vellanguḍi with five others around it ⁴. But in the year 1599 Krishnappa II again withheld the payment of tribute, and Venkata himself had to march against him "Hee (Venkata)", says Fr Pimenta, "was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure" ⁵.

Fr Du Jarric gives some more information about this war. From his narrative, it is certain that Venkata himself took the supreme command of his army against the Nayak of Madura. Probably one of his generals was Matta Ananta, who is said in the Sidhout inscription of 1605 to have 'led the campaign against the king of Madura' ⁶. Krishnappa, seeing himself unable to fight against the imperial army, agreed to an un-

what he had once promised to Archbishop Menezes'. As a matter of fact, some subjects of the Pandya King, called *Mouros* (Muhammadans) by Gouvea, proceeded to the court of the king of the Tecankutes (sic), and finally succeeded in inducing this chief to threaten Punhati Perumal. A letter of the former against Perumal is mentioned by Gouvea, but no action between them is recorded. Most likely the Pandya sovereign apologized, and the false accusations of his subjects were unmasked. Gouvea relates that the Christian church of the Malleas was finally completed in spite of great difficulties. Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa*, p 82 back

1 Sewell, II, p 19, Rangacharya, II, p 1002, 91

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 288-9, and p 297, vv 45-57

3 *Ibid*, p 297, vv 67-77

4 *Ibid*, p 320-1, and p 302

5 From Fr N Pimenta, to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 210

6 *M E R*, 1916, para 75 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 248-9, translates this passage as follows "He protected the flying armies of the Madura chief from destruction". This version is inconsistent with the loyalty of this chief

conditional submission to Venkata. He was on this occasion made to pay something more than the usual annual tribute viz. twelve millions of gold coins for to the ordinary tribute was added a war indemnity ¹

7 After a short reign Krishnappa Nayaka II died between May and June of 1601 according to the *Mrttyunjaya MSS* ² Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, who was at this time travelling through southern India, informs us that a few days after his arrival at Madura, the ruler died and went to the lowest hell. This chief " he continues, had 700 wives and they all threw themselves at the same time into the fire " ³ An inscription of 1600 at Sermadevi seems to be the last one of his reign it mentions Murti Settiyar an agent of Krishnappa Nayaka ⁴ He had been seriously ill in the beginning of his reign about the end of 1597 After his recovery he retired to a country house, in a delightful place far from the crowds of the city ostensibly for the sake of health ⁵ But Fr Pimenta, who passed through Madura a little after Krishnappa's retirement, gives another reason "The Naichus of Madure is very superstitious, and resigned his Palace to his Idol Chichanada upon the authority of a Priest who said the Idol by night had bidden him tell the King that he or I must dwell in this house " ⁶

Krishnappa II had a son but according to the *Pandyan Chronicle* he had died before his father ⁷ There was also a

1. Du Jarrio I, p. 685-6.

2. Taylor *O H MSS.*, II p. 119 Cf Sathyanatha Aiyar *o c.*, p 87

3. *Majalis-s Salatin* Elliot, VII, p. 139 The author does not give the date of his visit to Madura. Anyhow we know that the work was compiled in his old age in 1628. Now in his journey to Madura he was accompanied by his father Hence he could not be then more than 35 years of age. Now supposing that he was about 60 when his book was compiled, he was about 33 when Krishnappa Nayaka II died. We therefore conclude that this Krishnappa Nayaka was the ruler referred to by Sharif Hanafi.

4. 717 of 1916

5. Du Jarrio I, p. 649

6. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr O. Aquaviva Purchas, X, p. 219

7. Taylor *o c.*, I, p. 33

Palaiyakarans of the neighbourhood. One is styled in the Jesuit sources 'King of Tuticurin'. The Paravas of the neighbourhood also used to pay him an annual tribute. But when this chief demanded from the poor folk of Tuticurin a heavier sum the latter refused to pay it. The petty king could not brook such a flagrant breach of obedience. He marched his army against Tuticurin, entered it by surprise, sacked the whole town, robbed the College of the Jesuits and destroyed the altars and images of their Church. The Father who was then in the College, and whose name is not given, was captured by the soldiers of the so-called king and carried to their capital, where he was kept in captivity till a ransom of four thousand cruzados was paid by the Paravas. Now these much-vexed people demanded from the Palaiyakaran some sort of amends for the injuries done both to them and to the Catholic Church. But the chief was rather inclined not to trouble himself as far as this satisfaction was concerned. On seeing this the Paravas of Tuticurin abandoned their city and proceeded in a body to the little island called of the Kings, a league from the sea-shore where they settled. Later on fortifications were built round the island, by the license of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha¹. Naturally the escape of the Paravas from the continent was not a welcome news to the covetous Nayak of Madura. But another event that followed soon after still more infuriated the Madura sovereign.

The Palaiyakaran of Vigiabadi (Vijayapati) named Anya Perumal, was likewise heavily oppressing the Paravas that inhabited the tract between Cape Comorin and Manapadu. Once he besieged the village of Obari and took all its inhabitants prisoners to his capital. The Paravas could not stand such a humiliation. They secretly resolved to attack Vijayapati by night, in order to take revenge on the extortions of their tyrants. Early in October 1602, the chiefs and promoters of the expedition with 300 young men well equipped, (who were not yet cognizant of the purpose of the enterprise) embarked at Manapadu on six

1. Guerreiro, *Relacao Annal no anno de 606. & 607* p. 607 Cf. *Besao La Mission du Madura* p. 409 10

These facts show how strange was the situation of these poor folks of the Fishery Coast. Oppressed with taxes and depredations by their natural lords, they had to be protected by a foreign people, whose sovereign in Europe took great interest in their welfare. When that monarch was informed of this new exaction he wrote to his Viceroy as follows "Manoel de Cunha father of the Christians of the Fishery Coast, I recommend you to help those Christians as much as possible, and to employ all possible means to hinder the said Naique from making such extortions any more" ¹

This information referring to the control of the Nayak of Madura over the Fishery Coast, is confirmed both by the fact that Muttu Krishnappa's son Muttu Virappa, made a gift of land to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorn in 1606 ² and by Fr.A. Laerzio's letter of November 20th, 1609 describing the Paravas as tributaries of the Madura Nayak and the latter as the ally of the Portuguese ³

9. Muttu Krishnappa is said to have been the founder of the Setupatis of Ramnad in the Marava country. According to the *Pandyamandala Cholanmandala Tondaimandala Rajakal* the Marava people were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon, who settled at Rameswaram as well as on the opposite coast ⁴. In the early times, when the Chakravartins flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of the Ramnad coast were

irruptions of the Badagas into the Fishery Coast, in 1603 and 1604. Cf. Besse o. c., p. 409 10 and 411. A new vexation of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka is recorded in the Jesuit letters of 1607 on the occasion of the shipwreck of a Portuguese boat near the island of the kings. Cf. Guerreiro o. c., p. 109 10 Besse, o. c., p. 412-5.

1. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro Lisbon, February 26th, 1603 Ap. B No. VIII.

2. Cf. Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State* I, p. 303.

3. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure* II p. 2. Cf. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 107-8.

4. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 207. The poem adds that they were settled there by Rama after the conquest of Lanka, to guard the temple and protect the pilgrims; this cannot be admitted by history until proved.

appointed to be its guardians ¹ They had been under the Pandya kings, but at the time of the Muhammadan invasion they attained their independence ², and several famous princes had since ruled over the Marava nation Udayan Setupati in 1434 built the outer surrounding walls of the western *gopuras* of the Rameswaram temple, and about 1540 Tirumalai Setupati erected the southern half of the second *prakara* of the same temple, finished by his son Raghunatha Tirumalai Setupati ³ Their main task was to watch over the causeway leading to Rameswaram and to protect the pilgrims But after the conquest of the South by Visvanatha Nayaka the Setupatis had lost their old authority, and were mingled with the other palaiyakarans of the South Muttu Krishnappa gave that house a considerable strip of land in the Marava country, and this is the reason why he is considered the founder of that dynasty This is how it happened

The *History of the Karnataka Governors* relates that the chief guru of Muttu Krishnappa, who was invested with the title of Kartarkal or lord, went once on a pilgrimage to Rameswaram Udiyan Sethopathi (Udayan Setupati), a descendant of the old Setupatis ⁴, whose task was to protect the pilgrims going to Rameswaram, was then living in the village of Pugalur "He escorted the chief guru safely to Ramiseram (Rameswaram), without allowing him to suffer any insult or molestation on the way, and in like manner he also safely conducted him back again to Madura Being greatly pleased with this attention, the chief guru introduced him as a skilful guide and safeguard on the road to Sethu" Consequently the chief was then presented by the Nayak with a number of villages, along with an honorary robe and various ornaments On returning to Pugalur he built a fort there, and

1 *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis*, Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, Ap, p 49

2 Cf Ch VI, No 3

3 Burgess, p 57 Cf Sewell, II, p 227

4 His father, or perhaps one of his relations, was one Muthuviraja Raghunatha Setupati, who in 1604 settled a dispute between two parties in the Ramnad country 11 of 1911, Burgess, p. 62-3 Cf Rangacharya, II, p 1170, 105

assembling some forces, subdued all the turbulent country around and reduced them to his own sovereignty. He collected a considerable sum of money from taxes levied upon the newly subdued people, and brought it over to the Madura Nayak. Muttu Krishnappa was greatly pleased with such activity and accordingly "gave him an unrestricted grant to subdue additional people instructed him to see to the forest lands which yielded no revenue, that these be cleared and cultivated and wrote letters to the people commanding their submission to his Viceroy." Udayan Sethupati went back to his country and without delay took possession of a greater tract of land and divided the revenue into two parts of which he kept one for himself and sent the other to the Madura king. Then Muttu Krishnappa sent for him and invested him with the title of Setupati, or chief of Setu "bestowing on him elephants and horses with vestments and ornaments and also gave him some banners or ensigns of dignity and in Madura had him consecrated to his viceroyalty by the sprinkling of the water of the Ganges" ¹ This ceremony took place according to the *Chronicle of the Acts of the Setupatis* in A. D. 1606 ²

10. The *History of the Karnataka Governors* tells us that "Udayan Sethupathi built a mud fort at Ramanathapuram (Ramnad), and ruled after the fashion of a king" ³ And "the other six persons, who were also guardians, were included in his government and together with all the inhabitants yielded their consent" ⁴

One of the first measures of the new Raja of Ramnad, as he is called in some inscriptions, was to make a gift of five villages to the temple of Ramanatha and Parvatavardhani at Rameswaram for worship and offerings on November 20th 1606 ⁵ Then in a copper plate, dated July 8th 1607 Dalavay Setupati Kattadeva records another gift of eight villages near

1. Taylor o. c., II, p. 27-9

2. Ibid. Ap., p. 49

3. Ibid., p. 29

4. Ibid., Ap., p. 49

5. *Catalogue of Copper Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras* p. 37

Pamban to the same temple for the regular performance of the *pūja* and of offerings ¹. Some days after, on the 17th of the same month, he gave a plot of land in the island of Rameswaram to a servant of the Ramanathaswami's temple ². Then in the year 1607, he made a gift of lands to the people 'of the five countries' who served as priests and cooks in the Rameswaram temple ³. These grants prove the care of the newly-appointed Setupati for the performance of the Hindu rites on that famous spot, of which he had been nominated the guardian.

An inscription of his of the following year 1608 at Rameswaram gives the list of his titles, which will appear again in some grants of his successors. Tirumalai Udaiyan Setupati is there styled "the lord of the city of Tevai, the responsible agent for the protection of the Setu embankment, the responsible agent for the charities of Ramanathaswami, who is actively engaged in worshipping Siva, the chief of all other kings, the destroyer of the army of the Ariyaraya, who cuts into a thousand pieces and three thousand pieces those failing in the correctness of their language, who conquers all the country that he sees and never gives back a country once conquered, the punisher of Muvaraya, the lord of the valorous and the fertile country, the protector of the Brahmans studying the Vedas, who has put down the pride and prosperity of the valorous and inimical Yavana kings" ⁴.

During his time, in 1608 according to an inscription at Rameswaram, the temple of Ramalingesvara was built ⁵, and it was at this time too that the sage Ramanatha, as other inscriptions testify, repaired the main temple at Rameswaram ⁶ and constructed the Kotitirtha *mandapa* in the same temple ⁷.

1 Ibid, p 37, Sewell, II, p 50, Burgess, p 60-8

2 *Catalogue*, p 38 Cf Burgess, p 75-8

3 Burgess, p 65-6, Rangacharya, II, p 1170, 110

4 Sewell, II, p 6, Burgess, p 65-66

5 102 of 1903

6 Burgess, p, 59, Rangacharya, II, p 1168, 78

7 100 of 1900 The same Ramanatha had built in 1598 the Adal-mandapa in front of the central shrine of the Ramalingesvara temple at Rameswaram 99 of 1903

11 The relations between Muttu Krishnappa and the Emperor seem to have been of mutual friendship and understanding. A grant of Venkata II of the year 1601 to the Bhasyakata shrine in the Madanagopal temple of Madura proves these relations to have been such from the beginning of his reign.¹ Then an inscription of 1606 at Villapuram, outside the dominions of Madura records a gift of a garden as a reward to Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka.² Finally a coin which probably belongs to Muttu Krishnappa, is a proof of the same. It bears on the obverse a standing figure of Vishnu with a fish the symbol of the Pandya kingdom—on his right, and on the reverse this inscription 'Venkatapa'.³

Moreover in September 1604 Venkata II received in audience a special envoy of the Nayak of Madura, as a Jesuit letter of the year 1906 tells us.⁴ And in 1608, the last year of Muttu Krishnappa's reign another of his embassies reached Venkata's court. Fr Coutinho, who was himself present at the public audience, gives in one of his letters a detailed account of the ceremony. "A very few days ago" he wrote on October 11th, 1608, "the Nairques of Tangior and Madura sent their tribute consisting of 500 thousand *crusados* and many sorts of presents to the King. In order to receive these (things) (the King) dressed himself as on the days of great celebration, with many ornaments of gold and precious stones. The one he bore on his chest was valued at a hundred thousand *crusados*. We were present at this ceremony by a special privilege and permission of the King".⁵

1 35 of 1908

2 326 of 1917

3. Hultzsch *Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308 No. 37. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLV p. 104, and Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606, Ap. C No XII.

5 From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th 1608. Ap. C. No. XXXIII. It may be seen from this how groundless is the statement of Sewall, p. 220: "The Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore became independent in 1602."



12 Muttu Krishnappa must have died either at the end of this year or in the beginning of the following year 1609, for there is an inscription of the first half of this year recording a gift of money to celebrate certain festivals for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, his successor ¹ This was the eldest of the three sons of Muttu Krishnappa, the other two, according to the *History of the Karnataka Governors*, were named Tirumali Naicker (who was destined to become famous in the history of southern India) and Kumara Muttu-Naicher ² Of these three Muttu Virappa succeeded his father ³

Following the wise policy of his father, the new Madura ruler continued on good terms with Venkata II during the first years of his reign. An inscription in Madura belonging to the year 1609 records that Venkata Patidevaraya, at the request of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, made a gift of the village of Nagenalluru, surnamed Mudduviramahipalasamudra, on the northern bank of the Kaveri river, to Brahmans. The Nayak divided the village into 82 shares and distributed them to several learned Brahmans on November 13th ⁴

13 But suddenly these mutual relations appear to have been broken. No more inscriptions are found showing the names of the Emperor and his Nayak together, the latter does not acknowledge his overlord any more. Early in 1610 a gift of land of his to the temple at Ambasamudram, Tinnevely ⁵,

1 87 of 1905

2 Taylor, o c, II, p 29 I do not know why Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 97, does not accept the existence of this third son of Muttu Krishnappa. The *Mrtiunjaya MSS*, Taylor, II, p 260, and the *Supplementary MSS*, Ibid, I, p 206, do not mention him because they only give the list of the Madura kings. The same must be said of the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III. *Ep Ind*, III, p 239. Silence in this case is not a good proof, when other sources mention Muttu Krishnappa's third son.

3 *Supplementary MSS*, Taylor, I, p 206, *Mrtiunjaya MSS*, Ibid, p 260, *History of the Karnataka Governors*, Ibid, II, p 29.

4 9, Ap A of 1906, *Catalogue of Copper-Plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, p 55, Rangacharya, II, p 1003, 95.

5 122 of 1907

and an exemption from taxes of the Mudaliyar servants of the Sokkanatasvami temple at Madura¹ are both recorded without mentioning Venkata. The same policy is followed in the inscriptions of the following years. In 1612 a gift was made in Tinnevely for the merit of Muttu Virappa Nayakkar² in 1613 an inscription in honour of the same Muttu Virappa was carved in the greatest *gopura* of the Perumal temple at Madura³ in neither of these does the name of the Emperor of Vijayanagara appear

Fr A. Proenza writing from Trichinopoly to Fr General G Nickel in 1659, said "Tirumala Nayaka, who rules now walking in the footsteps of his father resolved to free himself"⁴ We have seen that Tirumala's father always remained loyal to the Emperor. Beyond doubt Proenza took Tirumala's predecessor as his father and this means that Muttu Virappa Nayaka also resolved to free himself. Fr Vico, writing from Madura in 1611 says that the Nayak was not punctual in paying the tribute often would he postpone the payment sometimes he even refused it with insolence. "In that case continues the Jesuit, "the Bisnagar (the Emperor) comes or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred men to make them pay all the arrears with interest"⁵

One of these rebellions took place in the beginning of 1610. Very likely Venkata did not lead the army which marched against the rebel Nayak. At this time he is described by both the Jesuit and the Portuguese sources as a very old, and a valetudinarian. Matla Ananta or Venkatapati Nayanangaru might have held the supreme command the latter in an inscription of 1612³ is called the conqueror of the territory called Pan chapandya i.e. the kingdom of Madura⁶ The result of this

1. Burgess, p. 109-10

2. 123 of 1907

3. Sewell I, p. 293

4. From Fr A. Proenza to Fr G Nickel, Trichinopoly 1659 Bertrand, *La Mission de Madure* III, p. 42.

5. From Fr A. Vico to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, August 30th 1611, Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 124.

6. Butterworth, I, p. 246

fight was the same as on the previous occasions. Muttu Virappa was defeated by the army of Venkata, and compelled to pay a heavier tribute, summing up the arrears and the war indemnity. Fr Roberto de Nobili, writing from Madura on December 12th, 1610, to Fr Laerzio, says as follows "A certain notable Pandara said to one of my Christians these last days that the coming of the King of Bisnaga was the destruction of the Naiche, just as my stay in this country was the destruction of the Pandaras" ¹ The saying referred to in this letter proves evidently both that the war was over at the end of the same year, and that its result was satisfactory to the Vijayanagara Emperor. The same is meant by Fr Vico's letter, which says that the poor people had to pay for the fault of the prince "all the country is laid waste and people are plundered or massacred" ²

After this war, the control of Venkata over Madura appears again through the inscriptions of the following years. There is one dated 1611 on a rock in the Matribhutesvara temple at Trichinopoly, which records a gift of Venkata for the merit of Virappa Nayaka ³. Then another inscription of Venkata of 1613 registers that a certain Venkatadari Bhattar set up at Vellangudi, in the country directly ruled by Muttu Virappa, the images of Krishna and Kamesvari and granted land for their worship ⁴.

14 Shortly after the war with Venkata, Muttu Virappa was engaged in another war. Fr. Laerzio, writing from Cochin on December 25th, 1611, says that he was going on his usual visit to all the houses of his Province. On the 22nd of September he was in the College at St. Thome, but he was prevented from proceeding to Madura on account of the war between the Nayak of Madura and the Nayak of Negapatam ⁵. It was

1 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A Laerzio, Madura, December 12th, 1610, Ap C, No XXXI

2 From Fr A. Vico to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, August, 1611, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p 124

3 134 of 1905.

4 452 of 1916

5 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 25th, 1611, Ap C, No XXXIII Cf Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, II, p 108

usual among the Jesuits to call Nayak of Negapatam the Nayak of Tanjore. Nothing is hitherto known either about the cause or the result of this war between Madura and Tanjore. Did it break out because the Tanjore Nayak had given his aid to the Emperor the year before, while going to subdue the rebel Muttu Virappa? We shall see that this feud between the two houses that came to a head and burst in Venkata's reign continued unabated till the extinction of one of them and that very soon just after the death of the Emperor the Madura and Tanjore Nayaks again came to blows.

1. Du Jarric I p. 633

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION OF FATHER ROBERTO DE NOBILI

SUMMARY —1 The fruitless mission of Fr G Fernandez at Madura —2 Fr Roberto de Nobili in Italy, Goa and Cochim —3 De Nobili at Madura Investigation of the causes of the failure of this mission —4. De Nobili's new plan approved by his superiors —5 He represents himself as a 'Roman Brahman' —6 His ordinary life —7 His mastery of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu —8 His mode of dealing with visitors —9 Albert, the first convert —10 De Nobili dresses as a *sannyasi*. —11 Other conversions Good spirit of the new Christians —12 De Nobili's method of preaching The fourth Veda —13 A number of extraordinary events confirm the Christian Faith —14 Relations between de Nobili and the Palaiyakarans De Nobili's dealings with Srivallabha Pandya —15 Frs Leytao and Vico at Madura —16 Criticism of de Nobili's mission

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Jesuit letters —2 Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Figueroa —3 *Moncoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —4 Juvencio

ONE of the most important events in the history of southern India during the reign of Venkata II is the establishment of the mission of the Jesuit Fr Roberto De Nobili¹ The brief account of it which we give here is an attempt to do justice to that bold but holy undertaking of this famous Jesuit, so differently judged both by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians and controversialists

In the year 1596 Fr Gonzalo Fernandez arrived at Madura from the Fishery Coast Here he settled down in order to look after the spiritual welfare of the Christian Paravas of Coromandel, who occasionally went to the capital on business² Fr Guerreiro, relying on the missionaries' letters, says that Fr Fernandez stayed at Madura to negotiate with the Nayak about the affairs of the missionaries on the Fishery Coast³ What these 'affairs'

1 Hence both Mr Rangachari, *History of the Nayak Kingdom, Ind Ant*, XLV, p 107-8, 116-9, etc, and Prof Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks*, p 93-5, 106-8, speak at length of this missionary enterprise

2 Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p 199

3 Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal no anno de 606 & 607*, p 112

were is not stated in this work but we feel sure that the frequent irruptions of the Nayak's soldiers into the villages of the Paravas proved the necessity of such an agent at the court of Madura. Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka II, the then ruler of Madura, received the missionary amicably and granted him permission to build a church in his capital. Accordingly Fernandez erected a church not so magnificent as the Hindu temple, says Du Jarric, but yet beautiful and pious¹

Madura was a new field to work in. The faith of Jesus Christ had never been preached in the old Pandya capital, and the zealous missionary did not lose his golden opportunity. He spoke about Christ and his holy religion in his conversations with the people of the town². Frequent religious disputations were held at his house between the missionary and the Brahmans who were often attracted thither both by the Father's benevolence and by their natural curiosity. Moreover the Jesuit established a dispensary and hospital, where everything was administered free to Christians and Hindus alike³.

It has been often said that Fernandez's labours bore no fruit, a statement which is not founded on contemporary Jesuit authorities. The only information about this particular point is found in Guerreiro, who says 'that the Badagas (Telugus) greatly admired the holiness of the Father and specially his chastity' but he also states that in the conversion of Hindus he did very little⁴. This means, no doubt that some conversions to Christianity were made, but the success was by no means encouraging. For a time Fr Nicolao Levanto was sent there in order to study Tamil⁵. But he was soon sent to St Thome and Fernandez once more remained alone.

Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka followed the policy of his uncle in his dealings with the Father and the bonds of friendship bet

1. Du Jarric, I, p. 649. Cf. D Sa, *History of the Catholic Church*, II p. 31.

2. Guerreiro l. c.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 649-50.

4. Guerreiro l. c.

5. Du Jarric I, p. 650.

ween the two were as close as ever. The King of Portugal, in a letter to his Viceroy dated February 26th, 1605, says that he is aware "that the Naique (the Nayak of Madura) made his salutations to a religious of the Society (of Jesus), who was conducting some business there"¹ Great friendship must have existed between Muttu Krishnappa and Fernandez, if the knowledge of it reached the ears of even the King of Portugal

2 Such was the position of the mission of Madura when Fr Roberto de Nobili was sent there in 1606

The new missionary had been born at Montepulciano, Italy, in September, 1577², of a very noble family, related to Popes Julius III and Marcellus II and to the Cardinals Sforza and Bellarmino³ Another of his illustrious relatives did perhaps greatly influence Roberto's career This was his uncle and namesake, Cardinal Roberto de Nobili, who died some years before Roberto's birth, at the early age of 18 years⁴. "Roberto de Nobili", says Pastor, "was a Cardinal upon whom the representatives of the Catholic reform party could rest their greatest hopes Highly gifted from an intellectual point of view—he is said to have spoken Latin and Greek at ten years of age—he distinguished himself still more by his great piety Like Aloysius of Gonzaga, whom he particularly resembles, he was scrupulously pure of heart He could never do enough in his ascetic exercises, he fasted strictly, slept on a board, wore a hair-shirt, assisted at Mass every day, listened frequently to sermons, and often received Holy Communion, and from motives of humility would not allow his portrait to be painted The dignity of the Cardinalate, which he had received from Julius III, was only used to assist the needy He repeatedly thought of renouncing this dignity and of retiring into a

1 From King Philip III to the Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro, Lisbon, February 26th, 1605, Ap B, No VIII

2 Brucker, *Malabar Rites*, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, p 558, says Roberto de Nobili was born in Rome I prefer the authority of Dahmen, *Roberto de Nobili*, S J, p 1

3 Juvencio, *Epitome Historiae S J*, IV, p 74-5 Guerreiro, l c, says that he was a nephew of Card Sforza Card Bellarmino was his father's uncle Cf Dahmen, l c

4 Dahmen, o c, p 2, note 1

religious order but his confessor the Jesuit Polanco, dissuaded him from this step. Assisted by him he died after a painful illness, with the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, on January 18th, 1559. Men like Charles Borromeo, Bellarmine and Baronius venerated as a saint this Cardinal who was so early called away to a better life"¹

The pious nephew moved perhaps by the example of his uncle, in order to avoid any probability of his elevation to high ecclesiastical dignity joined the Society of Jesus in 1597 at Nocera, in the 19th year of his age. The famous historian of the Society Fr Nicolao Orlandini was his novice master. Four years later though not yet a priest he requested his superiors to send him to the missions of India². In 1604 his wishes were fulfilled. He reached Goa in September 1605 and was despatched shortly after to the College of Cochin, where he finished his studies in Theology³. One of his letters to the General, written at Cochin shows both the state of the missions of southern India on those days and his enthusiasm to undertake missionary life in the interior of the peninsula. It runs as follows. It is but too true that till now our Fathers have hardly tried to get into touch with the people of the interior. With the exception of a few towns owned by the Portuguese and a few stretches on both coasts depending on them where they had minor settlements all that immense land of India, where the power of the King of Portugal never possessed any sort of influence and where consequently one cannot expect any help from that power for the promotion of the missions, continues to grovel in the darkness of idolatry. Thus the way to the conversion of India is closed and of our best missionaries all are content to employ themselves in the Colleges of Cochin and in the four residences we have along the coast and close their eyes to the innumerable multitude of souls living in those wide spread lands of India. Only a few try to penetrate into the interior"⁴

1. *Pastor History of the Popes* XIII, p. 176-7

2. Dahmen, o. c. p. 2

3. *Ibid.*, note 4.

4. *Ibid.* p. 3-5

5. Castota, *The Madara Mission*, p. 25. The last allusion of de Nobili is most likely to those who were at the court of Venkata II.

3 Finally in 1606 Father de Nobili himself ventured into 'those wide-spread lands' In the middle of this year Fr A Laerzio, the Provincial of the Malabar Province, when going to pay his annual visit to the missionaries, took Fr de Nobili along and left him at Madura The same Provincial, in a letter written towards the close of the following year, says "One year and a half elapsed since we sent Fr Roberto de Nobili to the residence of Madura in order to learn the language of that country to perfection" ¹ And in another Jesuit letter of the same year, 1606, we read again "In November last Fr Provincial, passing through that residence (of Madura), left Fr Roberto de Nobili there to help Fr Goncalo frz (Fernandez), and to learn the more correct language of the court, and also to relieve the Father who, being old and sickly, required a successor" ² De Nobili was then 29 years old

We find the first impressions of de Nobili after his arrival at Madura in a letter dated December 3rd, 1607, to his god-father the Marquese D Gregorio Boncompagno "This," says he, "is the chief city of the kingdom It is thickly populated by men that are indeed rich and brave in war, but who have as yet no knowledge of the true God They are addicted to a very wicked idol-worship, and our Fathers who work here find themselves confronted with such insuperable opposition that after twelve years they have not made a single convert, except three or four sick persons who were baptised shortly before death Yet our Fathers, who have been at work so long here, are men of outstanding virtue and true ability" ³ De Nobili, in another letter to his cousin the Comtessa de Santa Flore, compares the idolatry of Madura to the idolatry of the old city of Rome "I am now", he writes, "in a famous city of this country called Madura, crowded with wicked idols, as was formerly the famous city of Rome" ⁴

1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI

3 Dahmen, o c, p 4

4. Ibid, p 12, note 1.

Naturally de Nobili investigated the causes of the failure of Fr Fernandez, and finally discovered them. There might of course, be other explanations says Fr Dandoy here. "But one seems to have suggested itself at once to the clear and keen mind of the princely Tuscan missionary. There is an old proverb about the Rome to which de Nobili compared Madura. *Si Romae vivis Romano vivito more* (when thou art in Rome, do as the Romans do) In other words one must adopt the customs and ways of the country one lives in. Nobili realised that one of the mistakes of his zealous brethren was that they not only failed to observe Indian customs, but by their example at least taught their converts not to respect them" ¹

One of the missionaries residing at the court of Venkata II Fr Antonio Rubino, after studying the causes of the lack of conversions, arrived independently at the same conclusions almost at the same time. In one of his letters to Fr C. Aquaviva, he wrote "It is astonishing how well barred is the entrance of this kingdom against the Holy Faith. This comes from the aversion and un placable hatred they have (towards us) based on the impression that we are the priests of the Portuguese, who eat beef and drink wine. We keep ourselves away from all these things in this kingdom. Yet our black dress is quite enough to rouse such opposition and abhorrence we are therefore looked upon by them as a pestilence. And to them it is quite enough as said before, that they know us to be the priests of the Portuguese. It is necessary in order to obtain different results, to dress oneself to eat, and to keep other social customs, just as they do, *in quantum fieri potest* (as much as possible). I often wrote this to Fr Provincial. He wishes to send me dressed according to their fashion, to a city of this kingdom where I am unknown" ²

This was neither the only nor the main cause of such an aversion towards the Catholic priests. On account of a fatal misunderstanding the Paravas and their missionaries were called *Prangus* and the missionaries themselves unaware of the

1. Dandoy *A Sampart from the West, The Light of the East* July 1924 p. 6.

2. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap. O. No. XXVII.

real meaning of this word, had accepted it, and even called the Catholic Religion, 'the Religion of the *Prangus*' Christianity had been wrongly identified with *Prangusm* ¹ De Nobili, after a careful study of the meaning which the people attached to this word, realized the great mistake of his predecessors "The word *Prangui*", he wrote some years later in his *Apology*, "does not, in the mind of this people, signify either Portuguese, or European, or Christian, for they do not exactly know either the one or the other. It means a vile class of people, despicable to a degree not far removed from the beasts—people without virtue and modesty, given to drink, feeding on unclean meat and even human flesh, incapable of science, divinity or religion. The Hindus", he continues, "have seldom met men of the illustrious Portuguese nation. The men who come here (from the Portuguese possessions) may be reduced to two classes. They are either men who, being born in India, have no Portuguese blood in them whatsoever, yet think that, when they have learnt by heart four Portuguese words and have dressed themselves like the Portuguese, they have changed their race and have become Portuguese, these we call *Topases* ², and the Indians call them *Prangus*, hence it is clear that it is not only white men whom they call *Prangus*, but anyone who, whatever his colour, dresses as a Portuguese. Or they are men who were born Jews, but came to some agreement with the Portuguese, and travel on business. These also the people of Madura call *Prangus* without any qualification. Now anyone who has to deal with them knows the nobility, the reliability and the cleanliness of these two classes! No wonder then that the *Prangus* are held most vile" ³

4 The careful consideration of all these prejudices led to the natural conclusion that the mode of living of missionaries

1 The word *Prangui* is borrowed by the Hindus from the Muhammadans to designate denationalised people. This word, in Sanskrit *Phitanguin* and in Persian *Prangui*, was the name given by the Muslims first to the Franks, and then to all the Europeans in general. The special meaning attached to it in southern India, in Fr de Nobili's days, was quite different.

2 One who uses two languages. Cf *Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII, p 210.

3 Dahmen, o c, p 6 and note 1, Bertrand, *La Mission du Madura*, II, p 151.

had to be changed in order to attract the Hindus to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Blessed John de Britto, in a letter of 1683, wrote to this effect Fr Roberto de Nobili, of revered memory that great servant of God and that model of missionaries having acquired a most complete knowledge of all these prejudices and being persuaded with St. Ambrose that *primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri* ¹ made himself all things to all men that he might win them all to Jesus Christ" ²

But before taking any step in carrying out his new plan he consulted his superiors about the matter. The Provincial Laerzio thoroughly approved of de Nobili's plan and mentioned his approval in a letter to Fr General written in 1609 ³. His ecclesiastical superior Mgr Francisco Ros Archbishop of Cranganor and a Jesuit says "Before adopting this manner of life Fr Roberto first consulted me, who am the pastor of that church. When we had decided between ourselves on a plan to be adopted the Father gradually carried it out, whilst I decided to continue to be in a certain fashion his fellow worker and to assist him in so holy an enterprise. I first read books on Hindu idolatry the subtlest that exist next I sought the advice of the best theologians of the Malabar Province, of the Goan Inquisitor and of the Most Illustrious Primate, Dr Frey Alexis Menezes, now Primate of Braga and Governor of Portugal and on finding that their views agreed with what I had gathered from long experience of those parts of India, I gave my full sanction to the method followed by Fr Roberto in the formation of his Christians. We declare in particular that the thread worn by the Brahmans, and the *kudumi* or tuft of hair which caste Indians grow on their heads, the sandal paste and other social customs, were not marks of a religious sect but only distinctions of nobility caste or family and that the converts might keep them without any scruple" ⁴ ☞

1. The eminence of the master excites the first desire to learn from him.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683 Castets, *The Madura Mission* p. 24.

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr O. Aquaviva, Ap. O No. XXVIII.

4. From Mgr F. Ros to Fr O. Aquaviva Cochin, November 10th, 1613 Castets, o.c., p. 29-30

5 With such a full and encouraging approval from the Archbishop, de Nobili separated himself from his confrère Fernandez, and started his new mode of life, in 1607, a year after his arrival at Madura. Let us hear again the Provincial Laerzio, in one of his letters to Fr C Aquaviva. "God in his mercy", he writes, "has at last heard the prayers we addressed to Him long ago and crowned our hitherto fruitless efforts with success. A new field is open to our apostolic zeal, and everything makes us hope that it will be fertile in the labour, merit and fruit of salvation, to the greater glory of God. I mean to speak to Your Paternity about the Madura Mission, by whose beginning such brilliant hopes have been raised. Fr. Roberto de Nobili was moved by the deplorable blindness of those people, who are buried in the darkness of death, and was filled with the great thought that Jesus Christ had come down for the salvation of all men, and must everywhere triumph over the devil, destroy his empire and wrench all his slaves from him. So after discovering the true cause of their obstinacy, he resolved to bring an efficacious cure to such an evil. After the example of St. Paul, who made himself all to all, and specially after that of the Eternal Word, who made himself man in order that men might be saved, Fr. Roberto said to himself: I too will make myself an Indian to save the Indians."

"With my approval, and with the authorization of His Grace the Archbishop of Cranganore, he presented himself to the Brahmans, protesting that he was neither a *Prangui* nor a Portuguese, but a Roman Rajah¹, i.e. a man of high nobility, and a *sannyasi*, that is, a penitent who has forsaken the world and all its enjoyments. The life to which he has bound himself by such a profession is very hard and very difficult, but there is nothing that does not become

1 Such is the statement of Laerzio, followed by Fr Castets, *o.c.* p. 24, note 2. It is however contradicted by both Mgr Ros and Blessed Britto, as we shall see later on. Moreover Fr Juvencio, who based his work on the accounts sent annually to Rome, says expressly that de Nobili declared himself a Brahman, and adds "Id quod vere predicare poterat, quippe qui e nobilissima inter Italicas gente ortus" Juvencio, *Epitome*, IV, p. 74. The same

easy to a man animated with a true desire to make Jesus Christ known and to gain souls to Him.

"From that moment Fr de Nobili admitted none but Brahmans into his service. Rice milk, herbs and water taken once a day constituted his only food.

"He also thought it necessary to separate himself from Fr Gonzalo Fernandez and having built for himself a house and a chapel, on a site given him by a pagan of high position in the Brahman quarter he made it his own special home"¹ Guerreiro's account states that the house was given him by the Governor of Madura

Blessed John de Britto, writing on de Nobili's change of life, says that he adapted himself strictly to the Brahmanical manner of life, "used only Brahmans as servants, and gave himself out as a Roman Brahman Sannyasi or in other words, a religious sage from Rome. Conformably to the social usages of the country he avoided all public intercourse either with Europeans or with Pariahs"²

Moreover Mgr Ros, while speaking of this strange evolution says that he transformed himself into a Brahman

Fr Laerzio In another letter written one year later November 20th 1609 states that Fr de Nobili put on the thread of five strings, because the Brahmans wear one made of three threads (*Italics mine*) Cf. Ap. O. No. XXVIII. Moreover all the sources affirm that de Nobili's new house was placed in the Brahman quarters. Guerreiro, loc. cit., not acquainted with Indian things and customs says that he presented himself como Brahmane or Rayo In one of the contemporary letters there is an anecdote which might perhaps create some confusion. Once the Nayak Hermeoitte (Erumel Chetti) sent soldiers to arrest one of de Nobili's disciples. At the official's request the missionary answered "If His Lordship wants my head, let him cut it off" but let him not expect from me a deed unworthy of my rank At these words one of the soldiers who was a rajah by caste was heard to murmur with some pride Here is a true rajah. I know his caste from the way he behaves Bertrand, o.c., II, p. 84. Is Bertrand reliable here? I was unable to see the original of this letter

1. From Fr Laerzio to Fr O. Aquaviva, December 30th 1608 Castets, o. c., p. 267

2. Guerreiro o. c., p. 112

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Madura Mission, 1683 Castets, o. c., p. 24.

philosopher' ¹. Accordingly he was called thereafter *Tattva-bodhaka Swami*, the Philosophical Doctor.

6 De Nobili himself, in a letter to Cardinal Bellarmino, dated Madura, December 1st, 1607, describes confidentially his ordinary life in his new settlement. "I now dwell", he says, "in a mud-house covered with straw, which is to me more useful and gives me more satisfaction than a rich palace I hold it to be most certain that there is no consolation comparable to that enjoyed by one living in this voluntary sort of exile for the love of God, and toiling much for His sake Nevertheless at times the labour I have undertaken becomes wearisome to me, and when the thought rushes on me, that I shall have to continue amidst such toil and fatigue all my lifelong, I begin to be apprehensive that I shall not be able to persevere to the end But when I turn my thought from this to heaven, I am reminded of what Your Excellency used to say, explaining those words of King David '*Qui posuit fines tuos pacem*' I feel that my fear has vanished, and I am consoled at the thought that, since such peace and repose await us in the end, a longing for rest here on earth is simply unreasonable

"My way of living is as follows I remain continually shut up in my little mud-house Thereto, every day, after I have said Mass and commended myself to the Lord, I give free admittance to whoever likes to speak to or to discuss with me The time left to me, which is very short, I spend in writing, in the language of the country, the refutation of some of the false doctrines upheld by various leaders of thought among these people As I am thus obliged to keep continually to my house, or rather to my single little room, and as the food I eat is not very substantial, since neither meat nor fish nor eggs ever so much as pass my door, I am always sickly, and few are the days in which I do not feel some pain either in the stomach or in the head My food consists of a small quantity of rice, of which there is abundance in this country, and some herbs or fruits This manner of diet I must observe, because if these people did not see me following this penitential kind of life, they would not

1 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C Aquaviva, *Ibid*, p 29

consider me fit to teach them the heavenly way For so are their doctors wont to live and some of them even follow a harder and austerer kind of life. There are those in fact who do not even touch rice. Now if Your Excellency reflects that here the use of bread is unknown and that as to wine, I use it only for Mass, Your Excellency may gather how little a man has to feed upon if he abstains from rice. As for me, I do not venture so far because what I already do, namely abstaining from flesh and fish and eggs, suffices in order that those people may condescend to consider me as a true teacher of religion. At this very moment I am suffering from such a strong fit of asthma that I can scarcely breathe and so I finish my letter bit by bit as I can" ¹

This food was prepared by a Brahman cook and he never dared any more to take food prepared by a non Brahman servant ² He had one daily meal only and that at four o'clock in the afternoon according to the custom of the *sannyasis* ³

7 For the rest of the day he was extremely busy with the study of the languages of the country Shortly after his arrival in Cochín he had taken up the study of Tamil. In his letter to Prince Boncompagno quoted above, he says "As soon as I came here I began to learn the language which, on account of its rich vocabulary and its syntax is difficult. But God helped me, so that after six months I could hold conversation and preach without an interpreter" ⁴ Two years later he wrote again that he finds it more difficult to speak Italian or Portuguese than Malabar (Tamil) ⁵ Writing to Card. Bellarmino, he says I find their language very fine, very copious and very elegant ⁶ About the same time, Fr Laerzio wrote to Fr

1. From Fr R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino, Madura December 1st, 1607 Castets o.c., p. 32-4.

2. Guerreiro o.c., p. 112.

3. Figueras *Historia y Anal. Relacion Los anos passados de 607 y 608*, p. 134-5

4. From Fr R. de Nobili to Prince Boncompagno Madura December 3rd, 1607 Dahmen, o.c., p. 4.

5. From the same to Fr Fabius de Fabiis, Madura October 8th 1609 Ibid., p. 14.

6. From Fr R. de Nobili to Card. R. Bellarmino Madura December 1st 1607 Castets o.c., p. 33

General "Fr Roberto charms every one by his conversations, the purity of his High Tamil, and the stories and passages from Indian authors that he quotes from memory ¹"

He now began to apply himself to Telugu and Sanskrit No European had previously studied the latter language ² His teacher was a learned Brahman from Madura In a letter dated April 22nd, 1609, Fr de Nobili expresses to his Provincial his gratitude to that learned man "I cannot express," he says, "all the obligation I am under to this excellent Brahman Besides the knowledge of Sanskrit and Telugu, I owe him a knowledge still more precious that of the most sacred mysteries of the Vedam It is considered a crime for a Brahman to write down the Vedam, they only learn it by heart at the cost of incredible fatigue, and it takes them ten or twelve consecutive years My teacher has overcome his scruples on this point, which is a shining proof of his faith He writes down all the laws for me, but this must be done quite secretly, if the Brahmans came to know of it, the least punishment inflicted on him would be the plucking out of his eyes We spurn the danger because of the utmost necessity of this means for on the knowledge of these secrets depends the conversion of the gentiles" ³ His assiduity in study was so great that Fr Vico, one of his companions later on, affirms that de Nobili used to study whilst the barber was shaving him ⁴

In an account of the year 1608 we read as follows "He has started to learn the *Gueredan* (Gradonic or Sanskrit) now,

1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, December 30th, 1608, Ibid, p 27 "Sabe ya la lengua Talmul (Tamil), mas cortesana, y pronunciala tan biem que no da ventja a los Bramanes mas entendidos Lee y escribe ya la misma lengua, y tiene passados muchos libros de sus historias y decorados muchos pasos de su ley, y versos de los mas famosos Poetas de que ellos hacen mucho caso" Figueroa, o c, p 135

2 Cf Max Muller, *The Science of Language*, I, p 143

3 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A. Laerzio, Madura, April 22nd, 1609, Bertrand, o c, III, p 49

4. Bertrand, o c, II, p 104

and he reads it and speaks it moderately well" ¹ Two years later in a letter dated December 8th 1610 Laerzio reports that

Father Roberto possesses the language understands it perfectly and speaks it with ease' ² Finally in 1613 Mgr Ros is able to affirm that de Nobili has "learned three very difficult languages, investigated to their very depths the secrets of the sacred mysteries of the heathen and mastered them fully" And somewhat later on the Archbishop expresses his admiration for the marvellous knowledge acquired by de Nobili in such a short time "I have conversed with Fr Roberto" says he "about the languages and manners of these people and I was so much impressed by his knowledge, that I who may however be said to know something of those languages, am ready to swear every time I am asked to do it that this Father cannot have acquired the knowledge he possesses through natural means, any more than he can without the special help of God, lead the austere life he leads" ³

8. Admiring crowds gathered round the Philosophical Doctor and curiosity led the men of Madura to see and hear him. Visitors flocked to the small hut to inquire where the new *sannyasi* came from, what was his caste, his doctrine, his manner of life and his purpose. But de Nobili, knowing the customs of the Indian ascetics, at the beginning did not stir out, and received visitors only with great reserve. When people came to see him his disciple told them that the *sannyasi* was engaged in contemplation, or engrossed in meditation upon the divine law ⁴

1. Figueras o. c., p. 135

2. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva Cochin, December 8th, 1610 Bertrand o. c., II p. 88.

3. From Mgr F. Ros to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613 Castets o. c., p. 29. *Suspiciebant (Brahmanes) majorem in modum, tantam in homine Europaeo vernaculi sermonis facultatem, non secus ac si mediis in Madura et aula fuisset educatus eruditionem vero in nulla doctrinae Indicae parte rudem.* Juvencolo, *Epistole* IV p. 75 "We feel deep admiration for his (Nobili's) learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the Sanskrit literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of the Sakhas, the Yajurveda of the Taittiriya" Caland, *Roberto de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language Acta Orientalia*, III p. 51.

4. Guerreiro, o. c., p. 113.

When admiration and curiosity were at fever-height he received the visitors, but not before they had come twice or thrice. "They tell the porter that they wished to speak with the Ayer (that means the lord)," says Figueroa "Then after much waiting, as it is there customary, they are admitted to his presence to talk with him. They find him sitting on a dais covered with a red carpet-like cloth, another red carpet is lying before him, and next to this there is a mat. Those who come, even the most noble and principal courtiers, bow reverently before him, raising up their hands over their heads and then bringing them down in profound obeisance. Those who desire to become his disciples bow thrice in this style, and finally prostrate themselves for a while" ¹

Guerreiro affirms that even Muttu Virappa Nayaka was desirous of hearing the new European *sannyasi*, and manifested his wish several times to his courtiers, but one of them, who probably knew de Nobili, replied that 'the Father was so chaste, that he never went out of his house to avoid seeing women' ²

As a matter of fact, de Nobili spent more than one year in that holy solitude, without having been seen in the streets even for a moment ³. When, after a while, he began to go occasionally to his country-house for some rest, he went in a palanquin preceded by two criers to clear his way. Some years afterwards, however, all this show was dropped. He presented himself as a mere spiritual *guru*, proceeding simply on foot, with a long staff bearing his insignia and two Brahman disciples accompanying him ⁴. All these ceremonies and honours were far from being dear to the heart of the humble missionary, who had joined the Society of Jesus in order to avoid them, but in his *Apology* he says that a Hindu *pandaram* had given him the following good advice: "If you desire your own salvation only, you should retire to a desert, where you can live stark naked. But if, as you tell me, you have at heart the salvation of the people of this land, you must surround yourself

1 Figueroa, o c, p 135

2 Guerreiro, o c, p 113

3 Ibid —

4 From Mgr F. Ros to Fr. Aquaviva, Cochín, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o c, p 38.

with splendour the spiritual man must be like a corpse who wears with equal indifference silk robes and linen rags, riches and poverty honours and ignominy " 1

De Nobili's purpose was successfully attained. Fr B. Coutinho in a letter of 1608, speaks of the great fruit obtained in Madura by Fr Roberto and of the great edification he gives by devoting himself to the service of God in a sort of disguise " 2 And Mgr Ros is still more explicit in the following passage of the letter quoted above " He (de Nobili) has attracted the hearts of haughty Brahmans, in such a way that not only do they come to see him, and hear from his lips the word of God with incredible admiration but they go so far—a wonder which no one could have expected,—as to kiss the ground he has trodden on and to embrace the faith that he preaches. Acknowledging their errors, they openly declare Never has a man spoken as he does " 3

9. The immediate fruit of this admiration and veneration was a large crop of souls. The first Brahman who became a Christian was a teacher in the school founded at Madura by the Jesuits 4 He was a very learned and proud young man who had despised the Fathers and their doctrine. Fr de Nobili gave him a Tamil Catechism written by Fr G Fernandez, to be translated into Telugu. The reading of this book excited much curiosity in the teacher's mind. On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, that took place on February 25th 1608, Fr de Nobili refuted several of his ideas and superstitions. That was their first religious talk. After that the teacher was a frequent visitor at de Nobili's house and became his constant disciple. Guerreiro gives the matter and order of some of these discussions " They first spoke about the plurality of gods. The Father showed him its absurdity based on the argument of the divine perfection? For it is evident that if God were to have partners of his divinity inferior to Him they would not be

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p. 167

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O. Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th 1608, Ap. O., No. XXIII.

3. From Mgr F Ros to Fr O. Aquaviva, Cochín November 19th 1613 Castets, o. c., p. 29

4. Cf. Ch. XXV No. 13

gods; if they were equal, none of them would be god, since each would be wanting in the perfections the others had. The teacher easily agreed¹ to this reasoning. Then they discussed whether God had created this world out of nothing. On this point the pagans hold the same error as our ancient philosophers did, *viz.* that it is impossible to create something out of nothing. De Nobili refuted this as follows —

“Everything that exists has its existence either because it has it from itself or because it has received it from another. Your Paju (Pasu) exists, now, this existence is given him by God or it comes from himself.

“The Hindu replied that it had not been given by God.

“Hence it comes from himself”, added the Father.

“It seems so,” answered the Hindu.

“Therefore, (replied de Nobili), this your Paju (Pasu) is God, and possesses an infinite being, and this being is not limited by anybody.” On hearing this the Hindu remained silent — no answer could be given to the conclusion. Then, in order to convince him thoroughly, the Father proved the same with another more evident argument from the omnipotence of God. If God could not create something out of nothing, he was not mightier than the earth, which produces the trees out of their seeds, nor than the water, which aided by the sun and other circumstances produces fishes and other imperfect animals¹. He would then be like a carpenter, who from a tree makes an image, but he cannot make it without the tree. De Nobili told him at the same time that God, in order to be infinitely powerful, cannot lack any power, but He would certainly lack power if He would need Paju (Pasu) in order to create anything. Hence either He was not Almighty or He was not in need of Paju (Pasu). The Hindu remained satisfied after hearing this reasoning.

“On another occasion, another important dispute took place about the transmigration of souls, an ancient dream of Pythagoras. The reason given by the Hindu was founded on the variety of men — some are kings, others are slaves, some are

1 This idea was founded on the ancient philosophical theory of spontaneous generation, which is now thoroughly exploded.

Brahmans, others Pariahs While explaining his theory the Hindu spoke as a true Pythagorean would have done, since he maintained that the soul was not the form of the body but was (he said) inside the body as the bird is inside the cage and the chicken inside the egg It was not very difficult to show him the fallacy of this opinion

"You know very well, said the Father "that when the bird is inside the cage, the cage does not grow unlike the body that having the soul inside, grows up to its perfect height. Moreover you cannot deny that the bird out of the cage can beget another bird and yet you will never state that the soul separated from the body could have sons. Moreover the soul is not in the body in the same way as the bird is in the cage.

"Then the Hindu asked de Nobili How did it stay in the body?

"The Father answered that the soul dwelt in the body as the form and the life of that body and both together made one thing, called man. The Father proved this by the human operations of eating walking and running for these operations cannot be done by the body alone without the soul but by both together And for the same reason neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but both together forming one single thing make up what is called a man Hence, it would not be in accordance with justice that any of them separately should be either punished or rewarded for the bad or the good deeds of the man both together must be either punished or rewarded, since both together have done bad or good things Then the missionary explained to him how a man dying in a state of sin that is in infinite malice, has to be punished with an infinite punishment. But to be a hundred years in the body of a dog was not an infinite punishment therefore a place was necessary where, after passing away from this life the sinner could be punished for ever without ever entering another body As to the variety of men, from which the transmigration of souls was inferred, the Father replied that the potter from the same mud moulds a jar for the king's table and a basin for washing one's feet in the same way God according to his will creates one to be a



XVI Fr Roberto de Nobili, S J,
in the costume of Brahman Sannyasi

An ink sketch by a contemporary missionary Fr Baltazar da Costa, Biblioteca Nacional, Panjim

represents the Passion and Death of the Saviour" ¹ Figueroa, after having described de Nobili's costume in accordance with the preceding extract, adds the following consideration to the explanation of the string of five threads "Thus with this string he publicly announces in that country the mysteries of the Most Holy Trinity of the Incarnation and of the Redemption" ² Later on de Nobili ascertained that a solitary ascetic need not wear the thread, and thenceforth he discarded it ³

II The number of conversions was gradually increasing At the end of September, 1608, he baptised four prominent men of Madura—Dadamurti, the owner of the *agrahara* where Fr de Nobili lived, Chritinada, a craftsman of great repute with the Nayak and the nobles of the court, Golor, brother of the chief porter of the Nayak's palace, and a fourth, whose name is not given. At the feast of St Thomas the Apostle, December 21st, nine others were also baptised ⁴

In the following year, one of the most illustrious converts was de Nobili's own teacher of Sanskrit and Telugu When their friendship began, the proud *guru* nursed fond hopes of converting the Christian *sannyasi* to Hinduism, but the result turned out to be quite other than he had foreseen or even hoped for On June 7th, 1609 de Nobili announces this event, showing in his words the joy of his heart and his thankfulness to God "Today", says he, "the feast of the Holy Ghost, I have baptised my beloved teacher I cannot sufficiently express his joy, mine, and that of all the Christians He has received the name of God-given I trust he will do much for the conversion of the Gentiles, for he is a young man well known throughout Madura for his nobility, his cleverness, his erudition, and his profound knowledge of the sacred laws, and, what I esteem most, he has ever led a pure and regular life" ⁵

The number of conversions cannot be ascertained with

1 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o c, p 27. Cf Ap C No XXVIII

2 Figueroa, o c, p 134

3 Bertrand, o c, II, p 110

4 From Fr R de Nobili to Fr A Laerzio, December 24th, 1608, Figueroa, o c, p 141

5. Bertrand, o c, II, p 37

precision Fr Besse, after an examination of de Nobili's letters records their number at 71 for this first period of his work, from 1607 to 1614¹ The letters of de Nobili and his companions often commemorate the virtues practised by these Christians that recall to our mind those of the first Christians of Rome. Alexis Nayak is mentioned as an example of humility and Christian perfection² His brother Vihuvada (Vihuvada) Nayaka preferred to be dismissed from the retinue of Kasturi Nayaka, a cousin of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, rather than mark his forehead with the sacred ashes as in former days³ Another called Calistri(?) is shown as busy spreading the Christian faith among his old friends and always desirous of the palm of martyrdom⁴ The craftsman we have mentioned above was offered great quantities of money to induce him to make several statues of idols but he always refused them, preferring a life of poverty to contributing any more to the splendour of that cult⁵ Fr Buccerio a companion of Fr Fernandez, by whom he was later on influenced against Fr de Nobili, wrote a brilliant apology for the converts of de Nobili. "I observed in that Christian community" says he, "two other things well worthy of the highest praise, and exceedingly rare in India, among those who wish to become Christians I may speak from experience, for during my long apostolate the Lord sent me many to be instructed and baptised. Those who thus present themselves generally come to us either because of the interest they find in joining Christians of their caste, or because of the difficulties they experience in remaining pagans or Muhammadans or because they hope to secure some temporal advantage, or for other interested motives. For these reasons they are often the cause of great difficulties to us. What can we give them? How are we to clothe or protect them? At the same time we must give them much instruction in order to teach them to purify their intention, and to make them understand that in our religion alone can they find salvation. But, on the

1. Cf. Dahmen, *o. c.*, p. 77

2. Figueroa, *o. c.*, p. 147

3. *Ibid.*, p. 145

4. *Ibid.*, p. 142

5. *Ibid.*, p. 143

other hand I observe that, in Fr Roberto's community, those new Christians have come with no other end in view than their salvation, also after having attended, during several months, the instructions of the Aiyer (de Nobili) and understood that our religion is the only true one, they asked to be baptised and to be made Christians, solely to please God and to save their soul. The Aiyer has never to give anything to his Christians, it is rather they who, on the day of their baptism, are wont to present the Aiyer with some little offerings for the use of his church, or for other similar purposes. We, on the contrary, are all our lifelong beset with cares and anxieties to find out how we may help our Christians, who are continually begging. Some of them have even come all the distance from Cape Comorin to this city, in order to approach me for some help. The second thing which I always tried, though in vain, to make both Christians and Pagans understand, is that our religion is no more the religion of the Portuguese than of any other nation, and that by becoming a Christian an Indian does not lose his honour or his caste, but rather keep all the honour he had, and adds to it the much greater glory of becoming an adopted son of God. But it is useless for us to speak to them in this way, we fail entirely to persuade them, for those who come to us are invariably regarded by Christians and Pagans as joining the caste of the *Pranguis* or Portuguese, or of that of the Paravas, according to the nature of the converts, and the Pagans look down upon us in the matter of caste, as being below everything. In consequence respectable Pagans, or even the Christians of St Thomas, refuse to admit those converts into their houses or to their churches. Fr Roberto has obtained totally different results. Hence, though both Christians and Pagans well know that the law he preaches is the same as that of the Portuguese (as is proved by the crosses and other pious objects which those Christians wear in place of the image of their gods), the Christians (of de Nobili) have the satisfaction of being assured that the Father is not a *Prangui*, and the Pagans, who have the same conviction, are appeased and have no difficulties in dealing with the Christians in all social or civil matters" ¹

1 Castets, o c, p 35-6

12. After having seen the relatively great success obtained by Fr de Nobili, it may be of interest to know what his way of preaching was. He explains this in one of his letters "The advice given in the *Exodus* says he, Do not speak against the gods applies even to pagan divinities not that these divinities are not despicable, but because speaking against them instead of doing good, prevents the conversion of souls When we wish to drive darkness out of a room, we do not waste our time creating a great stir and trying to expel it with brooms we light a taper and darkness vanishes by itself. Reach the pagan heart by winning its esteem and affection and then bring in the taper of truth and all the darkness of idolatry will vanish without trouble" ¹

In another letter he explains more particularly the different articles of faith which formed the subjects of his conversations with his visitors "To those who come to me," says he "I teach that there is only one God in three persons, whose attributes are infinite who created the world, man and all beings who in order to save men assumed a human nature, body and soul, in the womb of an ever-chaste virgin that this incarnate God, true God and true man is called Jesus Christ—a name that means Saviour full of grace and heavenly gifts that free from all stains, He atoned for all the sins of men and saved them. The holy spiritual law which contains these truths is the Law I preach It requires of none that he should give up his caste, or that he should join another caste, or do any thing that is contrary to the honour of his caste. God is witness to me that the holy spiritual law is for all castes. As the great Nayak is the lord of these lands, so that all the inhabitants, Brahmans or Rajas are obliged to obey him in all

1. Bertrand, o. c., II, p 263 Accordingly in his works, of which we shall speak at length in the following volume, he never directly attacks paganism. Of Miranda, *The Introduction of Christianity into the Heart of India* p. 23 Figueras, o. c., p. 64, however affirms that "He had read many books of their stories. And these stories are to him of great help in order to refute them and to prove that there are not many gods, but only one who has no body" Anyhow this refutation of the tenets of Hinduism always followed the exposition of the Christian Doctrine

temporal concerns, so the true God is the legitimate Lord of all men, so that all conditions and castes should live according to His spiritual law. This is the law I preach, and which other saints and *sannyasis* have preached in this land before. If anyone were to say that this law is proper to *pariahs* and *Prangus*, he should commit a great sin, for since God is the lord of all the castes, his law must be obeyed by them all, and no caste is so high that it is not further raised by obedience to that law. As the sun spreads its very pure light on all castes and all objects in this world, without losing thereby anything of its admirable purity, and as its light, instead of soiling the Brahmans, honours them, so the true God, the spiritual Sun, spreads over all men the gift of his holy law, the true spiritual light' ¹

Now the way of conveying all these new ideas to the mind and heart of his audience was purely Indian even in his way of teaching he accommodated himself to the customs of the country. Fr Laerzio says in one of his letters "Fr Roberto charms every one by a great number of verses of his own composition, which he partly sings and partly recites with exquisite delicacy and distinction" ² Fr Castets, commenting on this passage, says "The practice here described by Fr Laerzio was then the approved method of preaching or teaching moral or religious truths. It is not unknown even now. The orator begins by singing a pithy stanza expressed in more or less enigmatic and very concise language. This is followed by a rather lengthy gloss in which the explanation of the text is interspersed with quotations, stories, allusions, according to the wealth of learning and fluency of the exponent. When one considers that Fr de Nobili was able to go successfully through such a performance before a most fastidious and fault-finding audience, and even to astonish his hearers by the elegance of his diction and the wealth of his literary knowledge,

1 Bertrand, l c

2 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, December 30th, 1608, Castets, o c, p 27 "Sabe tambien muchas canciones y las canta con tan buena voz y gracia, que le oyen todos con admiracion y gusto" Figueroa, o. c, p 135

after scarcely a year's study of the language, we must conclude that the Father must have been not only a man of wonderful ability but a true prodigy" ¹

Finally another unexpected circumstance drew to Fr de Nobili the attention of his audience. "What helps me very much in the conversion of these people" says he in a letter of December 24th 1608 is the fact I discovered, that they had originally four Vedas three which the Brahmans still teach, *vis* of Vesnu (Vishnu) Brama (Brahma) and Rutru (Siva) and a fourth, wholly spiritual, by which salvation was to be attained. They say however that this fourth Veda is lost, and there is no man wise and good enough to recover it. And the wisest of their men state likewise that the most secret books affirm it to be impossible to attain salvation by any of the other three laws. Hence many think that there is no salvation at all and others suppose that there is nothing beyond this life. From this I take occasion to show them that they are in a fatal error from which as they themselves confess none of their three Vedas can save them. I prove this to them with the very sayings of their books. These people have a deep yearning for eternal life hence they are much inclined to do penance and to give alms, and to be very faithful to their idols. So I profit by this disposition to tell them that if they wish to be saved they ought to listen to me that I have come from a far-off country simply to save them by teaching them that spiritual law which (as their Brahmans avow) has been lost—thus following the example of the Apostle who preached to the Athenians the Unknown God. I tell them that if they wish to apprehend this fourth law they ought to declare themselves my disciples. Their conversion becomes then very easy. For when they resolve to become my disciples they easily receive from me the doctrine I preach to them and thus their will being inclined in my favour they gladly come to hear my explanations ²

1. Castets, o. o. p. 27-8

2. Figueroa o. o. p. 147. Cf. Bertrand o. c., II p. 21. About the discovery of the Veda, which Fr de Nobili speaks of, see Yule, *Notes on Sempara and the Discovery of Sanskrit Ind. Ant., II, p. 96; Burnell*

This original way of insinuating himself into the hearts of the Hindus is acknowledged by Max Muller as a wonderful token of the prudence and knowledge of Fr de Nobili "The very idea," he says, "that he came, as he said, to preach a new or a fourth Veda which had been lost, shows how well he knew the strong and weak points of the theological system which he came to conquer" ¹

13 In this enterprise Fr de Nobili was evidently aided by God himself Mgr Ros says that "God confirmed his (de Nobili's) testimony by prodigies and the gifts of the Holy

On Some Early References to the Vedas by European Writers, Ibid, VIII, p 98, Caland, *Ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda* (Amsterdam, 1918), Zachariae-Hosten, *The Discovery of the Veda, Journal of Indian History*, II, p 127-57 In the 18th century, a MS containing a new Veda, the Ezur-Veda was found in the Mission Library of Pondichery The most respectable native Christians of the place held the opinion, founded on no authority, that the book was written by Fr Roberto de Nobili Nevertheless, Mr Ellis, *Account of the Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Vedas, Asiatic Researches*, XIV, p 32, wisely says "There can be no doubt that he (de Nobili) was fully qualified to be the author of those writings If this should be the fact, considering the high character he bears among all acquainted with his name and the nature of his known works, I am inclined to attribute to him the composition only, not the forgery, of pseudo Vedas" Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p 174, note 70, categorically says "The Ezur-Veda is not the work of Robert de Nobili It was probably written by one of his converts There is no evidence for ascribing the work to Robert, and it is not mentioned in the list of his works" In spite of the statements of these learned scholars, D'Orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries*, p 256, boldly affirms that "Pere Robert applied his great skill to the production of a forgery in Sanskrit on an old bit of parchment When questioned as to the genuineness of this certificate, he solemnly swore before the council of Brahmans at Madura that the document was authentic, and that he, like all Jesuits, was descended from their Indian Divinity! Nor was this all He forged a new Veda, which was so well executed that, for nearly two centuries, it imposed itself upon the natives themselves" There cannot be more historical errors in so few lines Then and Dr Alex H Japp, *A Jesuit Missionary in India, East and West*, III, p 977-92, repeats this unfounded accusation, but he was thoroughly refuted by Fr Ernest R Hull, *Was Robert de Nobili an Impostor?* Ibid, p 1223-38 There cannot be any doubt about the authorship of the Ezur-Veda A French Jesuit, named Calmette, wrote it one century later As Prof Caland, o c, p 33, shows, the spelling of the Sanskrit words and proper names points to Bengal and Orissa and not to the Tamil country where de Nobili ordinarily lived Cf Caland, *Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language, Acta Orientalia*, III, p 50

1 Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, I, p 174-5.

Ghost" ¹ Impartial history cannot but acknowledge the preternatural character of a number of cases related in the contemporary letters, either of Fr de Nobili himself or of his companions

In 1607 a new Christian compelled the devil to leave the body of his wife, not yet a Christian by making the sign of the cross over her forehead ² The same happened to a Muhammadan in July 1608 for when Albert, de Nobili's first convert, made the sign of the cross the devil exclaimed "You owe my departure to the weapon given by this man" "Whose weapon is this?" questioned the Muhammadan "The weapon of the Almighty God, who created both of us" replied the devil and disappeared for ever ³ In August of the same year one of the disciples of de Nobili not yet a Christian was lying very sick, together with his three children de Nobili on being apprised of the case sent Alexis carrying the Gospel and holy water By these two spiritual remedies the four patients were suddenly cured ⁴ Another catechumen was sick unto death, as a result of an attack of apoplexy on October 23rd, 1608 de Nobili went there himself and baptised his disciple, and the latter got up at once in good health ⁵ At about the same time, another man possessed by the devil was presented to Albert. This Christian before making the sign of the cross over the sick, asked the devil what kind of mad was Father Roberto, and whether the things taught by him were true. The devil replied that Fr de Nobili was a man of great authority and that all the things he taught were perfectly true. Again Albert asked the devil about the progress and success of Fr de Nobili's enterprise. The devil answered that the missionary would obtain

1. From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochín November 19th, 1613 *Ostets*, o. c., p. 9 "Foy tambem o Senhor servido de coñfirmar estas nouas Christaas com alguns obras marauilhosas, que os animam muyto a se consolarem com a fee que tem recebido & perseverarem nella" *Guerreiro* o. c., p. 116

2. *Guerreiro*, o. c., p. 116-7

3. *Figueras* o. c., p. 139

4. *Ibid.*, p. 139-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 140-1. See another similar case in p. 137-8

very little fruit in the beginning, but, three years later his mission would be extraordinarily developed¹

14 All these events were naturally spoken about at the court of Madura and even in the country around, and Fr de Nöbil's fame and deeds were on the lips of everyone "The fame about me at Madura and through the country", he wrote on December 24th, 1608, "is that a new Mori (a spiritual ascetic and teacher) has come to destroy the idols Hence they speak of me in very different ways"² This was the cause of the friendship between de Nobili and a number of nobles and Palaiyakarans of the kingdom of Madura

In a letter to Laerzio, dated October 25th, 1608, de Nobili says "A chief Raya, about seventy years old, often came to the door of my house, and spoke to one of my neighbours, begging to be announced to one of my servants, for he was already old and the hour of his death was near Then he begged my servant to be introduced to me in order to become my disciple, since many said in this city that I was teaching the road to salvation I allowed him to come in, and he prostrated himself at my feet and prayed to be taught the law of salvation I spoke at length to this old man, who was very clever and sensible, he promised to come regularly to my preaching, and to bring to me several other Rayas who were under him"³

On one occasion, one of the four Governors of Muttu Virappa Nayaka, in the city of Madura, went to pay a visit to the Father A brother of his, who had been governing one of the palaiyams, had died childless shortly before, and had been succeeded by him De Nobili asked him where his brother, once noble and rich, was, and concluded his interrogatory by saying that as he had not known the law of salvation, he was, on account of this ignorance, in hell De Nobili spoke with such fervour on this point that his visitor burst into tears, and promised to come back to hear more of his teaching⁴

At the same time de Nobili wrote a letter to the Palaiya-

1 Ibid, p 139

2 Ibid, p 145

3 Ibid, p 140

4. Ibid, p 137.

karan of Daraporan (Dharapuram) in which he said that there was no salvation for those who ignored God and the divine law and offered to put him on the right way to salvation. The chief's answer is as follows —

"I Chavarcovardin (Chakravartin) the slave of Your Lordship, wrote this, while bowing and looking at the feet of Your Lordship. I am ready to serve you at any time, according to the command of Your Lordship. With great rejoicing I received your letter by which you announced you would come soon to teach me the divine secret. This was the main purport of your letter. But our land is now troubled with many wars. As soon as these matters are settled, I shall send a message to the holy feet of Your Lordship and then Lord, please come to us. Do not be sorry that I beg you to delay your coming a little, on account of the deadly dissensions in this country. I cannot discover what good luck it was that brought Your Lordship here. I shall let you know of everything."¹

Friendly relations were also started in 1608 between de Nobili and the then Pandya King of Tenkasi, Srivallabha, the brother and successor of Ativirarama.² The missionary wrote Srivallabha a letter inviting him to hear of the things referring to his salvation. The messenger sent by de Nobili, who must have been one of his disciples, was kindly entertained by the King. They spoke about God and the new doctrine preached by the Western *sannyasi*. Srivallabha showed his desire to see and hear Fr. de Nobili. Accordingly he replied that when he should go to Madura to pay a visit to the Nayak, he would see the Father and receive his instruction. Srivallabha went there on August 1st and at once sent one of his Brahmans to the house of de Nobili to visit the Father on his behalf. This envoy told

1. Ibid., p. 136-7

2. Cf. *T. A. S.*, I, p. 57-8. The details given in the Jesuit source about this Monarch who is still called Rey de Madure King of Madura, leave no doubt that he is the nominal Pandya King. "Era este Rey antigamente muy poderoso mas al presente el Nayque le ha usurpado muchas tierras. Tiene buen entendimiento, y en su conformidad desea salvarse, assi ay grandes esperanças de su conversión" Figueroa o. o., p. 137

de Nobili that His Lordship would come later on, to speak with him about his salvation. Unfortunately the Pandya fell sick during his stay at Madura, and he had not yet recovered when the letter that gives this news was written ¹. We could not find any further details about this interesting subject.

Two years later, on December 24th, 1610, Fr Vico wrote to Fr Laerzio from Madura itself. "Two months ago a petty King, feudatory to the great Naique (Nayak), by name Utappa Naique, came to us. He was a man of very good nature, and desirous of finding the way to heaven. This man on reaching the chamber of the Ayer prostrated himself, his face touching the ground, nor did he stand up till requested by the Father twice or thrice. He spoke with the Father about the misery of this life, and about the certainty of death. Finally, he earnestly begged the Father to come to his own country, as he was much interested in being instructed in our doctrine" ².

15 The hard life and heavy work of the Christian *sannyasi* was too much for his enfeebled health. At the end of 1608 he wrote to the Provincial: "I cannot stand so much work alone. Hence I am in need of a companion. He must be a very fervent man, desirous of suffering for Christ's sake. For the families of those who are already baptised are very numerous, and there are other catechumens with their families. Many other nobles and rich Hindus come over every day. Rest is unknown to me day or night. I am afraid I shall not be able to bear up with so much toil" ³.

Shortly before, de Nobili had sent two of his new Christians to Cochín and Angamale, where they received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Mgr Ros ⁴. The presence of those new Christians excited great enthusiasm among the Jesuits at Cochín, many offered themselves to the Provincial to share in the fatigues of de Nobili ⁵. Fr Laerzio selected for

1 Figueroa, l c

2 From Fr A Vico to Fr A Laerzio, Madura, December 24th 1610, Ap C, No XXXI

3 Figueroa, o c, p 144

4 Ibid, p 159-60

5 Ibid, p 161

this task Fr Manoel Leytao, a Portuguese, who was then Master of Novices at Cochín¹ He left this town on the 15th of August, 1609, in the garb of a *sannyasi* and reached Madura on the 26th of the same month² From there he wrote an interesting letter to Fr Laerzio, of which the following lines are an extract After some time spent in holy conversation" says he Fr Roberto told me it was meal time. His disciples came to prepare the table. It was soon ready a plantain leaf placed on the floor served as table, table cloth, dish and plates. I sat down close to the leaf on which a Brahman placed the food I began to eat but in spite of my great hunger I felt such abhorrence for this new kind of food and also perhaps for the new way of taking it—with the fingers—that I had to force myself to swallow the morsels. This abhorrence lasted for several days I begin however to get a little used to it for every feeling must give way to the love of God and to the desire I have to serve Him in this land³

He however could not stay long His health broke down and he was recalled to Cochín at the beginning of the following year and was replaced in the month of September 1610 by Fr Antonio Vico lecturer in Theology⁴ of whom we shall speak at length in the following volume

16 This would be according to chronology the proper place to relate the beginning of the persecutions against Fr de Nobili which commenced towards the close of this period but we think it advisable to leave the narrative of them for the following volume where we shall be able to give an uninterrupted account of those sad events.

Before closing this chapter however it may be considered the task of the impartial historian to give a criticism of de Nobili's method of introducing Christianity into the heart of Hinduism. He had certainly many enemies among his own contemporaries but they were swayed in their campaign against the missionary by evil passions which induced them even to

1. Juvenolo *Epitome* IV p 121.

2. Figueroa, o c., p 161-3

3. Bertrand, o c., II, p. 53-4.

4. Besso, o c p. 200

calumniate the Christian *samyasi*. Many Protestants have condemned Fr de Nobili's system¹. It is a pity to see several of those old accusations, now exploded, innocently reproduced in modern Catholic books. But impartial historians cannot but praise the work accomplished and the method so successfully employed by the illustrious Italian missionary.

Fr Juvencio, the famous historian of the Society of Jesus, recognised in Fr Roberto de Nobili a man who had been destined by God to begin the Madura Mission². This statement is merely an echo of the eulogy of de Nobili, written in 1613, by Mgr Ros to the General of the Society of Jesus. "The Madura Mission", says he, "which is within my diocese, is a very spiritual one but very trying, and in all respects worthy of perfect men and true sons of the Society, entirely devoted to God, without any human satisfaction and with a perpetual mortification of the flesh. I am convinced that it has been commenced by divine inspiration, in order to open the way to the conversion of the whole of the Malabar (Southern India). At last, after numerous prayers, penances, tears, and holy sacrifices, God Our Lord opened the eyes of the *Zelotes* of the Holy Church, and they considered that the proper work of the Society was to do what St Paul had done, 'I have made myself all to all'. Thus the good Fr Roberto de Nobili went by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost, into the great city of Madura"³.

The method followed by Fr de Nobili was the only one which ever met with success among the high castes of India. His way of preaching Christ's Gospel to Indians was the result of his deep knowledge of the religion, customs and literature of the priestly caste. His broad ideas made him clearly distinguish between religious and social customs, between superstition and good manners, between faith and nationality, and through a thousand difficulties and numberless hardships success crowned his enterprise.

1 Cf D'Orsey, o c, p 257, and Japp, o c, p 991

2 Juvencio, *Eptome*, IV, p 66

3 From Mgr F Ros to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, November 19th, 1613, Castets, o c, p 28

His splendid work and the encouraging results he and his companions obtained reached the ears of Philip III of Spain then also sovereign of Portugal. This pious monarch whose zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith is well known wrote to them an encouraging letter the original of which we could not anywhere trace. But the Archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangun still preserve a copy of the reply of the Viceroy to his sovereign. Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo wrote in 1613 to this effect. The letter Your Majesty sent will be given to those (Jesuits) of Madure whom I thanked on your Majesty's behalf for their good conduct in propagating Christianity. They are religious who well deserve it because they do their work with the utmost care and assiduity"¹

1. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo to Phillip III 1613 Ap. B No. XII.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NAYAKS OF TANJORE AND JINJI

SUMMARY—1 Continuation of the reign of Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore His behaviour towards Venkata II—2 Abdication and death of Achyutappa Nayaka—3 Ragunatha Nayaka murders his eldest brother—4 His suspicious relations with Vijayanagara—5 Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji and his uncle—6 Early revolt of Krishnappa against Venkata II—7 Krishnappa Nayaka and Fr N Pimenta Description of Jinji—8 Foundation of the city of Krishnapatnam—9 Great power of the Nayak of Jinji His feudatories—10 Rebellion of Krishnappa against Venkata II His madness—11 Victory of Venkata over Krishnappa in 1608—12 Krishnappa Nayaka and the Dutch The fort of Devanapatnam

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants—2 Jesuit letters—3 Du Jarric—4 Anquetil du Perron—5 Jongue's Dutch documents—6 *Sahityaratnakara Ragunathabhyudayam, Ushaparinayam*—7 *Velugutivaru Vamsavali*

DURING the first half of the reign of Venkata II, the ruler of Tanjore was still Achyutappa Nayaka. The *Sahityaratnakara* relates that during his time the Dutch, who were then starting their trading career in the East, appeared before Negapatnam and attempted to land in order to found a trading factory, but they were valiantly repulsed and driven away by Achyutappa ¹

Negapatnam had been lent by his father to the Portuguese, and their number had been constantly on the increase ² Fr Pimenta, who passed through it in 1597, tells us that "many Portugals dwell there and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu and Malaca" ³ Achyutappa Nayaka invited Fr Pimenta to establish a Jesuit house with a Church at Negapatnam, while another one was already started

1 *Sahityaratnakara*, canto VI, v 68

2 Cf Ch VIII, No 2

3, From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 207
Cf Du Jarric, I, p 632

at Tranquembar ¹ And while Fr Pimenta was in the town the inhabitants actually purchased a place for five hundred Duckets, for a new Residence of ours says the same Fr Pimenta ² Fr du Jarric gives a slightly fuller description of this place. He says that it was "by the river side having the sea to the West and was fitted for the functions of the Society" Fr Pimenta sent two priests there ³

As to his relations with Venkata II Achyutappa Nayaka is mentioned with the title of Mahamandalesvara, in a much damaged and dateless record on a stone in the Kankudutta Vinayaka temple at Kavalkudaru ⁴ An inscription of 1596-7 by the same Venkata in North Arcot, records a gift of money by Achyutappa Nayakar Aiyar for the merit of Dikshitar Aiyar ⁵ Formerly Achyutappa had sent his son Raghunatha to help the Emperor in the siege of Penukonda ⁶

But Anquetil du Perron gives us a piece of information not consistent with the above. He says that before the year 1595 both the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore had rebelled against Venkata ⁷ We really doubt the accuracy of Anquetil in this passage for the inscription of Venkata mentioned above is dated only a year later It is possible, however that the rebellion took place some years later and was misplaced by Anquetil, confusing it with an earlier rising of the Nayak of Madura. As a matter of fact, one of Fr Coutinho's letters from the court of Venkata seems to allude to an insurgent attitude on the part of Achyutappa for he affirms that "the rumour was that the King (Venkata) would warre upon the Naichus of Tangaor called Astapanaicus (Achyutappa

1. Ibid., Cf. Du Jarric I p 633

2. Ibid.

3. Du Jarric, I, p. 633 A letter of Philip III to the Viceroy dated Lisbon, December 10th, 1607 mentions some riots occurred among the Portuguese of Negapatam, it seems that the leaders of the rioters were two brothers named Mello Bulhao Pato *Documentos* I, p. 146

4. 298 of 1911.

5. 710 of 1904.

6. OL Ch. XVI Nos. 1 and 2.

7. Anquetil du Perron, l.c., p 166

Nayaka)" ¹ This letter, published by Purchas, has been extremely mutilated. The original gives more valuable information. Coutinho says that Venkata "has a large army with many good generals in order to re-conquer Kanchivaram, which city, along with all the country around, surrendered to Astapanaichus (Achyutappa Nayaka), the king of Tangior" ² We deduce from this passage that the cause of the trouble was not precisely refusal to pay the tribute, but the city of Kanchivaram, though what the fact was that created this enmity is not clear. Moreover we know from the same letter that the war never broke out. "It is quite certain", continues Coutinho, "that the King does not think of that expedition any more" ³ Venkata's designs were checked by the death of Achyutappa Nayaka ⁴ And since this took place in 1600, this quarrel between the Emperor and the Nayaka must have occurred in 1598-9.

2\ According to the *Sahithya atnakara*, Achyutappa Nayaka, on account of old age, resigned the crown in favour of his son Raghunatha Nayaka, and retired to Srirangam, where he spent the rest of his life. Consequently Raghunatha was crowned according to the ancient rites, Govinda Dikshita performing the ceremony ⁵ Up to this time we have relied upon the authority of Govinda Dikshita's son, Yagnanarayana Dikshita, who, however, to give some dramatic interest to his poem, placed the renunciation of Achyutappa after the outbreak of the civil war, and the death of Venkata II. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Anquetil du Perron said that Achyutappa "had resigned and given up the government affairs some years before 1600" ⁶ But Fr Pimenta, when passing through Tanjore in 1597, wrote that Achyutappa "has lately renounced the world and prepared himself for death" ⁷ Fr du Jarric

1 From Fr B Coutinho, Purchas, X, p. 222

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

4 Ibid, Purchas, l c

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 273

6 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p. 168

7 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 219

agrees with him¹ Hence there can be no longer any doubt about the date of Achyutappa's renunciation the year 1597 witnessed the coronation of Raghunatha and his father's pilgrimage to Srirangam. The *Raghunathabhyudayam* agrees with Pimenta and Anquetil du Perron according to this poem, Raghunatha was crowned King long before the civil war and the war with Ceylon²

Both Pimenta and du Jarric relate that when Achyutappa retired to Srirangam, he was faithfully "accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his carcase. Hee had bestowed five thousand pieces of gold in sweet woods against that day"³ Anquetil du Perron states that Achyutappa's death took place about 1600⁴ And Fr Coutinho, writing from Chandragiri on July 17th 1600 reports "This (Achyutappa Nayaka) died lately His corpse, along with 370 wives still alive was burnt in a big fire of sandal wood"⁵

Achyutappa is praised by the son of Govinda Dikshita for his long and beneficent rule, for the destruction of his enemies, and for his liberal patronage of learned men⁶ He gave many villages in free tenure to the temple at Srirangam offered a costly diamond-throne to the god Ranganatha, with a rich necklace, crown and leg jewels, all set with diamonds. He had many *agraharams* built in his name and lodged many Brahmans in them. He performed many *pujas* and other religious services in various temples, such as those of Chidambaram, Tirupati

1. Du Jarric I, p. 648.

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p 286-7

3. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr O Aquaviva Purchas, I. c. Cf. Du Jarric I. c.

4. Anquetil du Perron, I. c.

5. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap O, No V This passage had been translated by Purchas, X, p. 222, as follows "His three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames"

6. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 273.

Kalahasti etc ¹ According to the *Raghunathabhyudayam*, the beautiful golden tower over the shrine of Srirangam was one of his gifts to the god. This poem also records many presents made by him to the god Siva, who was worshipped at Rameswaram, and the restoration and reconstruction of many holy bathing ghats of this place which were then in ruins ²

3 Govinda Dikshita implies that Raghunatha was the eldest son of Achyutappa Nayaka, but Anquetil du Perron tells us that the eldest son of Achyutappa had been imprisoned by order of his father ³, and this information is confirmed by Fr Coutinho, in his letter of July 17th, 1600, to Fr Pimenta ⁴. No reason for such an imprisonment is given, what is clear is the extreme predilection of Achyutappa for Raghunatha. "When Raghunatha grew up", says Ramabhadramba in her poem, "his great qualities pleased his father very much. He had several Princesses of the Pandya and of other kingdoms married to him. Achyutappa made Raghunatha Yuvaraja" ⁵. The same poem, when describing the return of Raghunatha from Penukonda after defeating the Muslim hordes, who were menacing the capital of Venkata II, gives an instance of his special fondness. When Achyuta heard that his son Raghunatha was returning after accomplishing his mission with the Emperor of Karnata, he proceeded some distance from his capital to meet him, and gave him a fitting reception ⁶. Sivappa Nayaka, his grand-father, also had an extraordinary predilection for his grand-son Raghunatha. If we are to believe Govinda Dikshita "When he and many other famous scholars were once sitting in the court of Chevva (Siva), Raghunatha was brought before them, a small child. Seeing the child Chevva in great delight said "This child will become great and rule the whole kingdom, and we

1 Kuppaswami Sastri, *A Short History*, p 6-7 Cf S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 270

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 285.

3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 285

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o c, p 236

shall become famous on his account"¹ This singular love for Raghunatha naturally excluded the eldest son from the succession to the throne and this was perhaps the reason of the latter's imprisonment.

On many occasions such predilections have been the origin of unspeakable family tragedies as it was in the present case. The crime that ensued was carefully concealed by both the court poets Yagnanarayana Dikshita and Ramabhadramba, who did not mention even the existence of such a brother. After Raghunatha's accession to the throne his brother remained under custody and either because of a natural fear proceeding from the fact that his own right to the crown was less founded than that of his brother or owing perhaps to a court conspiracy in which his own brother was implicated, Raghunatha murdered his elder brother this crime is testified to by both Anquetil du Perron and Fr Coutinho.² As Fr Coutinho speaks of both events in the same letter dated July 1600 this fratricide must have been committed in the beginning of Raghunatha's reign perhaps immediately after the death of his father.

4. Raghunatha's relations with Venkata II are a little suspicious. There is no doubt that in 1604 the latter received an envoy probably with the tribute, from the Nayak of Tanjore.³ Nevertheless it seems that, before 1606 Tanjore had withdrawn the payment of tribute.⁴ In 1608 at the end of September or at the beginning of October Tanjore again sent his tribute to Venkata, according to a letter of Fr. Coutinho, referred to in the preceding chapter.⁵ About 1610, however Tanjore was not on friendly terms with Vijayanagara. At about this time Venkata besieged the city of St Thome the Portuguese were aided by Raghunatha who received for this service a letter from the Spanish sovereign (who was then also the King

1. *Sabithya Sudha* S Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 267

2. Anquetil du Perron, l. c. Letter of Fr Coutinho mentioned above.

3. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606 Ap. O. No. XXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ibid. No. XXVI.

5. Cf. Ch. XVII No. 11.

of Portugal) thanking him for his aid ¹ This is a proof that Raghunatha's policy towards the Empire was very suspicious After Venkata's death however he became as we shall see, the most enthusiastic supporter of the heir appointed by Venkata on his death-bed

5 When Venkata II ascended the throne of Vijayanagara, the Nayak of Jinji was probably Krishnappa Nayaka ², called Vencapatir by Anquetil du Perron ³ We do not know what kind of relations existed between him and Surappa Nayaka, who has been spoken of in the preceding chapters ⁴ Anquetil du Perron says that Krishnappa Nayaka succeeded his father ⁵ Who was then his predecessor? We cannot give a satisfactory answer to this question Mr Rangachari calls Krishnappa Nayaka, Varadappa Nayak (1580-1620), and states that he was the son of his predecessor Venkatappa (1570-1580), without however, mentioning the source of his information ⁶

We know nevertheless that after the death of his father, Krishnappa Nayaka, who must have been then a young man, was imprisoned by his uncle in the same fortress of Jinji But "by helpe of his friends", says Fr Pimenta, "he forced (his uncle) to become in the same place (prison) his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes" ⁷ Anquetil du Perron, who records the same fact, adds that Krishnappa was freed by his own subjects ⁸

6 Krishnappa was probably one of the chiefs who revolted against Venkata II in the beginning of the latter's reign, for, we see him imprisoned by Venkata, early during the siege of Penukonda by the Golkonda forces ⁹ On the occasion of his rebellion, the Emperor sent against him an army under the command of one Venkata, an elder brother of the Kalahasti

1 Cf Ch XXI No 13

2 *Raghunathabhyudayam*, S^r Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 286

3 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 169

4 Cf Ch VIII, No 3 and Ch XIII, No 7

5 Anquetil du Perron, l c

6 *Ind Ant*, XLV, p 92

7 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr O Aquaviva,, Purchas, X, p 218

8 Anquetil du Perron, l c

9 Cf Ch XVI, No 1

chief Ankabhupala Venkata marched against Krishnappa and defeated him¹ It seems that Krishnappa fell into the hands of the victorious generals for he was afterwards kept in the Emperor's prison² Such is the expression used by Ramabhadramba in her *Raghunathabhyudayam* it has been supposed, however that this Emperor's prison was in the capital itself Penukonda³ During the time of his confinement the Jinji territory seems to have been ruled by Venkata the general who had defeated the Nayak because the same *Ushaparinayam*, that gives us the information about his victory says that after this event Venkata constructed in his territory (*vis* Krishnappa's) a large tank, and named it Chennasagaram after his father⁴ This seems to imply a long stay in the Jinji country

It happened afterwards that Raghunatha Nayaka, after the defeat of the Golkonda forces asked the Emperor Venkata for the release of Krishnappa, which was granted through the Tanjore Crown Prince. The lord of Tundura (Jinji) then prostrated himself with his Queen before Raghunatha, and showed his gratitude by giving Raghunatha his daughter in marriage⁵

7 Some years after Krishnappa's return to Jinji Fr Nicolas Pimenta a Jesuit traveller often mentioned in this work, made his acquaintance while making his visitation of the Jesuit missions in the South of India from him we fortunately possess a valuable account of his dealings with the Nayak and of the very city and fortress of Jinji.

Their first meeting took place in the city of Chidambaram in 1597 Pimenta arrived there on his way to St. Thome, where Krishnappa Nayaka happened to be at the time. "The Naichus of Gingi says Pimenta himself "was come thither in whose Dominion it standeth. He commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. Before us two hundred Brachmanes went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water and to prevent Sorcerie against the King which they use to doe every

1. *Ushaparinayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar Sources p. 308

2. S Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. o., p. 285

3. *Ol. Ibid.*, p. 272, note.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

5. *Raghunathabhyudayam Ibid.*, p. 286

day that the King first entreth into any house We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaîne hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles, some Princes and Brachmanes attended him He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building" ¹

They met again aftersome days at Jinji itself Fr Pimenta's narrative is worth reading, it shows the greatness and wealth of this famous city, called at that time by the Europeans *the Troy of the East*, it shows as well some of the customs and ceremonies performed in the court of Krishnappa Nayaka

"Wee went thence to Gingi," writes Pimenta, "the greatest Citie we have seene in India, and bigger than any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted In the midst therefore is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable The Naicus showed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll)

"The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot, a spring also of cleare water He (the Nayak) was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes Christapanaichus (Krishnappa Nayaka), (that is his name)

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 208 Cf Du Jarric, I, p 634

shewed us another day his store of Jewels, and gave us leave in his new Citie ¹

8. This new city referred to by Pimenta was then under construction. It was named Christapatama, i.e. Krishnapatam after the name of the Nayak its founder ². It is located" says du Jarric, "inth country called Arungor near the mouth of the river Vellar" ³. In order to foster the new foundation Krishnappa allowed every body to select his own building-site and a piece of land was assigned to everybody in the outskirts of the city for agricultural purposes. Consequently many buildings were under construction when the visitor went there ⁴. To superintend the building of this town Krishnappa had appointed one of the nobles of his kingdom called Cholgana (Solaga) of whom we shall speak a little further on ⁵.

Krishnappa Nayaka earnestly asked Fr Pimenta to build a church in this new city and to erect a residence for a priest, he himself giving a good endowment two hundred pieces of gold being assigned to the Priest thereof" says Pimenta, "his Letters Patents written in the Tamulan and Badagan Languages" ⁶. This grant was made in the presence of all the grandees and nobles of the court ⁷. Accordingly Fr Pimenta called Fr Alexander Levi a man of renowned holiness and of great knowledge of the vernacular from Travancore and left him at Krishnapatam to superintend the construction of the new church ⁸.

1. From the same to the same Purchas, X, p. 217-8. Cf. Du Jarric I, p. 640-2. See Heras, *The City of Jinji at the End of the 16th Century Ind. Ant.*, LIV p. 41-2 where this extract of Pimenta's letter is illustrated and commented upon.

2. Du Jarric, I. c.

3. Ibid., p. 646. It forms the present Hindu quarter of Porto Novo.

4. Ibid., p. 646-7.

5. Ibid., p. 642.

6. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C. Aquaviva Purchas, X, p. 218.

7. Du Jarric, I, p. 642-3.

8. Ibid., p. 647. It is very strange to see Krishnappa Nayaka favouring so much the Portuguese Jesuits, whose nation was

9 One of the Jesuit Letters of 1606 states that from among the three Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Jinji, he of Jinji was the most powerful, and accordingly he had divided his dominions among other smaller Nayaks. One of these smaller Nayaks, subjects to Krishnappa Nayaka, was, according to the same letter, Lingama Nayaka of Vellore ¹ Fr Pimenta mentions two other feudatories of Krishnappa, 'the Princes of Trividin (Tiruvadi) and Salavaccha (?)' ² The above mentioned Solaga was also one of the chiefs of the highest rank ³ He appears both in the *Saltyaratnakara* of Yagnanarayana Dikshita and in the *Raghumathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba ⁴ During Fr Pimenta's stay at Jinji, Solaga's son, a boy of fourteen, 'accompanied by many nobles and old men', reached the capital to ask Krishnappa to name him after himself, with the further request of a grant of a golden chair and several pieces of land. He became a close friend of the Jesuits, so close that when the Nayak allowed the Fathers to depart he commended them to the care of Solaga's son, who accompanied them safely to the castle of his father ⁵

The latter was living in a small fort at the mouth of the river Colerun. "He had scene his eighties, and was a man of great authority among his subjects, feared by everybody" ⁶ "Colgana (Solaga), a great man, received us with great kindness", says Fr Pimenta himself. "Hee is old and severe, and hath caused Crocodiles to bee put in his River for his securitie, charging them not to hurt his owne people. They nevertheless killed a man, whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about

reputed as polluted by the orthodox Hindus. Du Jarric, I, p 635, affirms that the Nayak used to say that 'he had formerly seen other Portuguese priests, but none was alike to these'.

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

2 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p 209

3 Du Jarric, I, p 642

4 We shall speak of him again in the beginning of the following volume

5 Du Jarric, I, p 643

6 *Ibid*, p, 647.

their neckes and cast them into a miry place, there to bee stoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of these we saw' ¹

This description of the person and character of Solaga marvellously agrees with the account given of him in the *Raghunathabhyudayam*. He had occupied an island near the sea, and was giving great trouble to the surrounding country. He used to carry away women from the neighbouring country and was giving the people no peace" ²

10 Such were some of the tributaries of the powerful Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji. Holding such a power as he did, it is not strange that his old ideas of independence should again rise in his mind. The fact is that in 1600 the nobles and courtiers of Venkata II were earnestly urging him to capture the town of Jinji as Fr Coutinho informs us in one of his letters ³. Anquetil du Perron says that Venkata had plenty of reasons for waging war against the Nayak of Jinji, in 1600 ⁴ but nowhere are these reasons found. One was very likely the refusal of the annual tribute as pointed out by the same Anquetil.

And then all of a sudden it happened that Krishnappa Nayaka became demented. "Krishnappa Naiken the Sovereign of Jinji" says Anquetil du Perron "became insane, as a result of a poison which was administered to him" ⁵. This was indeed the first rumour of this affair but soon it was clear that his madness was feigned, as we read in Fr Coutinho's letter mentioned above. Christapanaicus (Krishnappa Nayaka) says he, being poisoned, got mad, although the fraud is now patent the King feigned to be out of his head in order to please four of the grandees of his kingdom who were afterwards killed by his order" This apparent insanity saved Krishnappa Nayaka from the war

1. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr O Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 218. Cf. Du Jarrie I, p. 647-8.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 286.

3. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandrahari July 17th, 1600 Ap. C No V.

4. Anquetil du Perron, *Lo.*, p. 166.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

which Venkata and his nobles were ready to make upon him "They persuaded the King (Venkata) to invest this city (Jinji)", says Coutinho, "but he, though having right to do so, replied that it would be a most cruel thing to go to war with a feudatory while he was insane" ¹

Four years later, in 1604, Krishnappa sent an embassy to Venkata, as the Jesuit letters inform us ², but war burst out at last towards the end of 1607, ending with great dishonour to the Nayak

II On this occasion Venkata, not being able to stand the tardiness of the Nayak in paying his tribute, 'despatched his captains to conquer the lands of the Naique of Ginga (Jinji)', says Fr Coutinho in another letter. One of these captains, and perhaps the commander-in-chief, was Velugoti Yachama Nayadu, for the *Velugutivaru Vamsavali* says that in the course of Venkata's reign he captured Chengi (Jinji) ³. "While the imperial army was approaching the fortress, God wanted to punish the Naique who was within," continues Coutinho. "Had he remained in the fortress, nobody would have defeated him, for it is impregnable, but he, too arrogant, went out to meet the army of the King (Venkata). Then his own captains, despairing, deserted him, and the said Naique fell prisoner into the hands of his enemies. And he," adds Coutinho, "distributed his earrings and other jewels he bore on his chest among his opponents, in order to induce them not to kill him." Such was the great victory won on New Year's day, 1608.

News of the happy event reached Vellore at midnight. The Emperor set out for Jinji next morning with a large retinue of courtiers and relations. "The imprisoned Naique prostrated himself at his feet, and through the Queen and her brothers, agreed to paying him a sum of 600,000 *cruzados*, and to handing over to the Queen the fortress of Ganaripatao, which lay close by. After this, the King retired again to Vellur, and the Naique

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V Cf Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 166

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No. XXII

3 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 274

of Ginga (Jinji) moved by his loss of money and elephants marched towards Cirangan (Srirangam) one of his temples saying that he did not want to govern any more, and so on. But the two Naiques of Madura and Tangior who are his friends presented him with many gifts and caused him to return to his State where he is now " 1

12. Precisely at the end of this year an embassy from the Dutch traders arrived at Krishnappa's court, requesting his permission to establish themselves at Devanapatnam, near the present European Club Cuddalore. A Jesuit letter informs us that the Nayak received these (the Dutch) very hospitably and allowed them to build a citadel at the post where they landed 2 The Nayak's *olla* in which this first concession to the Dutch was made, is dated November 30th 1608 3

The letter quoted above relates that the Dutch, after obtaining this document had very diligently begun to build the citadel 4 In one of the following chapters we shall see the consequences that followed the construction of this fort which was finally destroyed by order of Emperor Venkata.

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap. O, No. XXIII See Ap. O, No. XXV, where Fr Laerzio alludes probably to this war in his letter to Fr O. Aquaviva dated Cochín, December 30th, 1608

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1609 Ap. O, No. XXX.

3. "Copy of the Caull of the King of Gingier—Jacob de Bitter Captain, representing Admiral Pieter Willemsen Verhoeven We promise to protect the Dutchmen who will settle in Tegenampatna, to allow them to build a town, to refuse entrance in it to the Portuguese, to whom we shall remain hostile. On the other hand, we Dutch men promise to bring all kinds of goods, to traffic with all traders, on the condition that they will pay us four for every hundred of all the merchandise we shall bring there, excepting the rice which is used at home, for which they will not pay Moreover we shall pay four for every hundred of the merchandise that we shall carry away from there. Those who have paid once will not pay again. We promise and take the oath to keep all these faithfully Amen. On the 30th of November of the year 1608 in the large town of Gingier" De Jongue, III, p. 281-2.

4. *Litterae Annuae* mentioned in note 2.

CHAPTER XX

THE END OF THE KANARESE VICEROYALTY

SUMMARY—1 Vindication of Viceroy Tirumala His rule—2 Tirumala and the Jesuits—3 Conquests of Raja Wodeyar of Mysore His relations with the Viceroy—4 Muhammadan invasion of the Kanarese country—5 Second inroad of Manjun Khan Conquest of Mysore—6 The Viceroy Tirumala leaves Seringapatam—7 Occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar His relations with Venkata II—8 The Nayaks of Ikeri—9 The Queen of Ullal and her fortress against Mangalore—10 Kempe Gowda II of Yelahanka—11 The chiefs of Chitaldroog and Bellur—12 Portuguese interests in Kanara

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants—2 Jesuit letters—3 *Morcoes do Reino* (Pangim Archives)—4 Ferishta—5 Guerreiro—6 Anquetil du Perron, *Travels of Pietro della Valle*—7 *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali, Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Sivatatvaratnakara*

THE concocted story of the *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, about how Prince Tirumala was bribed by the Nayak of Madura in the beginning of Venkata's reign, and then retreated to Seringapatam in a rebellious attitude against his uncle, has found its way into several modern works. The character of the Kanarese Viceroy has thus come to be associated with the specially repulsive ideas of rebellion and treachery, totally at variance with the historical personality of the unfortunate nephew of Venkatapatiraya. Can it be possible that the energetic and warlike Emperor would have waited fourteen years till he saw his supposed rebellious nephew expelled from the capital of his viceroyalty? On the other hand, no word on this supposed attitude of Tirumala is found either in Anquetil du Perron, who merely remarks that he was residing at Seringapatam¹, or in the Jesuit letters, which testify, however, that Venkata had a natural predilection for Tirumala's younger

1 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 167

brother Ranga¹ Moreover we know two of Tirumala's inscriptions of the year 1585 in the Mysore district, in which he is styled Mahamandalaswara²—a title which suggests a subordinate rank under the Emperor His rule as Viceroy of the Kanarese country could not be stigmatized as either weak or fictitious for in 1609-10 just on the eve of his departure from Seringapatam the Kalasa Karkala chief Bhayirarasa Vodeya (son of Vira Bhayirarasa Vodeya who did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara) is said in one of his inscriptions to rule as feudatory of Venkata II³ Fr Coutinho says in one of his letters that Tirumala is liked by more as well as more powerful chieftains than his brother Ranga⁴ Now the above mentioned inscription of the Kalasa Karkala chief proves that, instead of taking advantage of this friendship and respect of the subordinate chiefs for rebelling against his uncle, he obtained the acknowledgment of his sovereignty at least from one who did not pay homage to his predecessors since the time of the battle of Raksas Tagdi⁵

Very little information about his internal administration has reached us. In 1598 he remitted the customs-dues on the village of Akalankajayya and when Bachihalli Pamappa Nayaka heard of this this chief too granted a similar exemption to the village of Vijayapura⁶ In 1607 he made a grant for the service of the god⁷ Again in 1610 he made another grant to Holinahala Linganna of the Seringampattana *matha*⁸ and another inscription of the same year seems to mention one of his dependants named Ramanujayya, who is styled the establisher of the path of the Vedas follower of both Vedanta⁹

1. *OL Ch.* XXIV No. 6

2. *Ep Carn* III, Sr 39 and 40

3. *Ibid.*, Mb, 63 *OL H. Krishna Sastri Karkala Inscription of Bhairava II Ep Ind.*, VIII, p. 127

4. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandraagiri July 17th, 1600 *Ap. O* No. V

5. *Of. Ch.* X, No 17

6. *Ep Carn* IV Gu, 52.

7. *Ibid.*, Hs 36

8. *Ibid.*, Ch, 194.

9. *Ibid.* Gu, 40

2 Tirumala's character is fully described in the letters of the Jesuits who were living at this time at the court of Venkata. He was determined that at least one of the Fathers should reside at Seringapatam, and erect a church for the Christians of his country ¹ On July 17th, 1600, Fr Coutinho wrote to Fr Pimenta "Trimaragius, the eldest son of the King's brother, heir of his kingdom, urges us again and again inviting us to his court. He sent us a letter which I am going to copy here —

"Trimanus, Mahanda Lispara, Ramarragius Trimarragius, Lord great prince, sends this letter to the Fathers. I shall rejoice very much when I shall hear that you are coming to this town of mine, I shall give you then a good piece of land in this city to build a house and church, moreover five hundred-fold pagodes yearly. Besides, I shall receive you with great honour and generosity. So I swear by Lord Zanganatam (Ranganatam) and by the feet of my father Ramaraja. You will learn the rest from my ambassador. Come at once, and do not make me wait" ²

This seems to have been Tirumala's first invitation to the Jesuits to come to his court. Later in the same year two of the Fathers went through Seringapatam in the company of Venkata's ambassadors to the Viceroy of Goa, as will be related in the following chapter. On this occasion Tirumala constantly urged the Fathers 'that one of them would stay with him on returning' ³ But they did not gratify his wish, partly because of the want of missionaries, and partly on account of the antipathy of Venkata II towards his nephew, the Viceroy. In 1606 Tirumala sent once more a message to the Fathers residing at the imperial court, and addressed them the following letter —

"In the year Subaratut, in the 10th month, on the 10th day after full moon. Letter of Trimalaraju, Ramaraju's son, the greatest Prince, Raju among Rajus, sent to the Fathers at

1 Guerrero (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137
Cf Heras, *The Jesuit Influence*, Q J M S, XIV, p 133-4

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

Chandagrini (Chandragiri) I received your letter you sent me through your Raju and I kept it over my heart. All your presents are also in my possession. I was very glad to know that you have spoken in my interest with the King and the Princes of the kingdom about my journey to the court. You told me, when passing through here on your way to Goa, that you would soon come back for good. I am astonished you are not yet here. Come soon do not hesitate. My envoy will tell you the rest.¹

This second letter of Tirumala is a most valuable document for determining the relations between him and his uncle. He was desirous to go to the court, a strange disposition of mind to be expected from a rebellious feudatory as he is commonly depicted. To attain this object he used the Jesuit influence at the court of his uncle. The Jesuits spoke to Venkata about Tirumala's coming but apparently the Emperor disliked the proposal or at least was loth to give his approval to it.²

In 1608 the Jesuits had not yet gone to Seringapatam. An other letter of Fr Coutinho written in this year says that "Tirumalarayu the Prince is continuously writing *ollas* to us from Cirangapatao (Seringapatam) where he resides, calling us (to his court) and showing by writing the same friendship he showed personally to us while going to Goa, along with the ambassadors of the King."³

Tirumala's wishes were never granted. The year 1610 witnessed the end of his viceroyalty and several years passed before the opening of the Jesuit mission in Mysore.

3 One of the influential chiefs of the Kanarese country at the beginning of Venkata's reign was, beyond doubt, Raja

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ap. C, No. XXII

2. Can this agree with the following words condemnatory of the conduct of Tirumala towards his uncle "This coolness (of Tirumala towards Venkata) led directly to the taking of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore." Richards, *Salem Gazetteer* p. 67 We shall see later on that the capture of Seringapatam was due precisely to the coolness of Venkata towards Tirumala. Cf. No 6 infra.

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXIII.

Wodeyar of Mysore. We have seen elsewhere how at the end of Ranga's reign, he began the policy of annexing petty States to his own. As Madura was in the Tamilian, so too he wanted to become supreme lord of the Kanara country, and yet always, it seems, under the sovereignty of the Vijayanagara Emperor. With this aspiration he continued now to absorb systematically the territories of the neighbouring chiefs. According to Wilk's list the territories seized by the Raja of Mysore in the beginning of Venkata's reign were the following. In 1545, he conquered from one Tima Raja, Rang Sammudir containing twelve villages. In 1590 he captured Kembala by assault. In 1505 Narmalli and Karugalli were taken from one of his relations. In 1600 Arrakerra, the primitive jagir of Jagadeva Raya, was likewise annexed, and in 1606 he took Sosilla and Bannur from the Raja of Talakkad, and Canniambaddi from Dudeia Prabhu.¹

Such accession of power naturally aroused the suspicions of the Seringapatam Viceroy. That was perhaps the reason why he besieged the town of Kesara, which depended on the Wodeyar. But the Mysore forces defeated the army of the Viceroy, one elephant being among the plunder. "But Raj Wodeyar", says Wilks, "sagely reflecting, as the manuscript states, that he could maintain thirty soldiers at the same expense as one elephant, sent the animal as a peace offering to the Viceroy. The next year," continues Wilks, "we find him received with particular favour at the court, and immediately afterwards, not only refusing to pay his tribute on pretence of some damage done to his plantations by the people of the Viceroy, but receiving a further grant of land to compensate for the injury."²

The Government of Seringapatam was unwillingly yielding to the powerful chief, and an attempt on his life was made, but without success. "The opportunity", says Wilks, "was expected to be obtained by the mission of an officer of the court, attended as usual by a large but select retinue, for security after the perpetration of the murder, and ostensibly charged

¹ Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p. 44

² Ibid., p. 38

with a secret and confidential message from the Viceroy. The Raja unsuspecting of treachery without hesitation ordered all attendants to withdraw but a more vigilant observer took the precaution of concealing himself behind one of the pillars of the hall of audience and on perceiving the officer to grasp his dagger instantly inflicted on the assassin the fate intended for the Raja" ¹

4. The Viceroy however was not the only one who was scheming to seize the newly acquired territories of Raja Wodeyar. A new foe had sprung up in the person of the Sultan of Bijapur. Early in 1587 while Venkata was waging war with Golkonda Ibrahim Adil Shah II despatched one of his generals, Balil Khan with twelve thousand horse, "to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar (Kanara) and in case they refused payment to reduce their forts" ². He was in Kanara for one year during which he nearly brought affairs in that quarter to a final adjustment ³. But he was suddenly recalled to the court to join the Sultan's army against Ahmadnagar. When he received his order "he was just on the point of receiving a large sum as part of the arrears of tribute, which would have been lost to the treasury had he immediately made public his orders of recall and the troops would also have met with great difficulties as he himself confessed in the presence of the Sultan according to Ferishta ⁴. Finally he retreated to Bijapur with several Rajas of the Kanarese country who accompanied him to pay their compliments to the King" ⁵. These chiefs were afterwards honoured by Ibrahim Adil Shah with precious robes ⁶. One chief was, according to Ferishta, the son of Arsappa Nayaka ⁷. Another was named as the Portuguese sources tell us Sam Carnao Botto (?) We have been unable to identify this person whose territory was near the fort of Basrur. When

1. Ibid., p. 39

2. Ferishta, III, p. 161.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 162.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 163.

7. Ibid.

the Portuguese sovereign was informed by his Viceroy of the intention of this chief to relinquish his dominions to Bijapur, he sent his instructions as follows "As regards the business of Sam Carnao Botto, which is of great importance, as is clear from the way it goes on, I recommend to be very careful, and to consent by no means that those fortresses be handed over to Idalxa (Adil Shah), using every possible endeavour to this end"¹ But shortly after tidings were sent to the King of the actual surrender of these forts to Bijapur "Again the same governor informs me that, on account of the entrusting of the fortresses to Idalxa by Sao Carnao Botto the fortress of Barcelor (Basrur) is in a great distress"²

5 Nevertheless this subjection of the North Kanara petty rulers to the sway of Bijapur was due only to the force of the latter's arms, for from the time of Bahil Khan's retreat in 1588 up to the year 1593 all of them 'had neglected to pay their tribute' Ibrahim Adil Shah resolved this year to humble these chiefs "For this purpose", says Ferishta, "he despatched Manjun Khan with a considerable army This general on arriving at Bakapur halted, and summoned all the Rays to meet him with their tributes, promising protection to those who obeyed, but threatening the refractory with vengeance Most of them prepared to comply with his demands! and intended coming in a body to visit him, but as Ganga Naik, who was one of the principal Rays of Malabar (Kanara), and had eight or ten thousand horse and foot in his pay, went first to pay his respects, the rest jealous of his power, and suspecting that he had gone to form some plan against them with Manjun Khan, broke off their engagements and withdrew to the mountains Manjun Khan, not thinking it prudent to follow them into an unknown country, marched with Ganga Naik against Jerreh which belonged to Arsappa Naik, who with his allies, to the number of twenty thousand men, endeavoured to interrupt the siege For three days bloody

1 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No I

2 From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No II

skirmishes were maintained by the Bijapur troops, who could not make use of their cavalry owing to the nature of the ground, so that their success was frequently doubtful. But at length the good fortune of the king prevailed" says the Muhammadan writer "and Arsappa, seeing further resistance vain consented to pay tribute, and made a present of two fine elephants to Manjun Khan with many curious and valuable effects for the King"

Manjun Khan accompanied by Ganga Nayak and Arsappa Nayak, who now joined the invader then proceeded southwards and besieged the city of Mysore¹. The siege lasted three months but the city was finally reduced, twenty five elephants being taken among the booty. It is a pity that we have no further details concerning the surrender of Raja Wodeyar's capital about which the Hindu sources maintain a discreet silence.

Mysore however did not remain long in the possession of the Muhammadans for Manjun Khan was again recalled at Bijapur in the same year to assist the Sultan's troops against his brother who had rebelled at Belgaum. After his retreat the Kanarese Rajas again withdrew their allegiance to Bijapur as is implied in Ferishta's statement "The Hindus of Malabar (Kanara) seizing the opportunity invaded the districts of Bankapur"². These Hindus who invaded the districts of Bankapur must have been a detachment sent there by Venkata II himself according to the treaty enacted just then between him and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar against the Sultan of Bijapur³. Naturally the presence of the imperial army in North Kanara suggests the freedom of the petty Rajas of Kanara from Muslim slavery.

The rising of Ibrahim Adil Shah's brother at Belgaum proved on this occasion the salvation of Kanara. The rapid conquests made by Manjun Khan were the beginning of the successful

1. Ferishta says here that Mysore belonged to Venkatsadri Naik / *e.*, the Ikeri Nayak. This is a palpable mistake copied by Burgess, *Chronology* p. 56.

2. Ferishta III p. 173-5

3. *Ib d.*, p. 180.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 286

campaign which would have marked the end of the Hindu power in this country. This was likewise the opinion of the Portuguese of those days, who were close to the scene of that tragedy, and interested enough in the revenue coming from Kanara to fill up the empty state-coffers. We know of this feeling of the Portuguese through a letter of their King written in 1596. He wrote to the Viceroy as follows: "(Mathias de Albuquerque) also writes to me that the Idalcao (Adil Khan) had sent some captains to fight against the Kings and Lords of Canara, at the request of the Queen of Baticalla (Bhatkal), he says likewise that two fortresses would have been taken by them in Gatty, had not the rising of the brother of the said Idalcao compelled him to recall the captains" ¹

6 Soon after the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the Kanarese country, an event took place in the capital of its Viceroyalty which completely upset the political balance in the West of the Empire. We refer to the occupation of Seringapatam by Raja Wodeyar of Mysore.

The *Chukkadevaraya Vamsavali* says that Raja Wodeyar, on hearing of the defection of Tirumala in the siege of Madura, "resolved to drive the traitor Tirumala Raya from his Viceroyalty, and sent his spies to test the feeling among Tirumala Raya's feudatories" ². But we have rejected this passage as a concoction of the poet inconsistent with other proved historical facts, and as clearly evincing the author's biassed purpose, *viz* to extol the founder of the dynasty. But this is not the only story forged around this event. "The acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610", says Wilks, "is related in different manuscripts with a diversity of statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of contemporaries to unravel. The prevailing tale states that the Viceroy Tremul Raj, being afflicted with *raj-pora* or royal boil (the disorder most fatal to opulent and luxurious Indians) retired to the holy temple of Talcaud (Talakad), with the view of being cured by the interposition of the

1 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, February 8th, 1596, Ap b, No V

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 303

We cannot with confidence join in the chorus of the authors who look upon this event as the first act of the dismemberment of the Empire¹ Raja Wodeyar always acknowledged the sovereignty of Venkata II as may be seen from an inscription of 1604, recording a grant made by him, when Venkatapati Raya was seated on the jewelled throne² also from another of 1612 which commemorates another of his grants to Siva after acknowledging Venkata as his paramount lord³ In the same year 1612, another event took place that proves Raja Wodeyar's subjection to the Emperor of Vijayanagara it is a charter confirming the acquisition of Seringapatam, obtained by Raja Wodeyar from Venkata II This document is not yet available, but is referred to in an inscription of Chama Raja Wodeyar of 1622 "On a certain day" says the inscription "when this Chama Raj Odeyar of Maisur was engaged in conversation on good stories of works of merit it came into his mind that he would establish an agrahara. And on inquiry finding that formerly in the Saka year 1534 (A D 1612) when Venkatapatideva Maharaya being in Ghanagiri (Penukonda), ruling the kingdom of the world, he had granted to Raj Odeyar a King of his own line, Ummatur and Seringapatana, as an hereditary estate, Raja Odeyar had then sent a petition saying he wished to establish an *agrahara* and that Venkatapati Raya had expressed his strong approval and granted a copper sasana"⁴

This ratification of the capture of Seringapatam and the concession of the village of Bevinahalli to Raja Wodeyar by Venkata are recorded in two inscriptions of the former belonging to the years 1614 and 1615 both prove likewise the loyalty of the Raja to Venkata till the end of the latter's reign, for they mention him as the supreme sovereign. The first mentions a grant of Raja Wodeyar "for the god Chaluvaraya and 28

1. Cf. Bloo, *Mysore* I p. 356; Bloo *Mysore and Coorg* p. 122; Sewell p. 220 H. Krishna Sastri *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty A.S.I. 1911 12* p. 196.

2. *Ep Carn.*, IV Ch, 62.

3. *Ibid.*, 135

4. *Ep Carn.*, III, TN 62.

Brahmans belonging to Seringapatam, which Venkatapatī Raya has assigned to him as an umbālī" ¹, the second records another grant made by the same "for the god Ramāchandra of Vahnīpura of the village of Bevinahallī belonging to Bannur, which he had received from Venkatapatīdeva Maharaya as an hereditary permanent estate" ²

8 The Mysore chief was not alone in his desire to obtain supremacy in Kanara. The Ikerī Nayak, Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, was successfully administering his kingdom. It was he who gave the first impulse to expansion, which was followed by his successor Venkatappa. A letter of the King of Portugal to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira informs us of the ambitious projects of Chikka Sankanna. It runs as follows "You say that the Queen of Baticala (Bhatkal) has not paid the tribute due for many years, and that she is now in great distress on account of one Naique (Chikka Sankanna Nayaka) formerly a subject of the king of Narsingua (Vijayanagara) but now risen to power, and who gives clear proofs of his ambition to become the paramount lord over all those neighbouring kings" ³

Chikka Sankanna constructed a beautiful new town at Ikerī with a magnificent palace, which was provided with a handsome theatre. At the village of Sangalā he had a big tank built and a garden laid out, which contained all kinds of trees and creepers ⁴

Although he had a son called Siddhappa Nayaka, in his old age he appointed his elder brother's son, Venkatappa Nayaka, his successor, and nominated the latter's younger brother, Rama Raja, Yuvaraja ⁵. This fact must be placed before, or in the

1 Ibid, Sr, 157

2 Ibid, TN, 116 According to Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 281, the 'grants' of Venkata II to Raja Wodeyar 'appear to have been conquests rather than grants'

3 From King Philip II to the Viceroy Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, November 21st, 1598, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, III, pt 2nd, p 916

4 *Svatattvaratnakara*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 339

5 Ibid, p 338-9 Mr Sewell, II, p 177, says that Siddhappa Nayaka succeeded his father Sankanna, but reigned only one year (1603-4)

first half of 1592 for there is an inscription of September 30th 1592, in which Venkatappa appears as Nayaka of Ikeri making a grant for the services of a *matha* ¹

The new ruler was to be the most illustrious of the princes of Ikeri and was destined to become for time the rival of Mysore in his wars of conquest but since most of his achievements as a successful conqueror belong to the period subsequent to the death of Venkata II we shall refer to them all in the following volume. Mr Sewell qualifies him as a weak ruler ² a statement that appears entirely false for he was a valiant and enterprising general as well as a shrewd politician. It has also been said that he threw off his dependence on the Vijayanagara Emperor ³ though no reliable proof of this has been yet afforded. As a matter of fact we have convincing proofs of his loyalty to Venkata II in the aforesaid inscription of 1592 and in another of 1614, at Udipi, South Kanara in which mention is made of the grant of the village of Huvnakere by Venkatappa Nayak of Keladi to the local Krishnamatha ⁴. In both the Ikeri chief acknowledges Venkata II as his sovereign.

9 One of Venkatappa's royal neighbours was Bukka Devi, Chautar Queen of Ullal of whom we have already spoken in a preceding chapter. After the settlement of the differences between her and the King of Bangher recorded during the reign of Ranga I, it seems that she constructed a fortress in Ullal to oppose the one built by the Portuguese at Mangalore but was compelled by the Portuguese Viceroy to destroy it probably in fulfilment of one of the terms of the treaty of peace. The King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on February 18th 1595 approving of this treaty with the Queen of Ullal ⁵. But on the 26th of the same month probably after getting fuller information his Majesty wrote to his representative in India as follows 'I approve of the peace made with the Queen

1. *M. A. D.*, 1923 p. 106 7

2. Sewell, II p. 177

3. *Rice Mysore* II, p. 431.

4. 110 of 1901

5. From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque Lisbon, February 18th, 1595 *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* III, p. 478.

of Ollala (Ullal) after forcing her to pull down the fortress that she had constructed and retained with such great loss of reputation to that State (of Portuguese India), but I am informed now that the aforesaid fortress of Ollala has not been demolished as completely as it ought to have been, and that the foundations are still remaining, in such a way that in a very few days and with very little work it may be put up again, I recommend you to see that the foundations are totally destroyed" ¹.

Accordingly the Viceroy sent to Ullal Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, who razed the fortress to the ground, as another letter of the King informs us ² In the same letter we are told that the Queen was waging war against the King of the Serra (?) at about 1597. The King of Portugal "had written to the King of Banguel (Bangher) charging him to settle such differences, and praying him that he would by no means join the aforesaid King of the Serra against the Queen" ³ This final recommendation of the Portuguese sovereign makes it seem probable that the King of Bangher had formerly rendered some aid to the King of the Serra against the sovereign of Ullal This was customary in the court of Portugal, it recommended people not to do in future that which it knew was already being done Anyhow this incident was probably the cause of the definite break of relations between the two neighbouring chiefs

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle informs us about the relations between these two sovereigns and the subsequent events resulting from this break of intercourse, "yet, though they were Husband and Wife," says he, "they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own lands on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another, the King of Banguel wanting not

1 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 26th, 1595, *Ibid*, p 503

2 From the same to the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, Lisbon, February 5th, 1597, *Ibid*, III, pt 2nd, p 667

3 *Ibid*

other Wives and Women who accompany d him wherever he went 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children which she hath, by this King of Banguel, if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover for they say she wants not such " 1

10 During this period, in the petty state of Yelahanka we find Immadi Kempe Gowda II but we cannot admit that he was the immediate successor of Kempe Gowda, with out at the same time admitting that his reign lasted 89 years and specially when there are documents to support the probability of another chief between the two Kempe Gowdas 2

He improved the Somesvara temple at Ulsur and, calling from Belur a famous sculptor named Jakanachary ordered him to carve on its walls the episode of the marriage of Parvati and Siva. The carvings says Mr B Puttaliya "consist of numerous sculptures and figures of Gods and Goddesses who attend the marriage, including Brahma and Vishnu and the thirty-three crores of Devathas or inhabitants of the celestial world. The details of the assemblage at the ceremony are all carved in stone with a wealth of elegance ornament, and realism so that one is astonished at the wonderful skill displayed in carving such intrincating details on hard stone" 3

It is said that Kempe Gowda II died in 1658. Hence we shall speak of him again later

11 Very little is known about the other states of Kanara during Venkata II's reign. The year 1602 seems to have witnessed the death of Obana Nayaka who, being appointed by Sadasiva chief of Chitaldroog had acquired considerable importance during the reign of Tirumala and Ranga. He was now succeeded by his son Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka during whose reign the possession of Mayakonda, Sente Bennur Holalkere, Anaji Jagalur and other places was contested in

1 Della Valle II, p. 313 Fr Coutinho in one of his letters says that "Tornagoda, the Governor of Olala invites us (to go there) From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th 1600, Ap. O, No. V This must be a governor on behalf of Bukka Devl.

2 Cl. Puttaliya *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs* Q.J.M.S., XIII, p. 729 and Ep. Can., IX, An, 47

3 Puttaliya o. c., p 730,

several battles with the Basvapatna chief. But they remained attached to the Chitaldroog territory. His governorship lasted until 1653, and in the long tenure of his office he had considerably extended his territories ¹.

In Bellur we find a grand-son of Era Krishnappa Nayaka and son of Venkatadri. An inscription of 1587, which acknowledges the suzerainty of Venkata II 'ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom', records that Krishnappa Nayaka, grand-son of Era Krishnappa and son of Venkatappa Nayaka, made a grant for watchmen from money obtained from the temple endowments ².

12 No other conquests by the Portuguese took place in Kanara during this period, but the King of Portugal as well as his Viceroy at Goa were carefully watching the fortunes of this country. We have seen the interest the Portuguese sovereign took in the affair of the fortresses of Sao Carnao Botto. Portuguese trade received its greatest supplies from Kanara. "Accordingly (Manoel de Sousa) writes to me," says Philip II, "that the greatest quantity of pepper that comes by these fleets is taken from Kanara, and according to him it will be increased every year, a thing which will be of great value for the loading of our ships. He says, moreover, that he was trying to satisfy the kings of the coast as much as he could because of this pepper, the majority of which comes from the lands of Sao Carnao Botto ³."

This was the reason of the intercourse between the Portuguese and the chiefs of the Kanara country; for trading purposes also, several Portuguese forts were built on the coast, as we have narrated during the reign of Sadasivā. In the beginning of Venkata's reign, these fortresses were repaired and furnished with sufficient ammunition, according to an order of the Portuguese sovereign to the Viceroy dated February 18th, 1595 ⁴.

1 Rice, *Mysore*, II, p 502

2 *Ep Carn.*, VI, Cm 79

3 From King Philipp II to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, Lisbon, January 12th, 1591, Ap B, No I

4 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 18th, 1595, Ap B, No IV.

CHAPTER XXI

VENKATA II'S RELATIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

SUMMARY.—1. St. Thome under Venkata II.—2. Contemporary description of the town.—3. Formation of the Portuguese Dutch and English Trading Companies.—4. Spain against England and the Netherlands.—5. Embassy of Venkata II to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.—6. Embassy of Ayres de Saldanha to Venkata II.—7. Differences and riots at St. Thome.—8. Erection of the Diocese of Sao Thome de Meliapor.—9. Destruction of the city of Madras and fortress of Mylapore.—10. Great distress of the Portuguese in India in 1608.—11. Venkata II causes the Dutch to be expelled from Devanapatnam.—12. Correspondence between Venkata II and Phillip III of Spain.—13. Siege of St. Thome by Venkata II.—14. Decision to fortify St. Thome and necessity of a Governor.—15. The Dutch obtain Pulicat from Venkata II.—16. First attempt of the English to settle at Pulicat.—17. Embassy of Venkata II to the English at Masulipatam. Their second voyage to Pulicat.—18. Portuguese designs against Pulicat.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. *Moscões do Reino* (Pangim Archives).—2. Jesuit letters.—3. Travels of Gasparo Balbi and Ludovico de Barthelema, Anquetil du Perron.—4. Du Jarric, Guerreiro, Queyroz.—5. Documents concerning the Mylapore Diocese.—6. Letters of the E. I. C.

THE history of the dealings between Venkata II and the Portuguese chiefly centres round St. Thome and Pulicat and in the meantime, Dutch and English traders appear in the southern seas boldly challenging the Portuguese monopoly and trying to make friends with the local rulers.

The city of St. Thome, from its position within the territory of Vijayanagara, paid at this time an almost nominal tribute to the Emperor it consisted of a quarter per cent of the merchant goods imported by sea.¹ Nevertheless, its administration was

1. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Don Jeronymo d'Azavedo, March 7th, 1613 Ap. B. No. XIII.

immediately under the authority of the Nayak of Tanjore¹, and accordingly it paid an additional tribute to him, at least from the year 1600². It was the Nayak of Tanjore who appointed the governor or *adigar* of St Thome, the Jesuit annual letter of 1604-1606 tells us that in 1600 the Tanjore Nayak nominated to this place one Puley or Pillai, a noble of Kanchivaram³.

This governor did not reside at St Thome, but at the ancient city of Mylapore. "The Portuguese", says the Jesuit annual letter of 1606-1607, "have a captain or *ouvidor*, to govern and administer justice. In another separate town, but in its vicinity, there is a captain of the King (of Vijayanagara), who collects the taxes and governs the Hindus"⁴. Mylapore is the same city that Gasparo Balbi speaks of in the account of his travels through India in 1582. "Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie invironed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario (*adigar*), who hath power to execute justice"⁵. Apparently Mylapore was then fortified and garrisoned by the Emperor of Vijayanagara, hence it receives the appellation of a fortress in several Jesuit letters of those years⁶. All these letters distinguish between this fortress and a Hindu town which was a little farther away. We have suggested elsewhere that this Hindu town might be the one called Madarasa, next to which the Fort St George was constructed several years after by the English traders, who called it Black

1 Du Jarric, I, p 638 Cf Hay, *De Rebus Iaponicis*, p 740

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

3 Ibid

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ap C, No XXVI

5 Purchas, X, p 148

6 From Fr M Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap C, No XII, From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid, No XIII, From the same to the same same date, Ibid, No XIV, *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI

Town as inhabited by coloured people¹ The Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva Raya mentions both Mailapura and Madarasa as connected with the father of one of the Brahmans favoured with the grant²

2. The above mentioned Gasparo Balbi has an interesting description of St. Thome which deserves to be quoted in full It runs as follows "The Front is towards the West very strong by reason of the Blockehouses which are upon the Port, along towards the sea. This port is so low that elephants cannot enter in at it for the horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches one very fair of Saint Thomas, which is well served with Priests the chiefs of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis very well served with Capuchins and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus are in continuall prayer to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shoare. Then the Church of St. John the Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roofs they covered it with straw The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie dedicated to our Lady where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith³ There is another Church called of Our Lady of Light, which (is) served by Saint Thomas his Priests Saint Thomas

1. Cf. Heras *Venkatapatiraya I and the Portuguese* Q J M S., XIV p. 316 note 9

2. *Ep Ind.*, XIV p. 215 Several of the Brahmans names in the list of this grant are connected with the territory Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 216

3. The congregation of this Church consisted of five thousand recently made Christians, in 1606-7 Cf. Guerreiro *Relaçam Anual - no ano de 606. & 607.*, p. 105

is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another" ¹

Such was the city of St Thome in the begining of Venkata's reign. At about the same time several events took place in Europe, which were to influence much the future history of Vijayanagara

3 Up to the year 1587, the monopoly of Portuguese commerce had rested with the Government, but in this year the whole trade was handed over to a newly established company called '*Companhia Portuguesa das Indias Orientaes*', a definite step towards the 'Comercial Company', '*Companhia do Comercio*', which was created in 1630 ² This new organization was intended to meet the fresh needs which were beginning to face Portuguese trade in the eastern seas

A little earlier, on April 8th, 1583, the Dutchman John Huighen Van Linschoten had sailed from Lisbon to the East Indies, and after visiting the Portuguese colonies and some other places inland, returned home and published the account of his travels ten years later Linschoten's account excited the enthusiasm of his fellow countrymen, who had shortly before thrown off the Spanish yoke One chapter of his narrative in particular, "of the Spices, Drugs, Plants, and Stuffles for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily used in India, and of their growing" ³, had the effect of launching several trading companies in the Netherlands, which sent about fifteen expeditions to the East between 1595 and 1601 ⁴ On March 20th, 1602, the various Companies of the Flemish States, became united under the name of '*De Algemeene Geoctroyeerde Oest-Indische Compagnie*' ⁵ During the next year the new United Company sent out a great expedition of thirteen ships to the East Indies under Steven van der Hagen, and in the instructions furnished to him made special mention of the piece-goods trade of Pulicat and Masuli-

1 Purchas, X, p 147-8

2 Danvers, *Report*, p 12

3 Purchas, X, p 310

4 Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p 6 See *A Collection of Voyages Undertaken by the Dutch East India Company*, Introduction

5. Galletti, l c,

patam on the East coast ¹ But neither of these places was to house the first Dutch factory on the eastern coast. We have seen elsewhere that in 1608-9, through the benevolence of the Nayak of Jinji, the Dutch were building a factory in Devana patnam ² We shall speak later of the transactions between the Emperor Venkata the Nayak of Jinji and the Portuguese which resulted from the building of this fort

But the Dutch were not then the only rivals of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas. Early in 1527 Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol had addressed a memorandum to King Henry VIII of England advising the opening of a route to India by the North West ³ But the attempts made through this route proved a failure. Subsequently from 1580 to 1584, several letters were received in London spurring the merchants of the place once more to try a new route to India such letters had been written by the Jesuit Father Thomas Stephens, the first Englishman who set foot in India. In one of them dated October 24th 1583 he describes several kinds of fruits and other productions of Salsette and Goa ⁴ Such a description was a tacit invitation to the enterprising British traders. Accordingly after an unsuccessful attempt of Sir Robert Dudley in 1596, a large

1. Ibid.

2. Of. Ch. XIX, No 12.

3. Cf. Basu, *Rise of the Christian Power* I, p. 16.

4. "We have here a tree oftener seen than the elm or the vine, called the Palm on account of its likeness to it, or perhaps because it is really so. If you admit that Palm is a generic word and consists of two species. It gives oil, liquor (vinum) toddy (lao) syrup (mel) sugar and vinegar. Coir rope is also made from it to tie with, and its branches are used to protect huts from rain. It gives fruit all the year round, which are rather nuts than dates, resembling a man's head. When the exterior rind has been removed, they equal the size of two flats. Inside the fruit contains water like beer and good to quench one's thirst. It is so plentiful that, after drinking from one fruit, you would not look for another. In the interior of the nut is a kernel lining it all over like a covering and forming a prized article of food. The shell furnishes the blacksmiths with charcoal. Those that live near the sea not only load their boats with the tree but also utilise it for making ropes and sails. You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Those that live on land invariably make use of them to shelter themselves from rain" etc. Saldanha *The Christian Parasol*, p. XXIII XXXVIII.

number of English merchants formed themselves into an association and subscribed upwards of £ 30,000 in support of the undertaking. A Charter of Incorporation was granted by Queen Elizabeth to George, Earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen Knights, aldermen and merchants, under the name of '*The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*'. The first expedition of this Company, under Captain Lancaster, sailed from Wollwhich, on February 13th, 1601, but it did not reach India. In 1604 a second attempt was made under the command of Henry Middleton but with no better results. Finally a third expedition was sent, and Captain Hawkins its commander, landed at Surat, proceeding thence to the court of the Mughal Emperor. New voyages to the East Indies were subsequently made almost every year ¹.

4 These Dutch and English activities were by no means propitious to the prospects of the Portuguese in the East. Since 1584, the relations between Spain and England had become daily more and more strained in the European seas. Moreover in 1566 the Netherlands had rebelled against the Spanish sovereign. And Portugal, now united to the Spanish crown, was destined to taste in India the bitter fruits of this disagreement between her conqueror and these two enterprising nations ². True, a treaty of peace between Spain and England had been made in 1604, one of the articles of which, the 9th, provided that the English were not to go to India, nor carry on commerce in any part of it ³. But the British traders went on acting as though there were no such treaty. Precisely at this time John Mildenhall was in the court of Akbar, deputed by Queen Elizabeth, and trying to persuade the Mughal Emperor to allow the British to trade in his dominions on the same terms as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. Moreover he asked

1 Cf *Letters Received by the East India Company*, I, p XV-XLI, Das Gupta, *India in the Seventeenth Century*, p 26-67, Roberts, *History of British India*, p 21-22, Hawkins, *Voyages*, p 379-419

2 Danvers, *Report*, p 15-7

3 *Torre do Tombo, Livros das Moncoes*, Livro 32, fol 72, Livro 33, fol 72 Cf Danvers, o c, p 29.

Akbar not to take offence if the English captured Portuguese vessels or ports on his coasts ¹ They however endeavoured to avoid open hostilities with the Portuguese, while they competed with them for the Eastern trade ² Early in 1604 Fr A. Laerzio wrote that there were in the gulf of Bengal "many Dutch and British ships, our enemies who had captured some Portuguese vessels" ³

5 But at this time the influence of the Portuguese in southern India had reached its zenith, through their ancient friendship with the Emperor of Vijayanagara. Early in 1600 when the Superior of the Province of Malabar Fr A Laerzio passed through Chandragiri and was received in audience by Venkata the sovereign ordered all the courtiers to leave the hall and remained alone with the Fathers then taking the Provincial apart, he told him he wanted to send his ambassadors to the new Viceroy of Goa in order to renew and strengthen the old friendship with the Portuguese" Now he wished that Fr Simao d. Sa, who was then Rector of the College of St. Thome should accompany them hence he begged Fr Laerzio to give him permission to do so. "Then the Provincial replied that when the news of the landing of the Viceroy should arrive, he would consider the cause. But the King urged again (saying)—

And when this news comes nobody will be here to give this permission to the Rector (Fr de Sa). We must make our decision now afterwards we shall not be able to do so."

"Then Fr Provincial gave his permission according to the wishes of the King, who betraying his joy (in his countenance) told Fr Rector in a loud voice:—

"You have already permission to go to Goa along with my ambassadors" ⁴

The new Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha landed in Goa in the

1. Cf. Smith, *Akbar* p. 292-3

2. Danvers, o. c., p. 21.

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr O. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap. O, No. IX.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap. O No. XXII.

same year 1600, and, according to a letter of Fr. Pimenta dated December 21st, 1602, shortly after his arrival wrote to the Emperor Venkata "announcing by this letter his landing in India, thanking him for the benevolence with which he treats the members of our Society" ¹ This news probably reached Venkata's court early in 1601, and it was then that Venkata sent to Goa his legation briefly mentioned by Anquetil du Perron ²

The ambassadors, along with Fr. de Sa and another Father, left Venkata's court in the same year 1601. Fr. Ricio, who remained at Chandragiri, wrote on October 20th, of the same year "The King wishes to be in close friendship with the Portuguese, and sends his ambassadors to the Viceroy along with two of our Fathers, who are Fr. Simao de Sa and Fr. Belchior Coutinho, and presents (the Viceroy) with two rings that cost five thousand *pagodes*, along with a message showing his desire to be the brother in arms (ally) of the King of Portugal" ³ This extract shows clearly Venkata's purpose in sending such an embassy to the Portuguese Viceroy; it was to establish firmly a defensive alliance with Portugal, probably against the Mughal Emperor Akbar, whose designs were at least suspected at Venkata's court ⁴

In a letter of December 21st, 1602, Fr. Pimenta, who was still at Goa when the two Jesuits reached the city with the ambassadors, writes "I could write a long account of this legation, as well as of the earnest entreaties of the Prince (Tirumala), whose country (Seringapatam) they had to pass through, that one of the Fathers should stay with him on his return" ⁵ Unfortunately Pimenta did not set down this account at length, he only says that the embassy passed through Seringapatam, hence it would proceed to Mangalore, and from Mangalore would perhaps reach Goa by sea

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr. N. Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap C, No V

2 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 168

3 From Fr. F. Ricio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap C, No I

4 Cf. Ch. XVI, Nos 9 and 10

5 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, referred to in note 1.

The success of this embassy seems to have been extraordinary. In another Jesuit letter of 1602 we read: "The ambassadors, after having left Goa full of gifts and honours from the Viceroy, went by land to Chandegri (Chandragiri) where in the presence of the King and of the nobles of his court they extolled all our things and the honours and favours they had received from the Viceroy and our Fathers in Goa, this was highly esteemed by the King who showed himself hereafter more inclined to our interests." ¹ Even Philip III congratulated the Viceroy on the success of this legation: he wrote to him from Valladolid on December 23rd, 1604: "I was very glad to know that the ambassadors of this king (of Vijayanagara) were gallantly entertained and heard by you as you wrote to me that you did." ²

6. The Viceroy naturally returned this courtesy with an embassy of his own, the account of which is also found in one of the Jesuit letters that runs as follows: "The ambassador was received by the King (Venkata) with great respect and splendour as on his arrival at Chandegri (Chandragiri) one of the chiefs of the Royal Council accompanied by elephants, camels, horses, kettle-drummers and other signs of joy and merriment went out to fetch him and lodge him in the best palaces and houses of that city. The King was at that time at Tripeti (Tirupati), two leagues from Chandegri. The King determined to receive our ambassador in this city for which he sent his favourite with great show and reverence to bring him there. The King was outside a very great court not dressed in rich clothes because it is not customary but covered with precious stones, armlets and strings of pearls from his feet to the crown of his head. He wore among others two jewels of great beauty one of which was an emerald surrounded by big pearls and brilliant diamonds, and the other a ruby of high price and extraordinary greatness. The ambassador knelt down but the King ordered him to get up and sit down. He (the King) joyfully received the letter and

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1602, Ap. C, No VIII.

2. From King Phillip III to the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap. B No VII.

the gift of the Viceroy, and spoke of the friendly relations he wished to have with the Portuguese, and of other things concerning the welfare of the State. Then he sent back the ambassador loaded with honours and presents" ¹

Thus the old alliance which Venkata's predecessors had made with the Portuguese was renewed ² "It had been almost forgotten at the time", says the above-quoted letter ³ Venkata himself in a letter to Fr Pimenta, who was then at Goa, wrote as follows "My old love for the Portuguese was sufficiently proved at Goa. I have determined to send a ring with other gifts to the Viceroy, my interpreter Condogor will be charged with handing them over to him. Kindly inform the Viceroy about my purpose, in order that the old friendship may be renewed" ⁴

7 In the meantime in the city of St. Thome there were continuous differences between the Portuguese themselves, and even sometimes between them and the neighbouring Hindus. This uneasy state of affairs is indicated in a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to his sovereign, in the year 1613 "The inhabitants of the city of Meliapor (*viz* Sao Thome de Meliapor) were accustomed to live in the most absolute freedom. Justice has no other meaning than the one those citizens, and specially those who are reputed as powerful, are pleased to give it. For since that land belongs to the King of Bijnaga (Vijayanagara), and there is no garrison nor authority to be respected, such and many other troubles take place there every day" ⁵

Venkata was aware of these dissensions, and felt how hard the task of the governor or *adiga* of that city must be. The one appointed in 1599 was, it seems, a man without the experience

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1602, Ap C, No VIII

2 Cf Ch IV, No 5

3 See Ap C, No VIII

4 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta, Goa, December 21st, 1602, Ap C, No V

5 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King Philip III, 1613, Ap B, No XVII.

of years or of affairs hence Venkata wrote to Fr Simao d to look carefully after the welfare of the city and also ord his *adigar* to take no serious steps without previously consul the Jesuits ¹ As a matter of fact one of the Jesuit letters 1600 relates that some differences between the governor and Portuguese were settled through the deligence of Fr de Sa Fr Manoel de Veiga ²

Nevertheless, the riots in the city of St. Thome continue the following years. When I reached this country September 3rd 1606" writes Fr M Roiz from St. Thome it

I found the Portuguese quarrelling and fighting among th selves, as they were doing two or three years ago" ³ another letter recounting the affairs of the same year 1606, st "This city of Sao Thome is for the best divided into fact and there are often terrible fights as in times of civil war remedy can be found for that since it is situated in the cou of the Hindu King, and far from the capital and neither judicature nor the captain is so provided with military forc to arrest and punish the criminals. Great troubles however l been checked by our (fathers) One Friday during Lent preacher spoke so fervently and zealously against hatred strife that the chief of one of those factions who was hea the sermon together with other people carrying arms muskets, was so deeply moved that he determined to change life at once and to become a friend of his foe as he did in Mother Church of St Thomas the Apostle, where he n amends for the damage and loss he had caused and wen confession with signs of contrition and amendment. present there is no hatred nor strife" ⁴

8. In order to put an end to these continual disturbar it seems that the appointment of a Bishop for Sao Thome

1. Du Jarric, I p. 632

2. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, 17th, 1600 Ap. O No. V

3. From Fr M. Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St. Thome Nover 1st 1606 Ap. O No XII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 O, No XXVI.

proposed, as is clear from a letter of the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to the King written in 1613. In this letter the Viceroy states that experience has shown that the citizens of Sao Thome have not improved after the appointment of a Bishop there ¹. On the other hand, the Bishop of Cochim was unable to make his pastoral visit through the whole of his diocese on account of its extent ². Hence Philip III of Spain, moved by these two reasons, requested His Holiness Paul V, to erect a new Bishopric in Sao Thome ³. His Majesty's petition was presented to the Pope by Cardinal Eduardo Farnesse ⁴. Paul V finally erected the Church of St Thomas at Mailapur (Mylapore) as the Cathedral of the new Bishopric on January 9th, 1606, and on the same day appointed the Augustinian Friar Fr. Sebastiao de Sao Pedro as its first Bishop, according to the King's request ⁵. The new Diocese embraced the whole Coast of Coromandel and the kingdoms of Bengal, Orissa and Pegu ⁶.

The new Bishop reached St Thome late in 1608. "The new Bishop sent by Holiness and His Majesty", writes Fr Coutinho, "has reached St Thome. And our Fr Rector entertained him very kindly in our own house, where he resided, and when he went through the streets on foot, he was received with great pageant, dancing, garlands, triumphal arches, etc. He is our sincere friend" ⁷.

1 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to King, Goa, December, 1613, Ap B, No XIV. It seems that Dom Jeronymo even proposed to abolish the Bishopric of St Thome, for on March 2nd, 1615, Philip III wrote to him as follows: "Na mesma carta me propoendes que os bispados da China y Meliapor se devem tornar a unir aos de Malaca e Cochim e por quanto os inconvenientes que aportaes nao me parecerem bastantes para alterar o que, tao pouco ha, tenho ordenado, hei por bem que assy se continue". Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p 284.

2 *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, Ap D, No II.

3 *Ibid* Cf *Mitras Lusitanas*, p 95.

4 *Copia do mais essencial da bulla da ereccao do Bispo de S Thome*, Ap D, No I.

5 *Noticia deste Bispado de Mailapur*, l c.

6 *Copia do mais essencial*, l c.

7 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII, -

9 Precisely in the very year of the establishment of the Diocese of Mylapore an event took place in St. Thome which enraged Venkata II against the Portuguese. The occasion was a fight the Portuguese had with the Hindus, owing to the death of a Portuguese gentleman married at St. Thome, who was stabbed by the Hindus at night in their own city (probably Madras). He had gone fully armed to it in search of a girl who either had run away from him or had been stolen from his house by a soldier of the *adigar*¹. A fight having ensued there, many Hindus joined this soldier and the Portuguese was killed and a brother of his wounded. News reached St. Thome at once. "Our men" says Fr Coutinho rioted and wanted to set out during night to attack the fort. The captain stopped them till next day when at dawn they went well armed to the captain's house and the counsels of the young men prevailed over those of the Priests and the old people of the city'. The captain, moreover was forced by the relatives of the deceased to take revenge. At last gathering together a strong force of armed people he marched against the Hindu town (Madras) by storming and sacking it and slaying a number of people and as the *adigar* had taken shelter in a fortress close to St. Thome (Mylapore) the Portuguese set the fort on fire.

News of this rising was reported to Venkata by the same *adigar*. But his letter related the events falsely" says the same Coutinho and the Queen who has paramount power all over the country at present excited the King against the Portuguese on account of this affair so that, after the aforesaid letters (of the *adigar*) were read in the presence of the whole court, the sovereign became so furious that though usually as meek as a lamb on that occasion he looked like a lion and said several times that he would destroy even the foundations of our city to do which he appointed some captains, declaring that he did not want friendship with the Portuguese any more, and that he would call the Dutch, and so on." One of the things he said according to another Jesuit letter was that if the *adigar*

1. The sources we use for the narrative of this fact are not concurrent on this point,

had committed any offence, they (the Portuguese) ought to have represented it to him and he would have punished him". "His courtiers said", continues Countinho, "that they had never seen him so much excited as on this occasion".

"The inhabitants of St Thome", says another letter, "fearing that the King might send an army to besiege them, deputed Fr Rector, Nicolas Levanto, to go to the King and appease him with reasons and presents. The King on hearing of his arrival sent him a message inviting him, in case he had come to talk on the Fathers' business, but if he had come to talk on the affairs of Maleapor (Mylapore) he would not listen, seeing that they had offered him such a great affront; nor would he receive their presents". Nevertheless Venkata gradually relented, and being 'naturally meek and benevolent', after two months he sent for Fr Levanto, who was received by the Sovereign with signs of great affection. Then the Rector of the college of St Thome offered to the King all the presents he was carrying on behalf of the Portuguese, and obtained everything he had asked for, "even to remove that *adigar* or captain of the fort, placing in his stead another one according to the wishes of the Portuguese". Such was the end of that unpleasant incident, which might easily have been the ruin of the city of St Thome¹

1 From Fr M Roiz to Fr J Alvarez, St Thome, November 1st, 1606, Ap C, No XII, From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ibid, No XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No XIV, From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid, No XVIII, *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid, No XXVI. Two years later Venkata received in his court at Vellore a Portuguese merchant dealing in emeralds. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII, Guerreiro, *Relacam Annal no anno de 606 & 607*, p 105. It is worth while to compare this account based on impartial contemporary documents with the following extract from Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power*, p 28 "When St Thome was held to ransom for the intolerant acts of some Jesuits and Franciscans, the Raja of Vijayanagara kept such faith with the Portuguese that, as one of them says, such humanity and justice are not to be found among christians".

10. It was their very good fortune not to lose for ever the friendship of the powerful monarch of Vijayanagara in those days of great trials and dangers for the Portuguese in India their cause was in great distress and the success of their enterprises was then first thwarted by the enemies who finally ruined their once flourishing State.

Fr Alberto Laerzio an Italian and hence an impartial witness, in a letter to Fr J Alvarez dated Cochín November 20th 1608, says that the causes of these troubles were two the mal-administration of Archbishop Menezes, who was then acting as Governor General since the death of Dom Martim Affonso de Castro¹ and the increasing power of the Dutch and the English traders "the Dutch ships" he says, are cruising in these eastern seas checked by nobody² At the same time the English had taken possession of Masulipatam and Philip III in a letter dated December 10th 1607 recommends his Viceroy to do his best with Venkata in order to obtain their expulsion from the place³ At the end of the same year the new Viceroy Conde da Feira was eagerly expected at Goa but the Dutch were interested in impeding his arrival. He had left Lisbon with a fleet of fourteen ships, one of which says Fr Laerzio in the above mentioned letter "parted from the Viceroy and reached Mozambique in the month of August and finding there thirteen Dutch ships that had besieged our fortress was conquered by them after one day's hard fight" The Dutch were then informed that the Viceroy was coming behind hence they raised the siege and went to Goa, where they anchored off the mouth of the river "During

1. In 1606 the Archbishop Governor sent the gift of a horse to Venkata II. From Fr B Continho to Fr O, Aquaviva St. Thome, November 4th 1606, Ap. O No. XIV

2. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochín, November 20th, 1608, Ap. O, No. XXIV

3. From Philip III to the Viceroy Martin Affonso de Castro Lisbon, December 10th, 1607 Bulhao Pato, *Documentos* I p. 146 An other letter of the same sovereign, dated Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 speaks of the same expulsion of the English traders from Masulipatam (Masulipatam) Ibid., p. 359

our stay there", continues Laerzio, "news reached us that a ship, *Olivena* by name, belonging to the Viceroy's party, had also arrived and was six miles away on the North and even within sight our ships went there from Goa, threw all money and goods overboard and, before the arrival of the Dutch, had set the ship on fire and reduced the whole of it to ashes, that the enemy might have nothing of it "Of the other twelve ships with the Viceroy no news whatsoever is heard", so Laerzio says at the end ¹ As a matter of fact Conde da Feira never saw the shores of India he died on the way

II. At the end of the year 1608 the Dutch obtained from Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji permission to build a fort in Devanapatnam, as we have stated in one of the preceding chapters ² It seems that in the place selected by them there was formerly an old fort ³ They soon started to construct their own But according to a letter of Venkata to Philip III of Spain, which we shall quote later on, no sooner did the Emperor hear of the construction of this fort, than he sent an envoy to the Nayak of Jinji, ordering the expulsion of the Dutch from his territory It seems that Krishnappa Nayaka did not obey his sovereign's order, for in the following year 1609, Fr Nicolas Levanto was deputed by the Bishop and the Municipality of St Thome to obtain from Venkata the expulsion of the Dutch from Devanapatnam Levanto went to Venkata's court and easily obtained from him a new order for the Nayak of Jinji, to whom he personally presented it He was also well received by Krishnappa Matters however were seriously discussed, "the nut was a hard one to crack", says the Jesuit letter we are transcribing here, "because of the large profit he was hoping to get from the new guests, hence he (Krishnappa) told the Father to hope for the best, but at the same time delayed giving him a definite reply" Venkata in the meantime suspected the cause of this delay, and accordingly issued a third letter of his own accord, in which he scolded the Nayak for his disobedience, and ordered him again

1 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, November 20th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIV

2 Cf Ch XIX, No 12.

3. Rea, *Monumental Remains*, p 13.

"to do according to the demand of the Father and expel from his territory the foes of the Portuguese, who are better friends than the Dutch"

As soon as Krishnappa received this letter he sent for Fr Levanto and after assuring him that he was ready to obey the Emperor's order gave him letters for the Bishop the Captain and the Municipality of St. Thome. In these letters he announced his final resolution that the fort already in construction should be delivered to the Portuguese. Fr Levanto himself went there by the Nayak's express command to witness the expulsion of the Dutch. "The foundations and the walls of the citadel had already been built on all sides to some height. There was a huge amount of lime and a good supply of bricks, for the fort was going to be of brickwork. One of our priests remained there" ¹

Great was the success of the Portuguese on this occasion thanks to the benevolence of Venkata and equally great was the disappointment of the Dutch. But they did not relinquish all hopes for once more before Venkata's death they demanded from Krishnappa Nayaka permission to settle in Devanapatnam and Porto Novo the new city founded by Krishnappa ² but this time without success ³. Probably it is on account of these constant refusals on his part to allow the Dutch to settle in his territory that Krishnappa is said in a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, dated November 28th 1634, to be "very fond of the Portuguese" ⁴.

12. This friendship of Venkata with the Portuguese was confirmed in the same year on receipt of a letter from Philip III, King of Spain and Portugal, in which His Catholic Majesty thanked the Vijayanagara Emperor for his royal protection of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus. The text of this letter

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1609 Ap. C No. XXX. Cf. Figueroa, *Historia y Anal. Relacion Las añas passadas de 607 y 608* p. 114-5

2. Cf. Oh. XIX, No 8.

3. *Memorial against the Jesuits of Vijayanagara*, Ap. C No. XXXVII.

4. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

runs as follows, according to a copy we have found in the Pangum Archives :—

“ Very Noble King of Bisnaga (Vijyanagara)

“ I, Dom Phelippe, etc., make you aware that I have come to know the good hospitality you have extended to the Religious of the Society who dwell in your kingdom, and the favour and assistance you have bestowed on them, as to things concerning Christianity; for which I deemed that it was my duty to thank you, as I do by this letter of mine, and to inform you of the good will with which I shall be pleased, for the sake of all this, to oblige you in all your things

“ And thus I command my Viceroy to carry it out in whatsoever way you may want from him And I expect from your nobility that you will keep up this your excellent treatment of the said Religious, so that I may ever feel more and more indebted to you, the Very Noble King of Bisnaga

“ May Our Lord enlighten you with the light of His grace, and with the same keep you under His protection

“ Written in Madrid, January 27th, 1607 ” ¹

This letter from such a powerful sovereign deeply affected the old Emperor of Vijayanagara From the latter's answer we deduce that the Viceroy of Goa also wrote proposing to him on behalf of his sovereign an alliance against the Muhammadans, with special reference to the Mughal Emperor This was precisely Venkata's desire Witness his answer to Philip III as follows —

“ Letter of the King of the Kings, Great Lord, Great Knight, King Vencatapati, very great King, to the most powerful Lord of sea and land, Dom Phelipe, King of Portugal, etc

“ I received Your Majesty's letter and I enjoyed its reading very much Your Majesty spoke of two things in it the first was about the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are

1 Ap B, No X In a letter of King Phelippe to his Viceroy dated December 10th, of the same year, the Spanish sovereign refers to this letter to Venkata II “ Pelo que me escrevestes do bom procedimento del-rey de Bisnaga e favores que faz em suas terras aos padres da companhia, mandei escrever as gracias d'isso nas naus que este anno foram ” Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 146

living at my court and Your Majesty's joy on hearing how I was myself honouring and entertaining them. The second was about Your Majesty's Viceroy at Goa, *viz.* that Your Majesty had already written to him, ordering him to help me when the welfare of my kingdom should require it. I was very glad to know both things, because, as far as the Fathers are concerned they in these eleven years they have spent at my court, have always been good, religious very chaste, prudent learned people and preachers of their own faith and I shall treat them in the way Your Majesty desires and they are worthy of. As regards the Viceroy I am always ready to help him with the whole of my army and power when necessary against our old common enemies the Moors (Muhammadans)

"I learned how the Dutch, rebel subjects of Your Majesty came to Girola (Jinji) to talk with the Nayque (Nayak) and they requested from him the harbour of Tauana Patan (Devanapatnam), where they were already building a fortress. I sent at once a messenger of mine with some letters for the Nayque and later on Fr Nicolas Levanto Rector of the College of St. Thome of the Society of Jesus at my request went there taking with him letters of mine on the same object. And I saw that the Nayque forbade the building of a fortress by them, and expelled them from my possessions since they being rebels against Your Majesty so they are also to my person

"The old friendship which existed between the Kings my ancestors and the Kings of Portugal, from the time of Narsinga (Narasimha) must continue at present between Your Majesty and myself and I beg Your Majesty to write me at once when ever necessary

From my kingdom

"Venkataja, King ¹

The Spanish monarch was naturally extremely glad to receive Venkata's letter and to know his attitude towards the Dutch traders at Devanapatnam. Simultaneously he addressed a number of letters to several Princes of the East against his

1. Figueroa *Historia y Anal. Relacion* *Los anos passados de* 607 y 608, p. 113-4.

rebel subjects of the Netherlands, copies of which are to be found in the Government Archives at Pangim ¹ King Phelippe was made aware of the conduct of Venkata II towards the Dutch by a letter of Archbishop Menezes, as one of the former's letters to his Viceroy testifies. Even before he had received this letter of Venkata, he had again written to the old Emperor thanking him for his loyal friendship ²

13 This friendship between Venkata and the Portuguese seems to have come to an abrupt end in 1611, when the former besieged the city of St Thome The Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, in a letter to his sovereign dated 1613, (month not given), says that the origin of this war 'was due to the absence of the Jesuits' from Venkata's court ³ They had been removed from it shortly before ⁴ A Jesuit letter of 1611 gives a full account of this unfortunate affair

"Its cause", says the letter, "was greed of money; for the old King dotes sometimes, and on such occasions those who

1 See one of these letters to the king of Cananor in Ap B, No IX In 1613, the Spanish monarch ordered his Viceroy to thank the Kings of Calicut and Cananor for the expulsion of the Dutch from their ports Ap B, No XVI In the same year he gave a detailed account of the Dutch and British ships, which had left Europe for the East Ap B, No XVI In the volume *Moncoes do Reino, No 6, (la ple)* in the *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, Pangim, there are several documents on this subject A letter to the King of Cochín, dated Madrid, January 17th, 1607 (fol 117), another to the King of Melinde, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 (fol 120), another to the Prince of Carnate (*sic*), Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606 (fol 123), another to the King of Porqua, Lisbon, December 22nd, 1606 A letter of the same sovereign to his Viceroy dated January 16th, 1607, laying down their attitude towards the petty chiefs of Canara runs as follows "E porque o estado das cosas mostram ser necessario conservar a estes reys em paz e amisade, vos encommendo trateis com que assi se faca lembrando-lhe a elles que nao tenham commercio nem amisade com os rebeldes de Hollanda, por serem aleuantados " Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 73

2 "E porque o dito arcebispo governadar me escreve na mesma conformidade e o bem que o dito rey se tem avido em nao consentir que os hollandezes sejam recebidos em nenhum porto seu, lhe mandei escrouer a carta que va e nestas vias " Lisbon, December 10th, 1607, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 146

3 Ap B, No XII

4. Cf, Ch XXII, No 11.

govern the kingdom do as they please. Once they demanded from the citizens of St. Thome an enormous amount of money. They (the Portuguese) refused (to pay) such an extraordinary exaction then they were attacked (by the King's soldiers) and defended themselves. Both parties fought courageously many of the enemies and some Portuguese were killed.¹ In the city which was not yet fortified² the besiegers resisted for several months, according to a letter of Fr Laerzio³. Fr Queyroz, who supposes that Venkata himself was commanding the beleaguering army relates that in the course of the siege, his Queen brought forth a child whose legitimacy was doubtful⁴ this seems to indicate that the siege lasted about nine months. The same author records that the army of Venkata contained two hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, who were finally repulsed with heavy losses by the Portuguese under the command of Manoel de Frias Captain of St. Thome⁵. From a letter of Philip III to his Viceroy dated March 6th, 1613 it appears that the Bishop Fr Sebastiao de Sao Pedro had a large share in the hardships of the siege, the success of which was partly due to him. "I highly appreciate the person and the services of the Bishop" says His Majesty "and his conduct during the siege"⁶. And on February 20th, 1614, the King writes again to his Viceroy as follows "The Bishop of Meliapor (Mylapore) wrote to me describing his action in my royal service during the siege of that city"⁷. The same letter speaks of the aid given to the Portuguese by Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore.

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1611, Ap. C, No XXXV

2. From King Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, Lisbon, March 7th, 1613 Ap. B No. XIII.

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochín, November 25th 1611, Ap. C, No. XXXII.

4. Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceilao* p. 309

5. *Ibid.*

6. Philip III's letter mentioned in note 2, Ap. B No. XIII.

7. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo Lisbon February 20th, 1614, Ap. B, No. XI. Fr Sebastiao de Sao Pedro is also said to have defended St. Thome and Sadras against the Dutch. Cf. *Noticia deste Bispo de Malapour* Ap. D No. II

"And since I have also been told of the good conduct of the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore) in my service during the aforesaid siege, I am sending by this mail a letter thanking him, entrusting you with the charge of forwarding it to him" ¹ Unfortunately neither this letter nor a copy of it has hitherto reached our hands, we know only that it was sent to the Bishop of Mylapore, by whom it had to be dispatched to Tanjore. "The letter of Your Majesty to the Nayak of Tanjaor (Tanjore)", says the Viceroy in his answer to the King, "is being sent to the Bishop (of Mylapore), who will hand it over to him" ² ✓

Finally the Bishop and the Captain of St Thome deputed Fr. Antonio Rubino, and two of the chief men of the city to propose terms of peace to Venkata "But since they did not bring the sum demanded, they were seized and cast into prison We are still ignorant of what will be the end of this affair" ³ So does a Jesuit letter, written at the close of 1511, end its narrative of this war At any rate we know that Fr Rubino and his companions remained in prison for two months, and were eventually released on the Portuguese promising to pay 401 pagodas, half to be paid at once and the other half by instalments during the following six months Rubino's return to St Thome was a solemn triumph he was received and acclaimed as the liberator of the country ⁴

14 The siege of St Thome by the army of Venkata II clearly showed the imperative necessity of fortifying the city. No walls had surrounded the settlement till then, it was really a *tour de force* to resist the attack of the imperial army for several months, without walls, bastions or ditches In a letter of Philip III of March 7th, 1613, we read "The same Viceroy wrote to me that the inhabitants of the city of St Thome were demanding aid and permission, not only for fortifying themselves,

1 \ Ibid

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III January 21st, 1613, Ap B, No XIII

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1611, Ap C, No XXXV

4 Cf Saroglia, *Vita del Venerabile P. Antonio Rubino*, p 30.

but also for incorporating their city into the jurisdiction of that State (of Portuguese India) and establishing a custom-house and a tax-collector to gather the one fourth per cent which is now paid to the King of Bisnaga (Vijayangara) for my treasury" ¹ The second item which the King speaks of shows the disaffection the inhabitants of St. Thome felt towards Venkata. It had been the natural result of his recent siege of their own city. This was the first indication of their desire to be independent of the sway of the Vijayanagara Sovereign. Great discussions ensued on this point after the death of Venkata which will be narrated in the following volume. As to the first point of the King's letter his decision to fortify St. Thome was not carried out until after Venkata had passed away his letter did not reach India before that event. This may be seen from the answer of the Viceroy ²

There was still another problem about St. Thome, which required prompt solution. The Viceroy in a letter of 1613, after relating the differences and brawls between the citizens of St. Thome, adds "For this reason I wish to appoint a *hidalgo* of authority as captain of that city and at the head of a garrison able to wage war" ³ Dom Jeronymo d. Azevedo, when writing these words had no doubt in mind the recent war with Venkata. At the end of the same year he again urged his sovereign to nominate a respectable *hidalgo* for that task, "because, owing to the want of such a respectable person there, many riots take place and the citizens are divided and fighting among themselves and specially (he is necessary) to be there ready to check the Dutch if they intend to settle again on that coast" ⁴ The Bishop himself also wrote to the Viceroy requesting the appointment of a person

1. From Phillip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d. Azevedo Lisbon, March 7th, 1613 Ap. B. No. XIII.

2. Ibid.

3. From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d. Azevedo to Phillip III 1613 Ap. B. No. XVII.

4. From the same to the same Goa December 26th 1613 Ap. B. No. XV.

for that post ¹ To put an end to such troubles, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo wrote to the King on December 31st, 1614, that perhaps he would himself proceed to St Thome ². But his project was not carried out

In the meantime, he wished to appoint Dom Bernardo de Noronha, Captain of St Thome, for he wrote to the King to this effect on December 26th, 1613 On the matter being proposed to his councillors, Dom Bernardo was elected and "thus I declared to him", says Dom Jeronymo, "that I would give him as much (money) as I could take from the State, with the same regulations as the Captain of Ormuz has, and the authority over that city and the whole of that coast, which is ordinarily given to the Captain-Generals of the fleet" But in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Viceroy, of the Archbishop and of other nobles such as Dom Luiz da Gama, Dom Bernardo de Noronha refused the appointment ³ The Viceroy, however, still hoped to send Dom Bernardo to St Thome, but at the end of the following year he received two letters from his sovereign, in which Philip III disapproved of such an appointment "Hence" says the Viceroy, "I did not think of it any more" ⁴. Nothing further touching this matter is found during the life of Venkata II

15 The fear of the Portuguese that the Dutch, after their expulsion from Devanapatnam, would renew their attempt to establish a factory on the eastern coast, was not groundless In 1605-6, one of their ships went to Pulicat, and after that the

1 From the same to the same, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVIII

2 Ibid

3 From the same to the same, Goa, December 26th, 1613, Ibid, No XV

4 From the same to the same, as in note 1 of page 450 Dom Bernardo de Noronha was finally appointed Captain General of Malabar in the following year, according to a letter of the Viceroy to the King, dated December 18th, 1615 *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do, Governo, Pangim, Moncoes do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 191* He seems to have died shortly after, according to another letter of the Viceroy (Ibid, fol 254)

sell or buy goods and merchandise so that no one can prevent it.

All painters and weavers who should make some agreement with our nation and make or paint cloth or sell linen here, will receive the payment according to the agreement. Moreover the King will not be able to allow any European nation to trade here, other than those who have the permission of His Princelike Excellency

On our side, we on behalf of this General Company promise to the King that whatsoever goods guns war ammunition or other such things of our countries he desires we shall be obliged to bring here on the first occasion the King will pay for these things the price they cost in our countries

When we stop with our ships in the harbour of Pallea catta, we shall not be allowed to do any harm or to arrest any boat

All the boats that sail from here to other places with a passport of our captain will not receive harm from our nation

All these points of the contract I Vinkata Pati Raya Alou King over these countries of Carnatica Sinvakena, Pati and more principaulities, promise to keep them now and for ever and I swear it by my *God Peramal* (Perumal)

I contractor of the General East Indian Company promise not to break the same, otherwise let God interfere.

"Under this there was printed in black the seal of the king and near it written That is the seal of the king, printed by His Majesty himself for greater security the king has moreover printed his hand on a piece of linen which they call the hand of Sandal and signed Arent Maertss (*sic*)¹

Fortune was proving adverse to the Portuguese Some

1. De Jongue, *De Opkomst* III, p 348-9 This was the *coal* referred to by Peter Williamson Floris, when, one year later he passed through Pulicat "John Van Wersleke the Dutch President on the coast of Choromandel, showed us a *coal* from the King of Naralinga Wencapati Raja wherein was granted that, it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent" Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* III, p. 320

years after, in 1630, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to his sovereign the following words, suggested most likely by this concession of Venkata to the Dutch · "From the time that our European enemies began to come to India, it seems that all the Indian Kings have broken their faith and allegiance which was due to this Government" ¹

16 The lucky adventurers started without any delay to build their factory at Pulicat. When two years later the English Captain Hippon sailed up the eastern Coast of India, looking for a place to establish a factory as well, the Dutch were firmly settled at Pulicat. It is worth while to quote Hippon's words to the East India Company. His ship had met a Portuguese boat of St Thome with two Portuguese merchants from that town, who informed the Englishmen "that the Dutch had settled a factory in Pellacata (Pulicat), whereupon", continues the English account, "we resolved to make for that place, to see if anything might be done at the place aforesaid for the profit of the Company although neither of us had ever been at this place. In the evening, passing by St Thome we did see 13 or 14 *aseletows*, or small barques, riding in the road, about some two leagues (further) we came unto an anchor because we would be sure not to pass by Pellacata. The next morning we setting sail, and in the afternoon we came into the road of Pellacata, and there then came 2 boats aboard, the one sent from the Hollanders with a Dutchman therein, from whom we did learn some particulars concerning the country there about, the other boat was sent from the Shabunder to bid us welcome, and then we gave them to understand that we were English and not Dutch. And for the first we desired to have a *cowl* of the Shabunder to send persons aland, for to make a contract with him, and to have further conference together, all which they promised us we should have, and so they departed from the ship. The next day in the morning being the 10th ditto so came again aboard us the people of Shabunder, bringing with them a cowl, according as we desired, whereupon we resolved to send our skiff aland, with Mr Peter Floris and Mr Robt Brown for to speak with the Shabunder, and to learn

1. This letter will be published in Vol. II,

out what might be done there for the Company's behoof and then on our first entrance we were in present danger and were not able, by any means, to avoid it for being in the breach of the bar our skiff was turned upside down and we (by the great mercy of God) were all preserved so that nothing was lost save only of some particular as some apparel and rapiers and such like and so having had this misfortune we came aland where the Shabunder attended our coming upon the strand, who was very sorrowful for our mischance, showing unto us all the friendship that he could And so we embarked and went up the river towards the town where he had provided us of a house which was but a poor one but yet it was so good as that place did afford. In the evening we sent a boat aboard with news of all that was passed by us, and withal that Mr Lucas Anthemus and Thomas Essington should come aland for to consider together what was best to be done in this business, and further we found that the Hollanders did bear a hard hand against us for to hinder us from trading in this place. The day following after that Mr Lucas Atheunis and Thomas Essington were come aland, then we went unto the Shabunder for to speak with him and when we were set then came thither Jan Van Wesick (John Van Wersick) who is President of the Dutch Company upon the coast of Coromandel, and after some compliments used by both sides he showed us a cowl of the king, wherein under other articles there was one which made mention that he did forbid all nations which should come out of Europe without (permission) of the Dutch Company of East India ¹ (unfortunately there are here some gaps which make the account unintelligible) whereupon we fell into some hard words one with the other At last the Shabunder came between us and gave both parties contentment with words and referred us until the coming of Conda Ma who is governess of this place ² And this Conda Maa was gone into the country and would

1. Of. No 15 and note 1 of p. 454.

2 Floris says "We answered we had Commission from his Majestic of England and would therefore doe what we could. Hence (the Dutch Preside it) arose high words, which the Shabunde calmed, telling of the Governesse her coming thither within three days" Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* III, p 320

return again within 3 or 4 days, and in the meantime we must have patience. The 15th ditto the aforesaid governess came into the town and also that Mr. Brown was fallen very sick again, so that we have expressly sent for Captain Hippon, that he should come aland, for to have his opinion upon all occasions that might happen, that nothing might be overslipped which might redound unto the benefit of the Company. After that the governess was come into the town we had prepared a very good present for to have presented her withal, then she refused to give us audience, and sent us word that she had nothing to say unto us, also that this place was given unto the Hollanders by the mere gift of the King, and if we would go unto the King, to desire some other place, she was thereunto very well contented. Which message made us much amazed, yet notwithstanding we did use our best endeavours to come to have speech with her, but could not be effected, whereupon we fell into counsel with ourselves whether it was best to go unto the King, who was but 50 leagues from thence and to see what with him might be procured in these affairs; and after that we had well debated the matter between us, and considering that we had not people sufficient to settle a Factory, and having not time enough, fearing lest we should lose our monsoon, and that we should be at great charges in going to visit the King, so that we have resolved to depart from hence, (here again there are several words torn away). If the Company are resolved to enlarge their trade, we cannot find that this place will be so available that it will be worth any extraordinary charges seeing that at Masulpatam (Masulipatam) and at Pettapoly (Petapoli) will be sufficient to bring us more cloths that your Worships shall possibly find vent for, and so far that your Worships will be desirous to have this place or any other place near about it, then it will be needful that your Worship should procure letters from his Majesty, and with a fair present unto the King of Narsinga, Vencapati Rajah (Venkatapati Raya), and then to see if you can procure any sea town for a place of residence, which will not be done without great trouble and extraordinary charges, your Worships may do herein as you shall think good. We do not think good with the ship called the *Globeto* proceed further

here in considering that Muselpatam and Pettapoly is more than sufficient for us to finish our pretended voyage, the which serve your Worships for advice" ¹ It is very interesting to see the difficulties the British merchants met with on their first attempt to establish factories in a country which was subdued by them after two centuries.

17 Needless to say the idea of a settlement at Pulicat was not abandoned by the enterprising British traders. They returned to the newly established factory at Masulipatam and shortly after they were glad to receive a quite unexpected visit. Venkata II had heard of the voyage of the English merchants to Pulicat, and had therefore sent an envoy to them at Masulipatam with proposals for opening trade with them ² Floris's account gives many details about this Embassy of King Venkata to the English traders — "I returned to Masulipatam" says he "where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte Jaga Raja Governour thereabout and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja (Kondaja) secretarie of the Great King Wencatadraia ³ wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there could beleieve but little yet at last we agreed that one of them should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the letters to the aforesaid persons as also to the king; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Country then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

1. From Captain Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage to the E.I.C August, 1611 (7) *Letters received by the R.J.C., I*, p. 133-5

2. See, *Monumental Remains* p. 6.

3. Floris says that there were three persons in this Embassy and then speaks of two only. The third perhaps was one Tima (Tirumala) Raja mentioned with the other two a little later

"The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali, from the great king of Narsinga of Velur, bringing me a Caul with his *Abestiam* (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Safron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Country, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearly-revenue, with promise to doe more at my coming thither The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force, the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the king with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further My man Wengali had beene in person befoie the King, and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe"¹ Floris seems to have been inclined to proceed to Venkata's court But when on the 25th of October he heard of the King's death, he was somewhat disheartened on account of the expected troubles "I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur," says he, "in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit opportunity yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice"².

Independently of this attempt another English expedition called at Pulicat in the beginning of 1614, to start trading with the natives there Two boats, '*The Globe*' and '*James*', went there, but for the second time met with an unwilling reception "Arriving at the road of Pollicat (Pulicat)", says the commander John Gourney to the East India Company, "we had soon after two several troops of messengers from the Shabunder to welcome us, and to show us that if we came to trade we should not

1 Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, III, p 336-7

2 Ibid, p 341

want any favours needful and that his desire was to seen us ashore this agreeing with our own desire, I went ashore taking Thomas Brokedon with me and being entered into the town understood that the Shabunder was gone forth to the town So we turning directly towards a large castle the Dutch have there built were at our coming into it entertained with kind shows by Warner Van Berghen alias Captain Drinkwater Captain there and Rector of all the factories upon that coast being then accompanied with Captain Samuel King English born and there we also found with them sundry of the principals of the town prepared to declare unto us (as they presently did) that their king had given by his cowl or firman the privilege of the whole trade of that town to the Hollanders without whose leave we English nor other strangers might intermeddle, and the said Van Berghen added that it was not in his power to give leave. These speeches having heard and knowing that Mr Floris had been in the like manner put off, conceive that the King of Velour (Vellore, i.e. Venkata II) must be dealt withal with the King's Majesty's letters which no doubt at any time will prevail. But the king being within the land at war few factors of us and our two principal ports to be furnished being Musulpatam (Masulipatam) and Pettapoly (Petapoli) we having that night following received very kind entertainment of the Dutch, we prepared in the morning to embark, at which time the parties aforesaid returned to parley again and making the same conclusion as before, they added that we ought to pay anchorage. Our answer was that we knew it to be their hearty desire that we should stay and trade with them if we could have sufferance from the Hollander but now we could neither accept of liberty nor stay to trade, neither would we give them anchorage. Whereat without more ado they gave us betel to chew as their manner of courtesy is and bade us farewell desiring us to be good to Gentiles if we met them at sea ¹ We do not know of other attempts of the first English traders to establish a commercial settlement at Pulicat. At this time the Portuguese had already started their campaign against the Dutch settlement

1. From John Gourney to the E. I. C., Patani July 28th, 1614, *Letters Received by the E.I.C.* II, p. 83-4.

18 The most intrepid adventurer who carried into execution the capture of Pulicat from the Dutch was the Bishop of Sao Thome de Meliapor, Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro His Majesty the King of Spain addressed the Viceroy regarding the intrepid Bishop's adventure in the following terms "They wrote to me about the efforts of the Bishop of Meliapore to destroy the factory of the Dutch at Paleacate" ¹ The erection of a fort in the neighbourhood of Pulicat whence the Portuguese could batter the walls of the Dutch fortification was a premeditated plan of the Bishop, which had already been proposed to the Viceroy ² We have not come across any further details about this scheme The fact is that the Dutch factory was actually captured by the Portuguese We are made aware of this by the King of Spain in a letter dated January 31st, 1614 The King himself was informed of it by the Viceroy in a previous mail ³ Considering the length of time occupied in a journey from India to the metropolis in those days of difficult navigation, we can place this event in the beginning of 1613, or perhaps at the end of 1612 The King's message records the valiant deeds done by the Captain and inhabitants of St Thome ⁴, but to the Bishop of Mylapore was supposed to be the hero of the day on account of his intrepidity and boldness In a letter from the Spanish monarch dated 1614, mention is made of the Bishop of Meliapor "in capturing the fort the Dutch had at Paleacate" ⁵ In another letter of 1615, the King of Spain mentions again the capture of the Dutch fortress at Pulicat by this Prelate ⁶ He commanded a force of 130 Portuguese who took the fort by surprise setting on fire the buildings of the Dutch traders The latter defended their properties very

1 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1613, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 314

2 Ibid

3 From the same to the same, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, o c, III, p 31

4 Ibid

5 From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap B, No XI

6 From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1615, Bulhao Pato, o c, III, p 302

valiantly till many of them were slain by the invaders. The booty captured by the Portuguese seems to have been considerable¹

With the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat the fortress was razed to the ground². The Portuguese, however, were not destined to enjoy their success for long. For in the beginning of 1614 Pulicat had again fallen into the hands of the Dutch. In his letter dated February 6th 1615 the King of Spain tells us that after the Dutch fortress was levelled to the ground two Dutch ships weighed anchor at Pulicat harbour to negotiate with King Venkata to re-establish themselves there and for this purpose had made munificent gifts to the monarch. Through the influence of the latter's brother in law who openly favoured them they obtained permission from the monarch to build a new fortress. They lost no time. They set about work at once. The new fortress was erected on a different spot which commanded greater facility for defence than the former. It was further fortified" says Philip III, "by the erection of several bastions round the walls and the picketing of artillery and soldiers"³. This was the fort which was called later on Castel Geldria"⁴.

This dealt a death blow to Portuguese commercial enterprise. Dutch commerce got the ascendancy again it flourished now just as it did prior to the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat. The Dutch made a roaring trade with the famous Pulicat cloth and amassed enormous profits⁵. This excited the jealousy of the Spanish sovereign who ordered his Viceroy to try the re-capture of Pulicat a thing which at this time appeared easy and would not brook delay—for delay meant that the Portuguese would have to encounter a formidable enemy after the lapse of even a few years. By all means" says the King "cause this second fortress built by the Dutch at Paleacate to be

1. *Ragunil d'Alcove Missioni* p. 151

2. From the same to the same, Lisbon, February 6th, 1615 Ibid., p. 190

3. Ibid., p. 189

4. *Mandelslo Voyages and Travels* p. 94.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo Lisbon, February 6th 1615 Bulhaso Pato, o c., p. 190

destroyed, for attaining which you may accept the overtures made by Bishop Frey Sebastiao de Sao Pedro" ¹ The Bishop's desire was none other than to sieze again the Dutch factory as he had done previously All he needed to give effect to his plan was some money and a number of soldiers, "Let this be done as soon as possible", adds the King "Do not allow the Dutch to fortify it (the fortress) more, for if they do so, their expulsion from there will be extremely difficult" ² In fact the Bishop himself had also urged the Viceroy to send a governor to St Thome who could take charge, among other things, of the capture of "the fortress the Dutch have made at Paleacate" ³ The Viceroy's purpose was obvious One of the reasons why he had wished to send Dom Bernardo de Noronha as captain of St Thome was that "he might be able to attack Paleacate" ⁴ The re-capture of Pulicat was beyond doubt the fervent wish of Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo In one of his letters he says "I trust in God that the fortress of Paleacate will be soon captured by the fleet I have decided to send there" ⁵

The re-capture of Pulicat was never effected Nothing was heard of any second attempt being made by the warrior-like Bishop To all intents the cause of this apparent stagnation was most likely due, to the death of Venkata II During the disturbances that followed this event, the Portuguese at St Thome had to prepare themselves for further eventualities, the recounting of which shall be the scope of the second volume When things had settled, circumstances had changed, and the Portuguese realised that to attempt alone the re-capture of Pulicat would be folly Hence they could not carry out their adventurous plan to do so they had first to gain the Vijayanagara Emperor to their cause

1 Ibid

1 From the same to the same, Lisbon, March 5th, 1616, Ibid , p 302

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Phillip III, Goa, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVIII

3 From the same to the same, Goa December 26th, 1613, Ibid , No XV

4 From the same to the same, 1613, Ibid , No XII. See Ap B, No, XVII.

CHAPTER XXII

THE JESUITS AT THE COURT OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY—1 First idea of establishing a mission at Chandragiri. Fra. de Sa and Riolo proceed to the Court.—2. Their relations with Venkata and his father-in law —3 Fra. Veiga and Riolo settle at Chandragiri. Their house.—4 The income given them by the Emperor and its withdrawal in 1603 —5 Venkata's good will towards the Fathers. His letter to Fr Pimenta.—6 Fr Veiga leaves the court. New missionaries. Their interviews with Venkata —7 Fr Laerzio Provincial of the Province of Malabar pays a visit to Venkata at Vellore. His impressions.—8 Venkata's opposition to the Jesuits. They leave the court. Their further settlement at Vellore.—9 The Jesuits build a church next to Venkata's palace The King defends them against Tatacharya.—10 Sundry events from 1608 to 1611.—11. Withdrawal of the Jesuits from Venkata's court. The end of the mission.—12. Practical fruits of the Jesuit mission at Chandragiri and Vellore

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1 Jesuit Letters.—2. *Memories do Reino* (Pangim Archives) —3 *Du Jarric Guerreiro*

WE have hitherto made frequent mention of the Jesuits at Venkata's court while narrating events of which they had been eye-witnesses and in which they had at times even actively participated. We shall now collect all the available information about their influence at Venkata's court and the way they acquired it it will help us to appreciate the character of this monarch and the whole history of the South of India.

In 1597 Fr Nicolas Pimenta, as Visitor on behalf of the General of the Society of Jesus visited all the Jesuit houses and missions in the South of India. While he was at St. Thome, he recommended the Fathers of that College to try all possible means to establish a mission at the capital of the Emperor of Vijayanagara then at Chandragiri. It was suggested by Fr Pimenta that a Father should go there to present his respect to the sovereign from whom he might

obtain sanction to establish a house in his capital. All the Fathers approved of the idea. Accordingly "I appointed Fr Simon (de) Sa, Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas," says Fr Pimenta himself, "to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could" ¹. Fr de Sa at once got in touch with a Christian merchant, a native of Chandragiri, who was then living at St Thome, this person wrote about the matter to one of his relations, a servant of Oba Raya, the Emperor's father-in-law, to whom he praised the wisdom and holiness of the Jesuits of St Thome so highly that Oba Raya became anxious to make their acquaintance. Accordingly the latter wrote to the Fathers, inviting them to proceed to Chativerum (Kanchivaram), where he used to reside in a fortress of some importance ². Fr de Sa replied that he would go after the monsoon was over. In the meantime Oba Raya, having been called to Chandragiri by the Emperor invited the Rector of St Thome to proceed to that court, where he expected to be for a long period. Accordingly on October 10th, 1598, Fr de Sa together with Fr Francesco Ricio left St Thome for the capital of the Empire. A nephew of Oba Raya, a boy aged 13, came forward to meet and salute the Fathers with a considerable retinue of elephants and horses. When a league away from Chandragiri they sent a message to Oba Raya, who next morning despatched a general accompanied by many nobles and soldiers riding either elephants or horses to receive and usher them into the city. A great reception was given them in Oba Raya's palace, they handed over their presents to that chief, who offered them in their first interview any town they desired to stay in and build a church, moreover, he promised to defray the expenses of the missionaries who stayed in the town. He also presented them with rich silk cloths and inquired eagerly about the King of Portugal and his Viceroy in India, and after some days he personally introduced the Fathers into the presence of Venkata II.

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, December, 1597, Purchas, X, p 210, Du Jarric, I, p 638 and 654. Cf Ap C, No I.

2 Fr Ricio says that 'Hoburaja wrote two *ollas* to the Fathers'. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1610, Ap C, No. I.

2. On the day appointed they were kindly received by the Emperor "The sovereign" says du Jarric, was sitting in a narrow vestibule built for himself alone that was to be reached by several stairs. He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow. Next to the King just at the edge of the mat, the crown prince was also seated. he was a young man of white complexion and handsome face. On the other side of the King, opposite the Prince, Obo (Oba Raya) and his brother were seated too. The King was dressed in yellow. After the usual salutations the Fathers stood before him as the other nobles did, excepting those mentioned they were so near the throne that some times they touched the border of the King's dress.

The Monarch said that he had enjoyed our coming (here du Jarric probably quotes a letter of de Sa) as much as the world enjoys the rising of the sun. hence he will send us away full of honours and gifts. he knew of us from the things related by Obo (Oba Raya). They having thanked him offered him some presents which were kindly accepted. there was among these presents a golden glass heart-shaped jewel brought over from Portugal. the King asked what it was for. was it perhaps something eatable. They answered that it was nothing else but a symbol of the human heart made with silver and gold which they offered him as a sign of their sincere love, their loyalty and thankfulness towards His Majesty. Then he thanked them in his mother tongue saying—

"*Maha Santo Seam*" that is, I am extremely glad.

"Then he also gave some gifts to the Fathers. four pieces of silk cloth to Fr Rector and two to Fr Francis Rocio." After this a long talk ensued in which Venkata asked about the life they led and after having heard their account addressing his nobles he said —

"They are like our *sannyasis* but these moreover are Gurupi (*i e* learned Priests)"

The audience had been long enough. at the end, after a detailed explanation of the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance, that washed away the sins from our soul very much better than the Brahmanical ablutions, which clean only the body but not the soul. Venkata asked the Brahmans, who were present —

“What do you think of it?”

And they, struck with admiration, -exclaimed

“*Suami, Suami*” (Lord, Lord)

Finally Oba Raya told the Fathers that the King had determined to give them two villages, for their expenses and for the construction of the temple, and then a golden palankin, which is only permitted to the grandees and gurupis. Finally he allowed them to build as many temples as they wished throughout his dominions. Before their departure the King granted another audience to them, in which, at his request, they declared many of the tenets of the Christian faith, and were granted permission to build a church in Chandragiri itself. After this they returned to St Thome ¹. It was at this time that Venkata's friendship with the Jesuits began ².

3, On reaching St Thome, Fr de Sa wrote to Fr Pimenta, then at Goa, about the success of the expedition, and demanded more priests for opening the new mission. Many Fathers and Brothers offered themselves to the Visitor who was desirous of commencing that holy enterprise. Pimenta however selected, from amongst those who were either in Goa or in St Thome, six Fathers, namely Manoel de Veiga who was to be the Superior, Gaspar Estevao, Francesco Ricio, Joao da Costa, Petro Euticio and Belchior Coutinho ³. No mention is found in further documents of three of the above mentioned Fathers, *viz* Estevao, Costa and Euticio, perhaps they never reached St Thome.

The first to arrive at this town was Fr Veiga who, accompanied by Fr Ricio, left for Chandragiri on August 12th, 1599, reaching the capital four days later. “Thus”, says Fr Ricio, “we went to Oburaja (Oba Raya), who after having paid us the highest respects, introduced us to the King. He welcomed our arrival. Oburaja, on behalf of the King, gave us a very good place for building a little church and house, we also constructed a wall around, we put up in the church two images

1 Du Jarric, I, p 654-77, Orme, *Historical Fragments*, p 61 Cf Ap C, No I

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIII

3 Du Jarric, I, p 677-8

one of our Saviour and one of our Lady Very many heathens go continuously to this church and they make bows and prostrate themselves before the images and ask for some temporal rewards many have already come to thank (God) for those they have received. We preach to them about the mysteries of our faith and convince them of their error since the things they believe in are nothing else but evident lies and sins nobody knows what to answer and all remain in great confusion though reverencing the tenets of our faith We have often declared the tenets of our faith to the King himself showing him several pictures he liked very much to see; and he, though possessing such a clear intellect does the same" *viz* does not know what to answer¹ Another letter of Rocio states that they were allowed by the King to build a Church, erect Crosses, and convert men insomuch that fifty families were to give place and depart from the ground thereto assigned us² Fr Coutinho who arrived at Chandragiri some months after describes their house and compound as follows "Our little house has large premises exposed to a healthy breeze; they are good enough for building up a church and residence, and far from the crowded streets of the town. In the meantime, we have constructed a small church on the spot, large enough for the present, until we shall have money enough for building a larger one³

4. The income of the villages which Venkata had promised to the Jesuits at his court, was, according to a Jesuit letter of 1602, never settled, because of the chief governor and some grandees of that court who claimed that the revenue of the villages belonged to them Hence the King, continues the MS., "gave them yearly a thousand *pagodas* out of the tribute paid by one of the Naiques (Nayaks) who are his subjects

1. From Fr F Bicio to Fr O Aquaviva Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601 Ap. O, No I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 685-90 Du Jarric I, p. 689 says that the spot where the Fathers built the church was given them by the Queen, daughter of Oba Raya.

2. Purchas, X, p 221.

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap. O No V

until some lands should be vacant, from which the maintenance of the Fathers could be taken without objection For this purpose he issued the necessary *ollas*, and one of our Fathers went to Cangeuaram (Kanchivaram) to see the *Polle* (an officer of the imperial treasury), through whom such a rent had to be received He was entertained and honoured by this *Polle*, who gave him as great proofs of his love as any of those princes who are friends of the Society would have done in Europe When he was aware of the coming of the Father, he used to send him every day a messenger with congratulatory letters, that were, he said, like daily salvoes to cheer him He promised to pay diligently the first part of the rent in the following January, that is one fourth of the whole, and, as a matter of fact, he has already given us five hundred pardaos”¹

In connection with this story of their revenue the Jesuit sources narrate a case not known hitherto, and one which undoubtedly reflects on the integrity of the nobles of Venkata’s court “The case was striking in this”, says Guerreiro, “that it should happen to the chief Governor of the Empire, who so earnestly opposed the grant ordered by the King from the revenue of those villages for the ministers of the Church It was just he who was accused before the King of having robbed the royal rents and treasure, he was disgracefully deprived of his functions and dignity And when asked by the King for one of his rings that had cost fifty thousand *pagodas*, he denied the charge and swore on his parents he had never taken the ring By many witnesses he was declared guilty of the theft of the ring and of three hundred thousand *pagodas*, so he is now imprisoned The new Governor, his successor, is a very good friend of the Fathers”²

Thus the Fathers enjoyed from that time an annual income of one thousand gold pieces³ This constituted the main source of the revenue of the College at St Thome, and on it

1 *Litterae Annuae* of Eastern India, 1601, Ap C, No VI

2 Guerreiro (*sic*), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137

3 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

the Chandragiri mission depended¹ The rest of the College revenue was paid by the *adigar* of Mylapore, who was himself a very good friend of the Jesuits he gave them annually three hundred gold pieces out of the tribute the inhabitants of St. Thome paid to the Nayak of Tanjore² But from the year 1603 this yearly income, so kindly made over to the Fathers by order of Venkata ceased as we gather from a letter of Fr M. Roiz written in 1606³ and from another of Fr A. Rubino of 1609⁴ The reason of this change may be gathered from a letter of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo who writing to Philip III said that the lands that had yielded the income had been destroyed⁵ And it seems that no other source of revenue was assigned by Venkata for the maintenance of the Fathers in the following years

5 We learn from a Jesuit letter of 1600 that in the mission of Bisanaga (Vijayanagara) there are three priests and one Lay Brother⁶ These four Jesuits were Frs. Veiga and Ricio who had arrived at Chandragiri in the previous year and Fr Belchior Coutinho and the English Lay Brother Alexander Frey a painter who reached the court in 1600. Another letter says that the three Fathers and Bro Alexander did excellent pioneer work a great deal for the improvement of the Bisanaga (Vijayanagara) mission The King⁷ adds the letter "is very well disposed towards them"⁷

This good will of Venkata towards the Fathers is recorded in

1. From Fr M. de Veiga to Fr J. Alvarez, Cochin December 10th 1601, Ap. C No. III

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ap C No XXII

3. From Fr M. Roiz to Fr J. Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st 1606 Ap C No XII

4. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquiva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609 Ibid. No XXVII.

5. From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, Lisbon, February 20th, 1614, Ap. B No XI.

6. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa 1600 Ap. C, No. II.

7. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta December 21st 1602, Ibid., No. V

all the letters in our possession, dated the same year "The King is kind to the priests", we read in one, "and granted them many favours" ¹ "He received us with special kindness and love", says another ² Venkata's regard for the Fathers grew when he learned from the Mughal ambassador in what high esteem they were held by Akbar ³ On one occasion, Coutinho relates, "as the King was taking a walk in this neighbourhood a few days ago, he asked his attendants where our house was. When we knew that the King was coming, we proceeded to the door to receive him respectfully The attendants of the King were exclaiming.—

"*Parcco Parangolu*", that is, let His Highness see the Portuguese Priests.

"He (the King) talked to us affably and cheerfully" ⁴

Another testimony of his esteem for the Fathers was the letter he wrote to Fr Pimenta that year Purchas published only the first part of it ⁵ But we were fortunate enough to unearth its original kept in the Jesuit Archives It runs as follows —

"The King of kings, the great Lord, the Knight of knights, Vencapati (*sic*), King after God, sends the following letter to Fr Nicolao Pimenta who is at Goa I was filled with joy on receipt of your letter during a personal interview with Fr Manoel de Veiga, Superior of the Fathers who reside here I gave them permission to erect a church and house in my own town of Chandegri I have allotted the revenue of the village called Elamur, which is in the vicinity of St Thome, for the expenses of the Fathers, and I shall confer not only on these but also on their successors extraordinary privileges and endowments Moreover I have allowed them complete freedom to preach the

1 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ibid, No II

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, 1600, Ap C, No II Cf Ibid, No V

4 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600 Ap C, No V

5 Purchas, X, p 221

law of God so that anyone who wishes may become a Christian without being deprived of his previous position. My old love for the Portuguese is by now well known in Goa. The fathers themselves will write to you about the honours they have received from my hands. I have resolved to send the Viceroy a ring and some other presents which I shall charge my interpreter Condoquor to deliver. I wish Your Paternity to inform the Viceroy of this so that our old friendly relations may be renewed. Fr Manoel de Veiga will inform you about the new occurrences. I have myself nothing else to say.¹

6. The year 1600 witnessed a great loss to the recently founded mission of Chandragiri. Fr Manoel de Veiga, who is justly called its founder² was called to St. Thome and appointed Visitor of the Jesuit houses of the South³ with a view to separating them from the Province-of Goa. We find him accordingly in 1601 visiting the Jesuit stations on the Fishery Coast⁴ and after a while, in the month of December at Cochín⁵. It seems that Fr Veiga's opinion was not favourable to the separation of the Vice Province of Malabar⁶. Nevertheless without his concurrence it was effected shortly after and Fr Veiga was then appointed Provincial of the Province of Goa⁷.

After his departure three Jesuits remained at Chandragiri. Fr B Coutinho, who was appointed Superior. Fr F Ricio and the Lay Brother Alexander Frey⁸. Fr Ricio writing in the year 1603 gives the following information regarding their relations with Venkata. When we converse with him he not only shows us marks of great friendship but also lends a very willing ear

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa, written by Fr N Pimenta Goa, December 21st 1602, Ap. O No V.

2. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Goa 1601 written by Fr N Pimenta January 1602 Ap. O No. IV.

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ap. O, No V.

4. Guerrero (*sic*) *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601* p. 108.

5. See Ap. O, No III.

6. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr O. Aquaviva Cochín, January 12th, 1605 Ap. O No XI.

7. *Ibid.*

8. From Fr F Ricio to Fr O. Aquaviva, Chandragiri October 20th, 1601 Ap. O, No. I.

to the exposition of our doctrine, especially when the topic under discussion is Jesus Our Saviour, and the Blessed Virgin. And after he has heard us, he approves of, and repeats our sayings to others. The same willingness is shown to us by very many others, distinguished both by birth and learning. On hearing our exposition they are filled with joy, and acknowledge that there is only one faith and one God (a point we lay stress on in all our arguments). But though in every doctrine which we propound they show great joy, their happiness when we enumerate and explain the ten commandments of the divine law is so great, that it is easier for one to imagine it than for me to describe it to you in a letter. They confess that this law is divine and very sound, and that theirs is teeming with error, and for this very reason they very often come to us and attend our church and willingly hear the divine precepts and all that pertains to the salvation of our souls with great reverence and devotion. And not only those who dwell in this imperial city flock to our church, but also a large number from many different towns of this kingdom, and on reaching it they prostrate themselves on the bare floor, and with sincerest humility beg assistance from God in their needs." ¹

7 Such was the life of the Jesuits at the court of Venkata II while he ruled at Chandragiri. After his conquest of Vellore in the beginning of 1604, and during his short stay at that place, Fr Ricio went there to pay him his respects ², and shortly after Fr Alberto Laerzio, the Superior of the Vice-Province of Malabar, who had visited him at Chandragiri in the preceding year, ³ also went to Vellore to do homage to him. Venkata, on hearing of his coming, gave orders to prepare and adorn a house next to the palace for him and his companion. "As soon as they arrived", says a Jesuit letter, "several nobles paid a visit to them, and congratulated them on their arrival

1 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

2 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva, Cochin, January 15th, 1604, Ap C, No. IX.

on behalf of the king Then Ramana the son of the King's sister a very good friend of ours also sent to the Fathers some nobles of his household through whom he presented to the Fathers some good dishes of his own table as he had previously done to Fathers Nicolao Levanto and Francesco Riccio. Father Provincial answered that he and his companions would like to cook their food themselves at home then the prince sent them a large number of wethers and hens, besides butter rice, and other uncooked eatables moreover a while after he again sent them a wild boar brought by his brother from a hunting expedition finally he came himself, and gave the Fathers many proofs of his sincere friendship and esteem "

"On the same day continues the same letter "the King sent a message to Fr Provincial, to know when he would like to visit him The Father replied he was expecting an elephant he had left resting a little at Kanchivaram. When the beast reached Vellore the Provincial sent word to the sovereign The latter despatched his private secretary who is also a very good friend of the Fathers with a large retinue to fetch the Fathers. They reached the entrance of the palace in a coach. The King came down to the entrance-lobby to receive Fr Provincial, as well as to see the elephant, the hound and the other presents. Then he took the Father to the audience hall and ordered him to sit down next to the royal throne the grandees of the kingdom standing round. When the Provincial asked for permission to leave, he did not grant it for to dismiss him on the first meeting would be offensive to the dignity of both." As a matter of fact, Fr Laerzio prolonged his stay at Vellore some days and was finally dismissed with great honours and tokens of sincere attachment "

Shortly after this visit Venkata wrote to the General of the Society of Jesus then Fr Claudio Aquaviva. Two years later in 1607 Fr Coutinho points out that the King was awaiting the answer " We suppose it came in due course, but no further

1. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606 Ap. O, No. XXII.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O. Aquaviva, Vellore November 8th, 1607 Ap. O, No. XV

mention of this letter has been found. In the meantime the nobles of the court and kingdom still showed respect and admiration for the Fathers. "All of them are very good friends of the Fathers", says Laerzio, "very polite and kind and many request us to build churches and houses in their towns, and also offer rent for the Father's maintenance" ¹

In the month of July, 1606, Fr. Francesco Ricio passed away ², he was the first missionary to die in the Vijayanagara mission. Fortunately his successor came out in the same year. This was another Italian, Fr. Antonio Rubino. Fr. Ricio himself had, when writing to Fr. General in 1603, asked for Fr. Rubino for this mission ³. He was a great mathematician and a profound theologian, moreover he was a very good preacher and a virtuous priest ⁴. He reached Chandragiri in the beginning of 1606, and from there he wrote to Fr. General of the Society of Jesus in the following year as follows: "Last year I wrote to Your Paternity an account of this mission in the kingdom of Bisnaga, in which I am now by Your Paternity's command with great consolation on my part. I hope in our Lord that I shall end the rest of my life, which will not last very long, in this mission" ⁵

⁸ But shortly after his arrival a great storm burst over the heads of the missionaries. It was then that the conflict between the inhabitants of St. Thome and the soldiers of the *adigar* took place, ending with the partial destruction of Madras and Mylapore, as we have related in one of the preceding chapters ⁶. When news of the disaster reached Venkata's

1 From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. J. Alvarez, Cochin, January 8th, 1604, Ap. C, No. X

2 Fr. Ricio's death is announced in a letter of Fr. Coutinho, dated November 4th, 1606, preserved in the Archives of the Society

3 From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap. C, No. VII

4 From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C, No. XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No. XIV

5 From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ibid, No. XVII

6 Cf. Ch. XXI, No. 9.

ears inflamed with anger he exclaimed among other things that he did not want the Fathers in his kingdom any more'¹ For this reason the Provincial did not proceed to Venkata's court on his annual visit and the Fathers were recalled to St. Thome to see their Superior there. Laerzio ordered them not to go back to Venkata's court till peace had been restored²

Towards the close of 1606 as related above peace was finally made, and in the first days of January 1607 the missionaries were back at their posts in the mission of Vijayanagara. Fr Rubino at Chandragiri and Fr Coutinho with the Lay Brother Bartolomeo Fontebona at the new residence of Vellore³ where the capital of the Empire had just been transferred. In the month of January" says Fr Coutinho "we came over here, Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona and myself. Among other things that we offered to the King was a pot full of cakes, one out of a dozen pots we had received in the college on the feast of Jesus (January 1st). This pot was a work of fine art, showing a pelican with its young ones around. I told him at the time (when presenting this pot) that the people of St. Thome were like dead because His Highness had been unfavourable to them but in the course of time, when he had showed from the bottom of his heart his love towards them they as his children, had returned to life, as it had happened to that bird etc. He was very glad to hear this, for they are men who like comparisons. In the same letter Coutinho relates that Fr Rubino also went to Vellore to pay a visit to the King. He brought him as a present a nice map of the world with Telugu inscriptions the principal kingdoms and the four elements and the twelve skies were described there the King enjoyed very much seeing and reading all these things he questioned Rubino about some difficult problems of mathematics, and the missionary showed himself to

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, St. Thome, November 4th, 1606 Ap. C No. XIV

2. From Fr M. Rois to Fr J. Alvarez, St. Thome November 1st, 1606 Ap. C No. XII.

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607 Ap. C No. XV. Cf. Ibid., No. XIII.

be an excellent mathematician¹. Rubino himself adds that on this occasion he also gave the King a treatise on astronomy, "and the King caused it to be read before him and in the presence of all the learned men of his court These people were greatly astonished at the difference that lies between our science and theirs"²

9 Venkata gave the Jesuits at Vellore a site next to his own palace to build a house and church "The King", says Coutinho, "gave us a house and church within the first enclosure of the fortress; and I put up the Holy Cross over the gate It is situated in a beautiful street running from North to South and leaning against the walls of the palace The Church is visited by many of the King's relations, who are our friends and neighbours, they enjoy our conversations about God"³ This proves that, after that temporary storm of hatred against the Portuguese, the love of Venkata for the Jesuits was renewed once more "He (Venkata)" says Fontebona, "shows us as much love as we can desire"⁴ And in another letter he says "It is surprising to see how he loves us"⁵ Fr Antonio

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XVIII

2 From Fr A Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607, Ap C, No XVII

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIII, From the same to the same, same date, Ibid, No XIV When I visited the place in January, 1924, as soon as I entered the fort, I noticed through the green trees a small white cross over the facade of a church towering above all the other edifices I remembered at once the above quoted passage of Coutinho Then I realized that the aforesaid church was built next to the walls of the Mahal still standing and in the street running from North to South The coincidence was amazing I could not however get more information about that church, as there was no priest then at the parish house I wrote lately to a Catholic Priest of Vellore, Rev J Trideau, and I was informed by him that, according to local tradition, there is no recollection of a Catholic Church inside the fort I realized then that the church I had seen must be the Anglican Church, but nevertheless the spot where it is built seems to be the same as that of the ancient church of the Jesuits at Venkata's court Cf Penny, *The Church in Madras*, I, p 624-9

4 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap C, No XVI

5 From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

Vico writing from Cochín at about the same time, informs us that "the King of Bisanaga is daily growing fonder of the things of God" ¹ while Fontebona says elsewhere that Venkata "likes to talk about our things and specially about our holy faith" ²

One of these talks with Venkata about the Christian tenets is related in a letter of Fr Coutinho "The other day" he says "we were talking about the things of God and His Majesty heard at length the explanation of the ten commandments. When in explaining the first we said that there was only one God and that the others were false gods idols (Devils), the King did not say anything. The Brahmans, however asked him what was the use of hearing such things to which the King replied that it was a very good thing and so worthy of notice. He was also pleased to see the album of holy pictures which the Brother showed him drawing his attention especially to the ones by Fr Nadal ³ He saw them one by one and at the same time inquired minutely about their meaning in so doing he was very glad to know of these high mysteries. But the King's religious preceptor (*viz.* Tatacharya) wished to convince us of the falsehood of the passion (of Jesus Christ) He was one of those whom St. Paul represents to us as saying that our doctrine was folly he tried to convince him of the stories of their false gods who are so unworthy of divinity but we declared to him how perfect was the love of Jesus Christ, who came to the world for our salvation. The King heard everything in silence, and was by no means angry when at what we said against his idols and temples" ⁴ The same letter records that once when the King was praising the Fathers for being

1. From Fr A. Vico to Fr P. A. Spinelli Cochín, December 9th, 1607 Ap. C, No XXI

2. From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J. Alvarez, Vellore November 11th, 1607 Ap. C No XIX.

3. For the history of these pictures, see Herns, *La Dinastia Nancha en China*, I, p 412-4, and *The Jesuit Influence in the Court of Vijayanagara*, *Q J M S.*, XIV p. 156, n. 26.

4. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J. Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607 Ap. C, No. XVIII.

friend of ours as he was before. The cause of it are those accursed Brahmans who are the chief foes of our Holy Faith the King is more than a slave before them" ¹ Another Jesuit letter of 1600 shows what kind of slavery the King was subjected to "The King is not allowed to talk to anybody we read there before he has seen the face of two Brahmans" ²

In the month of June, 1611 we find Rubino in Colombo. He had preached on Fridays in Lent his preaching pleased everybody and was fruitful. The reason for his going there was that Venkata had requested him to accompany the ambassadors whom he was sending to the Portuguese Governor of Ceylon, and whom he had deputed to sell several elephants to the Portuguese ³

II By the end of the same year 1611 no Jesuit houses were found any more either at Vellore or at Chandragiri. What was the cause of their withdrawal from Venkata's court?

Some years before, a document full of slanders against all the Jesuits of the South but especially against those who were at Venkata's court had been presented to Philip III. The accusations may be reduced to the following four heads 1. The Jesuits residing at Venkata's court have no interest at all in the conversion of infidels and only preach according to the will of the Brahmans and other Hindu ascetics 2. All their efforts are reduced to making money and to accumulating enormous amounts of money in order to increase their income and to attain this purpose they always do whatever the King likes 3. Bro Fontebona is busy painting indecent pictures to please the sovereign and 4. They

1. From Fr. A. Rubino to Fr. C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap. O No. XXVII.

2. From Fr. B. Coutinho to Fr. N. Pimenta, July 17th, 1600, Ap. O No. V

3. From Fr. A. Laerzio to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Cochin November 25th 1611 Ap. C, No. XXXI. This is the last time we hear of Rubino in connection with Vijayanagara. In 1613 he became Rector of the College at St. Thome as recorded in a letter of 1615 which will be published in Vol. II. Rubino died martyr in Japan on March 17th, 1643

forged letters of the King of Spain to Venkata and of Venkata to the King of Spain, and bribed the ministers of the former to obtain the royal seal ¹

No doubt, these charges created great resentment in the suspicious character of Philip III. On March 9th, 1610, he wrote about them to his Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora to this effect "From the note I am sending you herewith, you may see the things which were communicated to me about the conduct of the Jesuits who reside in the Empire of Bisnaga, hence I recommend to you, first, to request from their Superior the immediate withdrawal of these Religious (from that Empire) to any other house of their Order, they may be, if necessary, replaced by others of good conduct, whose efforts must be only devoted to the conversion of the gentiles. Then you will secretly inquire from impartial persons about the accusations as contained in the said note" ² No person can defend this strange and imprudent order of the Spanish King. He ought first to have ordered an inquiry, and then to proceed to the expulsion of the guilty, if any. The Provincial of the Malabar Province, to avoid any suspicion of covetousness on their part, on receiving the Viceroy's order promptly withdrew his subordinates from Venkata's court. "As soon as their Superiors were aware of what Your Majesty wrote about them, they caused them to be removed at once to their own province", wrote Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to his sovereign, in 1613 ³ No other Fathers were sent there

1 Memorial against the Jesuits, Ap C, No XXXVIII

1 "Por hum papel que ira com esta vereis o que se diz do procedimento dos religiosos da companhia que residem no reino de Bisnaga, e parecemme remettervolo e encomendarvos, como faco, que trateis com o superior daquella religiao que recolha logo estes religiosos a alguma outra casa da sua ordem e sendo necessario enviar alli outros, o faca, escolhendo para isso pessoas de satisfaccão e que attendam somente a conversão dos gentios d'aquelle reino, e que do mais que contem o dito papel tomeis informacão em todo o segredo por pessoas sem suspeita" From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, Lisbon, March 9th, 1610, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, I, p 372 Cf another letter from the same King to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, February 28th, 1610, *Ibid.*, II, p 184

3 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo to Philip III, 1613, Ap B, No XII

This removal of the Jesuits from the court of Vijayanagara caused a great deal of harm to the Portuguese influence in India. According to the Viceroy the settlement of the Dutch at Pulicat as well as Venkata's war against St. Thome were due to this fact¹ "Consequently" the Viceroy adds "I have to say that it is not only absolutely necessary to have them (the Jesuits) at Chandegri (Chandragiri) close to the King, who loves them but even in Paleacate (Pulicat) after the capture of this fortress from the Dutch and in other places of that coast." The Viceroy's wishes were never fulfilled. Venkata died soon after the turbulent period that followed was not conducive to the re-establishment of the suspended mission but Fr Rubino in a letter dated from St. Thome November 29th 1617 says that there were hopes that the mission of Vellore would be renewed after the end of the civil war² Nevertheless as far as we know there were no more Jesuits permanently residing either at Vellore or at Chandragiri during the supremacy of the Emperors of Vijayanagara.

12 What was the real character of the Jesuit mission at the court of Venkata? Their stay first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore was not prompted by a desire for temporal advantages. Though they sometimes inclined Venkata in favour of the Portuguese this was not the main purpose of their mission. Dom Jeronymo d Azevedo, in the above quoted letter spoke of them only from this political point of view. But Fr Pimenta had ordered the establishment of this mission "in order to preach here the doctrine of Jesus Christ" as Riccio says in one of his letters³ du Jarric says likewise that Pimenta's purpose was

1. Cf. Ch. XXI, Nos. 13 and 15.

2. From the same letter of the Viceroy to Philip III. These extracts of the Viceroy's letter to his sovereign do not agree at all with the accusations of Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* II, p. XXXII and of Rangachari *History of the Nayak Kingdom, Ind. Ant.*, XLV p. 181.

3. This letter will be published in Vol. II.

4. From Fr F Riccio to Fr O Aquaviva Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. O No. I. Cf. Du Jarric, I, p. 638.

“to make known the Christian faith in the kingdom of Bisanagar (Vijayanagara)”¹

The importance of this enterprise is frequently emphasised in the Jesuit letters of those days “There are in this kingdom such extensive regions and populous cities”, Ricio again wrote in 1603, “that if God calls them to the faith (as we hope), numberless labourers will be needed for working in this vineyard”² Again, in January, 1604, the Provincial Laerzio informed Fr General that “the Residence of Chandragiri in the kingdom of Bisanagar (Vijayanagara) was an enterprise of great importance We expect many conversions there If but one of those chiefs wishes to be baptised, the rest, it seems, will follow his example”³ Laerzio repeats the same in 1605⁴ Such were the hopes of the Jesuits of those days that the King of Spain, Philip III, evinced much interest in the affairs of this mission, not precisely for political motives, but on account of his zeal for the propagation of the faith Accordingly on December 23rd, 1604, he wrote to his Viceroy “I expect you will inform me about the results obtained by those (Jesuits) who reside next to the King of Bisanaga (Vijayanagara)”⁵

The first conversion is recorded by Ricio in a letter of 1601, not perhaps a real conversion, since Ricio says that the person baptised was a child (*menino*),⁶ who might have died soon after As a matter of fact Laerzio says in 1604 that “no conversions were made till now”⁷ In 1606, Fr Roiz wrote from

1 Du Jarric, I, p 654

2 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th, 1603, Ap C, No VII

3 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochín, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

4 From the same to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

5 From Philip III to his Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604, Ap B, No VII.

6 From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 29th, 1601, Ap C, No I

7 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochín, January 18th, 1604, Ap C, No X

St. Thome that in Chandragiri the Fathers had baptised six persons who were their servants at the same time he says that "there is no hope of more conversions, because these negroes (*sic*) are very obstinate in their diabolic doctrines, about which I have before written to Your Reverence they certainly acknowledge that our doctrine is good, but they say that theirs is also good and that they can obtain salvation by professing it. Hence they want to keep it since it is according to their own customs and received from their ancestors" ¹ At the end of the same year 1606, Coutinho announces that besides the six Christians of Chandragiri there are five more in Vellore ² In 1607 Laerzio informs Fr General that Fr Rubino has made some Christians in Chandragiri ³ But Fr Rubino himself writes that the persons converted were only four there were besides eight others who were then being instructed. We are working as much as possible to propagate our holy faith" he says "but *janua clausa est* (the gate is shut) and great grace of God is required to open it we must incessantly knock at it again till it be opened. Our knocking however from outside will be nothing if God does not from the inside knock with his divine inspirations, as we hope He will do" ⁴ In the following year 1608 the few Christians of Chandragiri were persecuted by the governor of the town ⁵ while Coutinho baptised an old man at Vellore ⁶

No more conversions are mentioned in the letters of those missionaries. It is a matter of great sorrow to see the door

1. From Fr M. Bols to Fr J Alvarez, St. Thome, November 1st 1606, Ap. C, No. XII.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap. C No. XIII.

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Oochin, November 20th, 1607 Ap C, No XX.

4. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, November 8th, 1607 Ap C, No XVII.

5. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C. Aquaviva Oochin, December 30th, 1608 Ap. C, No XXV.

6. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr. C. Aquaviva Vellore October 11th, 1608, Ap. C, No. XXII.

so closed to the Gospel", writes Rubino in 1609 ¹. And Laerzio himself says in 1611 "We shall try every possible means to get the expected harvest from this mission, this (fruit) was very much diminished this year" ² With this good hope the Vijayanagara mission met with its end, that very year, as has been related, the Jesuits were withdrawn from their posts ³

1 From Fr A Rubino to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, September 30th, 1609, Ap C, No XXVII

2 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, November 25th, 1611, Ap C, No. XXXI

3 It has been supposed that the Jesuits were also established in the very city of Vijayanagara during the time of its splendour, or perhaps during Sadasiva's reign Cf Slater, *Where Religions Meet*, Q J M S, VIII, p 307-8 We are sure that no Jesuit was ever established in the city near the Tunghabadra, nor do we even know of any other missionary settled there The only information we have is that in the year 1542 Fr Antonio Patrao or Petronio, a Franciscan Friar, converted 1300 Hindus in the kingdom of Vijayanagara (not in the City) and built a church dedicated to St Anthony, which was afterwards converted into a monastery The place where this missionary obtained this harvest is not given Cf *Historia Chronologica, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I, p 86

CHAPTER XXIII

VENKATA II AND THE ART OF PAINTING

SUMMARY—1 Indian painters at Venkata's court.—2. Venkata's interest in the art of painting shown in his first audience to the Jesuits—3 Bro Alexander Frey painter to the Emperor—4. Bro. Bartolomeo Fontebona called for the mission of Vijaya nagara.—5 His introduction to Venkata His paintings.—6 Venkata's kindness to Fontebona.—7 The Provincial of Malabar wishes to promote Fontebona to the Priesthood.—8 Fontebona's removal from the Court. His death in Bengal.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Jesuit letters.—2. Du Jarric.

VENKATA II'S predilection for the art of painting deserves a special chapter on his relations with the painters at his court.

Unfortunately we know nothing about the Indian painters employed in his capital their very existence is only known to us through a European source. Fr du Jarric states that there were several native painters at Chandragiri but these artists could not have approached the standard of the European paintings presented to the King by the Jesuits¹

About the two European painters who resided for some years at Chandragiri and at Vellore, our store of information is considerable. Hence we are able to trace the course of Venkata's relations with them. Incidentally the subject will serve to give to our readers a hitherto unknown aspect of the character of that monarch

2. In the course of the first audience given by Venkata to Frs. de Sa and Rocio, the sovereign asked them about the King of Portugal. They happened to have with them several small portraits of Dom Sebastiao and his predecessors and showed them to the King. Venkata was amazed at seeing them. He scrutinised them carefully and passed them on for examination to the attendant nobles. They too were astonished at the per

1. Du Jarric, I p 669

fection of these European paintings. Then Venkata inquired of his visitors whether there was at St. Thome a good painter. The Fathers replied that there was indeed one, and as a proof of their statement, offered to the sovereign another painting recently done at St. Thome. It represented the Gospel parable of the rich Epulon and the beggar Lazarus. Venkata asked for the explanation of this subject, which was courteously given in Telugu by Fr. Rício. His explanation, according to du Jarric, resolved itself into a sermon on hell, Rício was prepared with the subject-matter before leaving St. Thome, but now he was so carried away with his declamation that his pronunciation was often faulty, and occasionally made the nobles laugh.¹

At the farewell audience some days later, Venkata questioned the Fathers once more about the painter they had at St. Thome.² From these facts de Sa and Rício reasonably inferred that it would be of great importance for the future mission to have such a painter in the residence which was to be established at Chandragiri, and the idea was most likely communicated to Fr. Pimenta.

3 This painter was the Jesuit Lay Brother Alexander Frey. We know nothing more about him except that he was an Englishman, as the letters of those days often record.³

In spite of the King's wishes, Bro. Alexander, as he is commonly called, was not among the Jesuits who reached Chandragiri in 1599. But in the following year we find him installed at Venkata's court. A Jesuit letter of 1600 gives some interesting information about his work at the imperial palace. It runs as follows: "Bro. Alexander showed to the King one of his paintings that represents the three Magi adoring our Saviour recently born and put in the manger. He offered besides to the sovereign another painting, showing the Blessed Virgin with Her Child in her arms. The King bowed before it and placed it in one of the rooms of his palace. The Brother is now painting another one of Christ's descent into hell. He

1 Ibid, p. 665

2 Ibid, p. 670

3 From Fr. F. Rício to Fr. C. Aquaviva, Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601, Ap. C, No. I

(the King) is eagerly waiting for it because out of many pictures previously shown he selected this and the preceding one to be reproduced. He talks quite unreservedly with the Brother. It happened once that the King was looking on while the Brother was painting the latter happened to say that some of the colours required for his work were some times lacking then the sovereign returned to his apartment and came out bringing in his own hands a hundred gold pieces, which he gave to the Brother in order to get all the necessary things " 1

Fr Racio informs us that at the end of 1601 Bro. Alexander was still working at Chandragiri and was a great favourite with the King. In the same letter he asks the General of the Society permission to give a beautiful painting to Venkata on the General's behalf 2

No further mention of Bro. Alexander Frey is discoverable in the Jesuit letters from Chandragiri. He probably left the court in 1602. We cannot assign any reason for his departure, though some years later we find his name among the missionaries of Malabar.

4. No doubt Frey's departure from Chandragiri was a blow to the recently founded mission. This enterprise required the support of the powerful sovereign and the presence of a painter among the missionaries was conducive to this support. Hence the Provincial Fr Laerzio, who probably before leaving Italy had made the acquaintance of an Italian Lay Brother also a good painter wrote to Fr General in 1603 requesting a man of his type for the mission of Vijayanagara 3 and repeated his petition in the following year 4

This Lay Brother's name was Bartolomeo Fontebona or Fontebuone. Owing to his artistic talent he became one of the most intimate friends of Venkata. It would seem that Fr

1. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr N. Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th 1600 Ap. O No V

2. From Fr F. Bizio to Fr O. Aquaviva Chandragiri October 20th 1611, Ap. O No L

3. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J. Alvarez, Cochim, January 18th, 1604, Ap. O No. X.

4. Ibid.

General sent him to India immediately upon the first petition of Laerzio, for Laerzio himself, in January of the year 1605, wrote to Aquaviva that Fontebona had already been in Goa for two years¹, but that the Provincial of Goa, Fr Manoel de Veiga, had retained him in that city, in order to paint the new church of the Professed House² Five years later, in 1607, Fontebona wrote from Vellore "I have been told that a Flemish Lay Brother, himself a very good painter, was coming (to India), I was very glad, indeed, for he will be able to finish the painting of the new church of the Professed House, started by me"³

The Provincial of Malabar wrote again to the General in 1605, pressing for the services of Fontebona in the Vijayanagara mission "We are very much in need of Bro Bartolomeo, the painter, for this Christendom", he said, "but Fr Provincial (of Goa) will not allow him to leave Goa, if Your Paternity do not order him to do so When in Rome I asked Your Paternity for this Brother for this Christendom, he has already been at Goa for two years, I should think that they must be quite satisfied"⁴

Most likely the General sent his order to the Provincial of Goa, in accordance with Laerzio's wishes, because at the end of 1606, Fontebona was already at St Thome waiting for an opportunity to go to Venkata's court He happened to arrive there when the Jesuits had retired from the capital of the Empire, owing to the sudden storm occasioned by the fight of the inhabitants of St Thome with the soldiers of the *adigar* Hence Fr Coutinho, in November, 1606, wrote from St Thome that "Bro Bartolomeo Fontebuone is here painting while waiting for a chance to proceed to the court with us, for we hope the

1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

2 This was the house and the church of the Bom Jesus, which had been started in 1589 Cf Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p 279-80

3 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, November 7th, 1607, Ap C, No XVI, From the same to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ibid, No XIX

4 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, January 12th, 1605, Ap C, No XI

King will renew our previous relations for this purpose he was sent to us by our Father (General)"¹

5 Finally in January 1607 the Fathers were allowed to return to Chandragiri and even to establish a new residence at Vellore, the recently created capital. Fontebona was naturally sent there to be in readiness for the King's orders². He was introduced to Venkata by Fr Coutinho who thus describes the audience held on this occasion "I introduced the Brother (to the King), saying that he had come from far away by order of our Fr General, in order to paint before His Highness. He praised this highly and asked the Brother at once whether he had at that time a good painting to show to him. The Brother had nothing else but the two portraits of our Blessed Fathers (Ignatius and Francis Xavier). The King on seeing them was astonished and could not persuade himself that the Brother had painted them. I told him I had witnessed his work. Hence he (the King) asked him (Fontebona) to paint others like them in his presence. He replied that he would and began at once by his order to sketch them on a big panel. The King was surprised to see how quickly the Brother worked. In fact the painting was finished in an hour and a half. He retouched the face of Bl. Father Ignatius. The King on seeing that was greatly astonished and going back to his lodging sent him according to his custom a rich golden cloth. He went on with his painting while we took the opportunity to relate to him the main facts and the miracles and virtues of Bl. Father Ignatius and of Bl. Father Francis (Xavier). The King was much pleased on hearing those things. He (Fontebona) painted also his (the King's) own portrait. He (the King) is a very grave man, on this occasion however he changed the place where he was sitting and moved to another which was selected by the Brother. He remained there until the portrait was completed. Furthermore, to please the King he painted a panel of the Bl. Virgin Our Lady

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O Aquaviva, St. Thome November 4th 1606 Ap. C No. XIII.

2. *Litteras Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1606-1607 Ap. O No. XXVI.

with the child Jesus in her arms and the holy child, the Baptist, at her side, and St Joseph in the rear, copying it from a small picture. The panel was finished to perfection, and the King ordered it to be hung in a prominent place in the room of the assembly, opposite his royal throne, where he reads with his learned Brahmans. These asked the King why that painting made by the Christians was there, and so on. The King replied —

‘This carpet on which I am sitting, and you also, came from their country. If we are nevertheless sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there? Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too?’ Such discussions were repeated several times”¹

By the same letter of Fr Coutinho we are made aware that Fontebona showed to the King several books and albums of pictures, one of them being that of Fr Nadal. This especially was liked very much by the King². Then Venkata told the Brother that he was greatly pleased to see him painting those small pictures. Accordingly Fontebona spent a good length of time in this work, and ‘has been praised very highly by the King’³. The Provincial Laerzio confirms this news, while stating that ‘Fontebona is loved by the King and by all’⁴. Fontebona himself at the same time reports “I am at Vellore at present. My daily occupation consists in painting several things in the palace and in the King’s presence. His Majesty is as much pleased by watching me paint painting, as I am pleased by gratifying him”⁵.

6 As a result of this continual work, Fontebona fell sick at the end of the same year, 1607. On the occasion of this sickness, Venkata’s love towards the Brother was openly shown

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XVIII

2 Cf Ch XXII, No 9

3 Letter mentioned in note 1

4 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

5 From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

Fontebona himself gives an interesting account of his relations with the monarch at this time. His letter runs as follows I once heard while sick, that the King was going to leave the palace (for a walk) I went to the palace gate in order to greet him while passing. When he went out I presented myself to him and offered him a crystal cup full of rose water. He stopped and received the cup with his own hands saying at the same time how sorry he was to see me so lean and pale from my sickness. On the following day my sickness grew worse it was necessary to go to St. Thome to recover. I have been there for almost two months. The King on learning that I could not get rid of my disease sent a message through the Queen instructing me in the way I could be cured. I came back to Vellore after my recovery and began to paint a panel of Our Lady.

"He (the King) offered me many gifts but since the Provincial forbade us to receive money we declined his offerings this made a great impression on him so much so that he said to his courtiers that we had never asked for anything. I have also painted several small pictures specially one of Our Saviour. I once showed to him a painting of Our Lady which I had made presentation to one of our Fathers. He was greatly surprised at the sight of it and took it to his apartments to show it to the Queen the picture never came back to my hands. Later on we were given to understand that the King had preserved it in a box where he keeps the jewellery very well covered we were told moreover that he used to open this box and look at the picture every day " 1

Fontebona continued his work in the presence of Venkata, who was every day more pleased with the skill of the Italian Jesuit. Fr Rubino wrote of the latter in the year 1609, that he was still often busy painting before the King and later on the same writer adds that Venkata had given the Brother two hundred gold coins (scudi) for buying colours. 2

1. From Bro B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th 1607 Ap O No. XIX. From the same to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore November 7th, 1607 Ibid., No. XVI.

2. From Fr A. Rubino to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore September 30th, 1609 Ap. O No. XXVII.

7 So great was the help given to the mission by the humble painter, who knew how to keep alive the good-will of Venkata towards the Fathers, that the Provincial Fr Laerzio, contrary to the custom of the Society of Jesus, thought seriously of promoting him to the sacred priesthood This would have given Fontebona a better opportunity to work for the propagation of the faith

Laerzio in a letter to Fr General dated November 20th, 1607, after paying tribute to Fontebona's virtue, example and goodness, adds "It seems to me that he would help us still more in that kingdom if he were a priest, he knows Latin pretty well It is true that he never manifested to me any wish in any way, nor did other persons speak to me about this Probably he never thought of this, it is only an idea growing upon me for some years past, that as a priest, he would be of more profit to the service of God In case my idea is approved of by Your Paternity, kindly send me your permission I feel sure it will be for the glory of God and for the greater profit of the souls of that kingdom" ¹

8 Apparently the General's permission never came Fontebona was removed from Venkata's court with the rest of the missionaries at the end of 1611, when the missions of Chandragiri and Vellore were definitely abandoned

The Superior of Malabar, Fr Laerzio, after realizing that Bro Fontebona's work would not be required any more at the court of Vijayanagara, as hopes of re-establishing the mission were groundless, sent him in the company of Frs Stefano Cacella and Joao Cabral on an expedition to Tibet, that was to start from Bengal They left Cochin on April 30th, 1626 Having set out on their journey from Hughli, on one of the branches of the Ganges, Fontebona (who was then fifty) was sent back to Hughli from Siripur on account of the difficulties of the enterprise He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and died there on December 26th, 1626 ²

1 From Fr A Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochin, November 20th, 1607, Ap C, No XX

2 Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p 121-2.

CHAPTER XXIV

FAMILY AFFAIRS DEATH OF VENKATA II

SUMMARY—1 The wives of Venkata II.—2 The King gives a garden party to his wives.—3 Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court.—4. Great power of Queen Pedobamamba —5 Story of the putative son of Venkata —6 Relations between the King and his two nephews Tirumala and Ranga.—7 Venkata's last illness. Appointment of Ranga as his successor—8. Death of Venkata II—9 Venkata judged by his contemporaries.—10 Final criticism of this sovereign.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1 Hindu inscriptions and grants.—2. Jesuit letters.—3 Letters to the E. I. C.—4. Du Jarric Guerreiro Queyroz.—5 Anquetil du Perron, Floris —6. *Ramayahyams*

VENKATA II's family life was far from pleasant, and the private affairs of his relations hastened the downfall of the Empire itself. This chapter is a narrative of those unfortunate events which precipitated the civil war related in the following volume.

Considerable discussion has arisen concerning the wives of Venkata II because the contemporary sources agree neither as to their number or their names. Our own opinion is that such differences spring from the obvious fact that these contemporary sources give the number of Venkata's wives at the time of their composition and could by no means give the names of all the wives of this monarch. In the light of this fact there is really no discrepancy among the different documents and indeed there is a perfect agreement between the indigenous and the foreign sources.

According to one of Venkata's grants of 1586 he had four wives Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Pinavobamamba¹ But in the Dalavay Agraharam plates, which were issued the same year the name of Pinavobamamba is replaced by that of Krishnamba² This would mean that

1. *Ep Ind.*, XIII, p 231 note 7

2. *Ibid.*, XII p. 186 vv 27-39

Pinavobamamba had died the same year, and that a new wife called Krishnamba filled her place ¹ These four names, viz. Venkatamba, Raghavamba, Pedobamamba and Krishnamba are again mentioned both in the Vellangudi plates ² and in the Padmaneri grant of the same Venkata II ³, both issued in 1598 But in 1601 the Vilapaka grant mentions five wives the four just spoken of, plus Kondambika ⁴, thus showing that between 1598 and 1601 Venkata married another wife named Kondambika Raghavamba however did not live long The *Ramarajyam*, which seems to have been written towards the close of Venkata's reign, gives only four names Venkatamma, (Venkatamba), Obamma (Pedobamamba), Krishnamma (Krishnamba), and Kondamma (Kondambika) ⁵ The same four names are repeated in a grant of 1633 ⁶ One of them however must have died early, for when the death of Venkata occurred at the end of the following year, 1614, only three wives committed *satī*, according to both Fr Barradas and Floris, who will be quoted later on We cannot ascertain which of these four consorts of Venkata died previous to his death, but we may affirm that the question lies between Krishnamba and Kondambika This we shall discuss while narrating Venkata's demise

According to this explanation Venkata had altogether six wives Of them Obamma or Pedobamamba was the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja, Krishnamma or Krishnamba was the daughter of Jillella Krishna Raju, and Kondamma or Kondam-

1 There are, however, two grants of Venkata inconsistent with this opinion one is of 1587, *Ep Carn*, VII, Sh, 83, the other of 1589, *Ibid*, XII, Ck, 39 In both documents the names of Venkata's Queens are the following Venkatamba, Raghavamba Ped-Obamamba, and Pin-Obamamba Is this simply a mistake on the part of the engraver, or perhaps Krishnamba and Pin-Obamamba (Pinavobamamba) are two different names of the same person? In the latter supposition Venkata's wives would have been in all only five in number

2 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35

3 *Ibid*, p 297, v 30

4 *Ibid*, IV, p 270

5 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 243.

6, *Ep Ind*., XIII, p 231

mbika was the daughter of Gobburu Oba.¹ This Gobburu Oba or Oba Raya had, moreover, another daughter who was married to Venkata. We are inclined to believe that she was Raghavamba. This information comes from the Jesuit sources of 1598-9, when the first Jesuits visited Venkata's court. "The King" says du Jarric, had married two of his (Oba Raya's) daughters;² and the same author says later on that Oba Raya had "two daughters married to the King."³ Now we know the names of the fathers of the other three of Venkata's wives at that time. Raghavamba's father is unknown to us. It is true that the first mention of Kondambika is found in 1601, but she might have been married to Venkata a little earlier. Thus the explanation holds good that when the Jesuits first visited Venkata's court two of Venkata's wives were daughters of Oba Raya.

The *Ramarajiyamu* makes no reference to the family of Venkatamba. She is the only one whose father is not mentioned. Hence she must be the one spoken of by Fr. Barradas as the daughter of Jaga Raya, by the name of Bayamma,⁴ as any lady could be called Bayamma in Telugu. To quote Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.⁵ She appears to have been the first Queen as she is always mentioned first, and may be identified with the one said by Barradas to be of the same age as the King.⁶

2. Fr. du Jarric, relying invariably on the contemporary Jesuit letters, gives interesting details of a feast prepared by Venkata for his Queens in 1698.

"One of those days (during the Jesuits' first stay at Chandragiri) the King invited the Queens to a garden outside the city to enjoy themselves there. The retinue which accompanied them proceeded as follows: in the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan surrounded by four or five knights; there were several silk

1. *Ramarajiyamu* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources*, p. 243.

2. Du Jarric, I, p. 654.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 674.

4. Sewell p. 223.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *o.c.*, p. 20.

6. Sewell, p. 224.

standards in this company, after this there came a flute and a vinaband, the players rode several camels, many foot soldiers were also to be seen. Then the Delenais (Dalavays), or chief captains followed, they proceeded on foot and were fully armed, in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried. There were several court nobles around. Next, a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it¹, the King himself then advanced on a gold sedan-chair, with many courtiers and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas, then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks, the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East, a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard. After this there came the chief Delevay (Dalavay) of the kingdom, and at last the Prince (Ranga) with the King's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan-chairs, with great pomp, the Queens were carried in shining gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones, next to every litter two umbrellas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun, there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their mistresses. Such was the order of his state procession when the King went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday. He came back on the same day after sunset, so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour"²

3 Up to the year 1606 the influence exerted by Oba Raya and his family at the court of Venkata may be seen both from the Hindu inscriptions and from the Jesuit sources. An inscription of Venkata at Narasingapuram mentions Gobburu Oba Raya and the gifts of sixty-five gold pieces called Venkataraya-varahans. Oba Raya seems to have regulated the festivals

1 This gong was '*longitudine duorum doliorum*', according to du Jarric. I cannot estimate its size, since the name *doliorum* means quite a different thing in Latin. It is possibly a mistake.

2 Du Jarric, I, p. 673-4.

and daily services in the temple of Alagiyaasingar at Kuvam Tyagasamudranallur.¹ In another inscription at Kuvam Chingleput he is styled Mahamandalesvara Gobburu Obajayyadeva Maharaja and is said to have provided for special worship in the Margaly month, in the temple of Tiruvirkolesvara.² Another inscription of 1547 mentions the gift of 120 varahas by Narasammanguru wife of the Mahamandalesvara Gobburu Obayadeva Maharaja of the Kasyapa gotra for providing offerings to the god Ahobalesvara during his installation ceremonies in the *vasantamandapa* which he had constructed on the North side of the temple at Diguva Tirupati.³

That this chief was the father in law of Venkata II is recorded in the *Ramarajivamu*⁴ in the Jesuit letters⁵ and in du Jarric.⁶ Now Fr Barradas speaks of one Obo Raya (*sic*) brother in law of Venkata.⁷ Is this statement inconsistent with the above mentioned sources? Not necessarily. Obajaya had at least two sons as we shall soon see one of them might easily have been called Obajaya after his father. The custom of a son being named after his father was not unusual in those days. An inscription of 1557 at Lower Ahobalam, mentions one Obalraju son of another Obalraju of the Pochiraju family.⁸

As to the sons of Obajaya Fr du Jarric informs us that two of them paid a visit to the Jesuits shortly after the latter's first arrival at Chandragiri they went there accompanied by much cavalry. The Fathers received them with great kindness and showed them several paintings. They liked them so much that they asked to be allowed to take them home to show

1. 243 of 1910.

2. 332 of 1909

3. 63 of 1915

4. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p. 243

5. From Fr F. Riolo to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri October 20th, 1601, Ap. Q. No. I *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar Ap. Q. No. XXII

6. Du Jarric I, p. 654 and 674

7. Sewell, p. 223

8. 69 of 1915 Of No 5 infra.

them to their wives. They also saw a hydrographical map showing the great Oceans and their gulfs and bays and the innumerable islands all over the world. It was for them a matter of pleasure and instruction as well”¹ At about the same time one of Oba Raya's sons, different apparently from the two just mentioned, was received among the *gurupus*. The same author relates the ceremony as follows: “The boy was brought over to the temple and placed over the capital of a pillar. His father with his hands clasped before his chest bowed before him, the same ceremony was performed by the rest of those present. Then the boy was invested as *gurupu*, seated on a golden sedan-chair and carried around the city surrounded by numberless people”²

Oba Raya's influence at Venkata's court is thus recorded by du Jarric: “He (Oba Raya) was one of the highest nobles in the whole kingdom and his authority before the King was very great”³ While journeying from St Thome to Chandragiri, Frs de Sa and Ricio were given a free passport over any road and river merely by showing the letters patent of this Oba Raya. “A refusal of any officer would have been equivalent to signing his death sentence, such was Oba Raya's power,” says du Jarric⁴ When the same Fathers were received by Venkata they found Oba Raya seated on the same mat as the King and Prince Ranga⁵ This favour at Venkata's court was resented in some quarters. Naturally Oba's power was envied by the Dalavay or chief minister, du Jarric describes them as enemies⁶ Now as both enjoyed such great power, they were no doubt the central figures round whom all the courtiers assembled. Thus they became the heads of the parties at Venkata's court.

4 For many years Oba Raya's favour and party remained

1 Du Jarric, I, p 689

2 Ibid, p 673

3 “Ille e maximis regni proceribus erat, et permagnae apud regem autoritatis” Ibid, p 654

4 Ibid, p 658

5 Cf Ch XXII, No 2

6 Du Jarric, I, p 680

triumphant but after the first two years of the Jesuits stay at Chandragiri Oba Raya's name is no longer mentioned in Jesuit sources. The cause of this change of fortune was perhaps the death of Raghavamba which must have taken place at this time she was probably the favourite wife of the sovereign and for that reason Oba Raya her father had acquired such great power in the Empire and such considerable influence at the court.

Kondambika, however did not replace her sister Raghavamba in Venkata's affection. The new favourite Queen who is sometimes simply called the Queen¹ is often mentioned in the Jesuit letters from 1606 onwards. In November of this year Fr Coutinho wrote that 'the Queen owing to our sins has the supreme power in this country and describes Venkata's total subservience to this consort of his as follows: "He (Venkata) shows such great subjection to the black Queen that she governs every thing. He would rather break the bonds of friendship with everybody than thwart her wishes. She was the cause of our estrangement from the King and will continue hostile till she receives from St. Thome the money and presents she expects, as a satisfaction for their deeds"². In another letter of Fr Coutinho of the same date it is recorded that the complaints of the inhabitants of Mylapore against the Portuguese of St. Thome were sent to Venkata through the Queen³. In November of the following year Fontebona received, during his illness at St. Thome⁴ a prescription from the same sovereign, but it did not reach his own hands before passing through those of the Queen⁵. In January 1608 after the serious defeat suffered by Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, terms of peace between Venkata and this chief were arranged through the influence of the Queen who received on

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr O. Aquaviva St. Thome, November 4th 1606 Ap O No XIV

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva St. Thome November 4th, 1606 Ap O, No. XIII

3. From Bro. B. Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore November 11th, 1607 Ap O, No. XX.

4. Cf. Ob. XXIII No. 6.

this occasion the fortress of Canaripatan ¹ In 1611, a letter of Fr Laerzio sheds more light on the power of this Queen at court "The King", says he, "has handed over the government to one of his wives and a brother of hers These two are by no means friendly towards the Fathers, and even less friendly to the Portuguese" ² This shows that the favour of this Queen was shared by her brother The influence of this man, indeed, makes itself felt at the court of Venkata at the same time as that of his sister Fr Coutinho, in the letter quoted above of November, 1606, relates that when the Archbishop-Governor of Goa, Fr Alexio de Menezes, sent a horse to Venkata, the Queen's brother had obtained it from the King even before it had reached the capital ³ Philip III, writing to Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, on January 31st, 1614, recommends to him "to be on good terms with the brother-in-law of the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)" ⁴ Another letter of Fr Coutinho, of 1608, shows that several other relatives of this Queen were elevated to power by her, when speaking of her favour at the court, he says that 'everybody is complaining of her relatives' ⁵

The Jesuits never mentioned the name of this woman, but fortunately two other European sources give us a clue to it For in August, 1611, the English Captain, Anthony Hippon, writing to the East India Company on the result of his expedition to Pulicat ⁶, simply said Pellacata (Pulicat) do belong unto the Queen and is given unto her for a dowry by the King, and so she at her own pleasure sets a governor or

1 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore October, 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII Cf Ch XVIII, No 11

2 From Fr Laerzio to Fr Aquaviva, Cochín, November 25th, 1611, Ap C, No XXXII

3 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, St Thome, November 4th, 1606, Ap C, No XIV

4 From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, Lisbon, January 31st, 1614, Bulhao Pato, *Documentos*, III, p 31

5 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXII

6 Cf Ch XXI, No 16

governess as she pleaseth" ¹ The Queen referred to by Captain Hippon seems no doubt the same as that spoken of by the Jesuits in their letters she is called the Queen who at her own pleasure manages the Government affairs But the Dutch traveller Floris the other European authority gives us the name of this Queen to whom Pulicat belonged. He says that the Queen of Pulicat was Obiama ² She must then be the same as the person called Obamma by the *Ramarajiyamu* and Pedobamamba in Venkata's grants Consequently the daughter of Jillella Ranga Raja obtained supreme power in the government of Vijayanagara after the death of Raghavamba, Obiama's daughter

5 None of these six wives gave a successor to Venkata. Naturally the first wife Venkatamba was the most assiduous in trying to secure the succession Hence when she saw that there were no hopes of a legitimate heir she managed to deceive the King by passing off on him a son who was neither hers nor his. The story of this event is narrated in detail by Barradas.

A Brahman woman of the household of the Queen's father " says he, " knowing how strong was the Queen's desire to have a son and seeing that God had not granted her one, told her that she herself was pregnant for a month and she advised her to tell the King and to publish it abroad, that she (the Queen) had been pregnant for a month and to feign to be in that state, and said that after she (the Brahman woman) had been delivered she would secretly send the child to the palace by some confidant, upon which the Queen could announce that this boy was her own son The advice seemed good to the Queen, and she pretended that she was pregnant and no sooner was the Brahman woman delivered of a son than she sent it to the palace, and the news was spread abroad that Queen Bayama (Venkatamba) had brought forth a son The King, knowing

1. From Captain Anthony Hippon to the E. I. C., August, 1611 *Letters Received by the E. I. C.* I, p. 134. As a matter of fact when Hippon was at Pulicat the governorship was in the hands of a woman.

2. Purchas *His Pilgrimes* III, p. 336 Floris gives two different spellings Obiama and Obyama.

all this, yet for the love he bore the Queen, and so that the matter should not come to light, dissembled and made feasts, giving the name 'Chica Raya' to the boy, which is the name always given to the heir to the throne" ¹

Barradas does not give the date of this boy's birth. According to Queyroz it took place in 1611, during the siege of St Thome by Venkata ², but this date is not consistent with the fact that the boy was married at fourteen years of age, during Venkata's life-time, as Barradas narrates ³. This should take us back to 1600 at the least, when we remember that Venkata died in 1614. But we have reason to believe that his birth actually took place some years earlier than 1600, since the Jesuit letters (excepting this one of Barradas, written during the civil war after Venkata's death), never mentioned such a boy. This silence may mean that the memory of this boy's birth was not fresh when the Jesuits reached Venkata's court in 1599. Consequently, we have sufficient reason to locate this event in the first years of Venkata's reign, most likely when the capital was still at Penukonda.

Venkata's conduct towards this putative son of his was most strange. Though he bestowed upon him after his birth the title of Chikka Raya, "yet", says Barradas, "he (Venkata) never treated him as a son, but on the contrary kept him always shut up in the palace of Chandigiri (Chandragiri), nor ever allowed him to go out of it without his especial permission, which indeed he never granted except when in company of the Queen Withal", continues Barradas, "the boy arriving at the age of fourteen years, he married him to a niece of his, doing him much honour so as to satisfy Obo Raya, his brother-in-law" ⁴.

This suspicious conduct of Venkata towards this boy naturally roused, no doubt, many suspicions among the nobles and the royal relatives. This explains Fr Coutinho's information that Venkata had 'many nephews who claimed the

1 Sewell, p 223

2 Queyroz, *Conquista de Ceylao*, p 309

3 Sewell, l c

4. Ibid

right of succession' And King Philip III of Spain was informed before 1610 that there were three candidates to the crown of Venkata¹ Hence even the supposed mother of the boy Queen Venkatamba, realized that her son would not be acknowledged as a king (by the nobles)" to quote Fr Queyroz "and persuaded him (Venkata) to resign the kingdom in favour of his nephew Chica Raj son of Rama Raju"²

6. We know of the existence of three nephews of Venkata. One was called Ramana. He was the son of one of the sisters of the King, and was living at court at least in 1604 1606³ The other two were the sons of Rama the Viceroy of Seringapatam of whom we have often spoken before. Queen Venkatamba ceased to champion the cause of the boy apparently in 1599 In this year according to Anquetil du Perron, "Venkata's nephew Chima Ragon (Ranga) was the heir apparent to the crown" in spite of the more grounded rights of his elder brother Tirumala⁴ Ranga therefore was the Prince who in the same year was sitting on the same mat as Venkata, when the Jesuit Fathers were received at his court⁵ And du Jarric relates that after this audience with the King, the Jesuits received several visits of the grandees and among these visitors one was "a nephew of the king, called Chimaragu (Ranga) who is the first after the King and his heir"⁶ "He was a very handsome and prudent man" says Queyroz⁷

Nevertheless at this time Ranga was not yet appointed Chikka Raya or crown prince. Anquetil du Perron tells us

1. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607 Ap. O No XVIII.

2. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 Bulhao Pato *Documentos* I p. 459

3. Queyroz, *o.c.*, p. 309

4. *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604-1606, Ap. O No XXII.

5. Anquetil du Perron *l.c.*, p. 167

6. Du Jarric, I p. 688 Cf. Ch. XXII, No 2

7. *Ibid.*, p. 689

8. Queyroz, *l.c.*

that the trouble about the succession began in 1600, and was caused by the two brothers Tirumala and Ranga¹ Most likely both had partisans at court But the chief cause of this trouble was the King himself Fr Coutinho, in his letter of the 17th July of same year, 1600, says "Although the King prefers the younger brother (Ranga) who is being brought up in his very palace, nevertheless people say the elder one (Tirumala) will be the King, because he is liked by more numerous and powerful chiefs"² Ranga then had only the King's predilection in his favour, while the right of birth and the esteem of the subjects were on the side of Tirumala

As a matter of fact, Fr Countinho in the same letter calls Tirumala 'the heir of this kingdom'³ Again Tirumala is called 'the crown prince' by Fr Guerreiro in 1604⁴, and Fr Coutinho once more calls him 'the Prince', in a letter of 1608⁵, although in the same letter he states that Venkata 'does not want either to name or to hear anybody talk of Tirumala'⁶ Such was the hatred of the sovereign for the elder of his two nephews Thereupon prince Tirumala retired from Seringapatam, as already narrated, according to the wishes of Venkata himself

Tirumala, being thus disgraced in the eyes of the nobles on account of his shameful retreat from Seringapatam, was no longer supported by the nobility against the designs of Venkata It was most probably then that Ranga was publicly adopted by his uncle, and became consequently the heir-apparent, according to the *Ramarajyamu*⁷

1 Anquetil du Perron, l c, p 170

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr. N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 Ibid

4 Guerrero (sic), *Relacion Anual en los anos de 600 y 601*, p 137

5 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C Aquaviva, Vellore, October 11th, 1608, Ap C, No XXIII

6 Ibid

7 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 213-4 It is very strange that Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 122, calls Rama Deva the grandson of Venkata, naturally supposing that Ranga II was his son,

7 In the meantime Venkata II was getting too old to rule over turbulent feudatory chiefs such as the Nayak of Vellore especially when family intrigues were contributing to the work of subverting the kingdom. In a letter of 1607 Fr Coutinho tells us that the King is very old and is apparently at the end of his life ¹ Laerzio in 1608 also says that Venkata is very old ² and again makes the same statement in 1611 ³ Another Jesuit letter of 1611 states that "the King is too old and dotes at times hence those who govern the kingdom do always what they like" ⁴ In 1610 Philip III of Spain wrote to Ruy Lourenco de Tavora I have been informed that the King of Bisanaga (Vijayanagara) is very old ⁵ Three years later the same Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, wrote to Philip III that Venkata "is so old that every body expects his death at any moment and naturally dissensions will ensue" ⁶

His death however did not occur till the end of the following year Venkata, as his end drew near renewed the appointment of prince Ranga as his successor This scene is marvellously described by Fr Barradas as follows —

Three days before his death the King ~~being~~ aside, as

Perhaps this pedigree is founded on the adoption of Ranga by his uncle. We think however that this mistake of Rice is based on a grant of Venkata III, 1639 according to which Rama Deva is the grandson of Venkata II. Cf. *Ep. Cars* III, Nj 198. Mr S V Viswanatha also seems to believe that Tirumala and Ranga the sons of Rama of Seringapatam were sons of Venkata II. Viswanatha *The Jambhakeswaram Grant Ep Ind* XVI, p 91.

1. From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr J. Alvarez, Vellore November 11th 1607 Ap. O No XVIII.

2. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr O. Aquaviva Cochin December 30th 1608 Ap. O, No XXV.

3. From the same to the same Cochin, November 25th, 1611, Ap. O No XXXII.

4. *Litterae Annuae* of Province of Malabar 1611 Ap. O No XXXV.

5. From Philip III to the Viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora Lisbon, February 21st, 1610 Bulhao Pato, *Documentos* I, p. 359.

6. From Philip III to the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d. Azevedo Lisbon, March 7th, 1613, Ap B, No XIII.

I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Raya (Ranga), in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of state, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should raise the prince up, and they did so, and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Raya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, and was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Raya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed"¹

8 Barradas says that Venkata died six days after the proclamation of Ranga. But there is nothing in his narrative to show the exact date of his death. We may however approximately calculate it with the aid of other sources referring to this event.

The Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, first announced the death of Venkata II to his sovereign on December 31st, 1614², but the traveller Floris heard of it whilst at

1 Sewell, p 223-4

2 From the Viceroy Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 31st, 1614, Ap B, No XVII. Again on January 21st, 1615, the same news is communicated to the King by Dom Jeronymo. Cf Ap B, No XIII

Masulipatam on October 25th 1614 "On the five and twentieth (of October)" says he came news of the death of Wencata drapa"¹ Anquetil du Perron says that news of Venkata's end was received on October 28th but he does not say where such information was received.² Consequently we may safely affirm that Venkata II died about the middle of October 1614. He died most likely in his palace of Vellore, where he resided John Gourney a servant of the East India Company in a letter of July 18th 1614, calls him the King of Vellour.³ Floris also while speaking of his death, refers to him as King of Velur.⁴ According to Barradas he was then sixty-seven years old.⁵

His body continues Barradas was burned in his own garden with sweet-scented woods sandal, aloes, and such like and immediately afterwards three Queens burned themselves one of whom was of the same age as the King and the other two aged ~~about~~ ^{about} ~~thirty~~ ^{thirty} ~~five~~ ^{five} years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity"⁶ Floris confirms the whole of this account and adds that one of the three wives burned with Venkata's corpse was Obyama (Pedobamamba) Queen of Paleacatte (Pulicat).⁷

9. Venkata II's character was exceedingly attractive if we are to believe his contemporaries Du Jarric says that he

1. Purohas, *His Pilgrimes* III p. 338.

2. Anquetil du Perron, I. c., p. 168.

3. From John Gourney to the E. I. Co., Patania, July 28th 1614
Letters Received by the E. I. Co., II, p. 83.

4. Purohas, I. c.

5. Sowell p. 224.

6. Ibid.

7. Purohas, I. c.

was a 'most affectionate King' ¹ Coutinho testifies that 'his character was sweet and meek' ² Laerzio mentions 'his natural goodness and great qualities' ³, Fontebona states that he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European' ⁴. Finally his Mangalampad grant records that he was 'indifferent to other men's wives' ⁵

These great personal qualities made him an exceptionally great monarch. All the Hindu sources of his time or posterior to his death unanimously praise him as one of the greatest sovereigns of the Vijaynagara Empire, 'a great and pious sovereign', as recorded in the *Prapannamrtam* ⁶. According to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III 'the wise glorious Venkatapatidevaraya ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame' ⁷. The Utsur grant of Ranga III calls him 'brilliant in polity' ⁸. Another grant of Venkata III styles Venkata a King 'of brilliant policy, his fame illumining the ten cardinal points' ⁹. A grant of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura records that Venkata ruled 'in wisdom' ¹⁰, and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata himself state that 'he ruled the earth with justice', and that, 'as Rama governed the world, he ruled the earth' ¹¹. The Dalavay Agraharam plates (of the same Venkata) describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war. "He was a wishing tree to the poor", they say, "he was like the

1 Du Jarric, I, p 665

2 From Fr B Coutinho to Fr N Pimenta, Chandragiri, July 17th, 1600, Ap C, No V

3 From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr C Aquaviva, Cochín, December 30th, 1608, Ap C, No XXV

4 From Br B Fontebona to Fr J Alvarez, Vellore, November 11th, 1607, Ap C, No XIX

5 Butterworth, I, p 33, v 37

6 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 251

7 *Ep Ind*, III, p 252, v 20

8 Butterworth, I, p 46, v 23

9 *Ep Carn*, X, Mb, 60

10 *Ibid*, VI, Cm, 79

11. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 319, vv 31-35.

central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Aravidu he was the best of (the) kings, the foremost of the kings of the race of Atri a munificent giver like Kubera. was broad armed like Kubera a Ramabhadra in battle ¹ The Mangalampad grant describes the liberality of this monarch even more poetically It runs "Behaving like a grand-father to friends and foes, intent on giving refuge to enemies who bowed to him his splendour was eulogized by all men" ² Venkata's generosity was one of his outstanding features as Fr Coutinho remarks he was very liberal ³

As regards the territory ruled over by Venkata exaggerations too obviously poetic to be misleading are found in these and similar sources. According to the Vellangudi plates he ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Setu ⁴ or he defeated his enemies from the bridge (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas according to the Mangalampad grant ⁵ If we are to believe the Vilapaka grant the whole of India was under him ⁶ and consequently he boasts of having had as vassals the Rattas, the Magadas the Kambojas, the Bhojas the Kalingas and the Kings of these countries were his doorkeepers and used to praise him Such are the extravagant expressions of the contemporary grants ⁷ these boastful phrases are copied from the old grants of Venkata's predecessors. Truth is stated once in the Vilapaka grant, where Venkata is said to have ruled over the country of Karnata ⁸

10 Impartial history however must admit that Venkata pati Raya II was by far the most illustrious, and beyond doubt

1. Ibid., XII p. 186 7., vv 27-39

2. Butterworth I p 32, v 27

3. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Vellore, October 11th, 1608 Ap. O. No XXII.

4. *Ep Ind.*, XVI, p. 300

5. Butterworth, I, p 34 v 40.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 371.

7. Vilapaka grant, *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 270 Vellangudi plates, Ibid., XVI, p. 319 v 31, Mangalampad grant Butterworth I, p 34, v 39; Kondyate grant of Venkata III, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII p. 125

8. *Ep Ind.* IV p. 270

the most powerful King of the Aravidu dynasty. He checked, with an iron hand the adventurous expeditions of the Golkonda Sultan, and recovered extensive territories which had been lost in the reigns of both his father and his brother Ranga Bijapur, agitated with internal dissensions, and the Portuguese Viceroy, mistrusting the friendship with Akbar, formed an alliance with Venkata against the imperialistic plans of that Mughal sovereign. Both events imply great success in foreign policy.

As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkata's reign¹ were years of prosperity and comparative peace. Certainly he had to subdue many chiefs, not only in the beginning of his reign but even in his last years, but it was necessary to proceed in this matter without hesitation. Had he done otherwise, the Empire would have come to an end fifty years earlier. Venkata's action in these sad affairs was always crowned with the greatest success. The country immediately subject to him is described by the Jesuits passing through or living at his court, as prosperous and well administered, except during the last years of his reign, when he took very little direct part in the government. His broadmindedness is evident both in his admission of the Jesuits to his court, and in his friendly diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The privileges enjoyed by the citizens of St. Thome and Negapatam and the concession made to the Dutch of the port of Pulicat were the best measures for fostering industry and commerce in the country. They may be considered as the preliminary steps towards the concession of a spot near the city of Madarasa to the English traders by one of his successors, Ranga III.

Moreover Venkata was a great patron of literature, as we shall see in the following chapter. Fine arts were likewise fostered by him, a fact which gives an aesthetic side-light on his interesting character.

Three flaws however stand out conspicuously in the long and glorious life of Venkata. The first is the part he took in the extinction of the Tuluva dynasty. There is now little doubt, that the murder of Sadasiva was committed by him. The

¹ The Pandyan Chronicle erroneously assigns 39 years to the reign of Venkata II. See Taylor, *O. H. MSS.*, I, p. 32.

imprisonment of this unfortunate sovereign by Rama Raya might be in some way justified but his assassination cannot be vindicated by either private rivalry or public policy

The second blot in his public character is his retirement from government during the last years of his life. The rule of his favourite wife and her relatives was fatal to the Empire if we are to believe the Jesuit letters. The discontent of the nobles sprang from this uxorious helplessness, as is recorded by these same witnesses it most likely prepared the ground for the outbreak of the civil war that followed the death of the sovereign.

But the greatest defect of Venkata as ruler of the Empire of Vijayanagara was his predilection for his second nephew Ranga. The love which actuated the Emperor when he appointed Ranga his successor in spite of the latter's protestations was no doubt the immediate cause of the subsequent civil war. Its purpose was indeed to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne but most likely Jaga Raya would not then have found supporters among the nobles for his enterprise in favour of his so-called grandson. Venkata alienated the good will of many grandees and feudatory chiefs of the Empire by the repudiation of Tirumala. This prince was loved by more and stronger chieftains, as stated in the Jesuit letters and when they saw Tirumala displaced by his younger brother they naturally showed their disgust of the appointment made by Venkata by joining the rival party. Barradas himself after recounting Venkata's death-bed appointment of Ranga, adds "While some rejoiced, others were displeased"¹ That was the first cry of rebellion against the newly appointed Emperor Ranga II. It is for this reason that Floris says that, after receiving the news of the death of Venkata, great troubles are feared the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle now built in Palecatte"² The subsequent civil war was evidently a foregone conclusion.

Venkata II ought no doubt to be credited with the temporary restoration of the old glory of Vijayanagara but as the unconscious cause of the civil war that followed his demise he must be said to have weakened the imperial authority and hastened the ruin of the Empire.

1. Sewell, p. 224.

2. According to Sewell, II, p. 251.

CHAPTER XXV

LITERARY ACTIVITY UNDER THE FIRST ARAVIDU SOVEREIGNS

SUMMARY —1 General remarks on Southern Indian Literature during this period —2 Sadasiva and Rama Raya, as patrons of literature —3 Ramarajabushana Bhattu Murti and his works —4 Learned people that gathered round Tirumala and Ranga I —5 Venkata II the greatest patron of literature of the Aravidu Dynasty —6 Philosophers patronized by Venkata II —7 Poets and grammarians favoured by the same monarch —8 Learned people at the court of Tanjore —9 Other contemporary writers throughout the Empire —10 The 'grant' poets of the Aravidu family —11 The University of Madura —12 Course of Philosophy at the Madura University a criticism —13 Minor schools founded by the Jesuits —14 Progress of the Jesuits in the study of Southern Indian languages —15 First printed works in Tamil —16 Extinction of the Nandinagari alphabet

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES —1 Hindu inscriptions and grants —2 *Raghavendravyaya*, *Lakshmiwilasam*, *Charuchandrodhayam*, *Chandrabhanu Charitram* —3 Jesuit letters —4 Du Jarric

IT is not our purpose here to write the history of the Literature in Southern India during the period covered by this volume. Our aim is merely to give an outline of the literary activity under the first monarchs of the Aravidu Dynasty, showing especially their relations with the poets, philosophers and other writers that flourished round the royal throne as well as under several of the feudatory chiefs of the Empire. Learning was liberally encouraged under the regime of the Aravidu Dynasty, and consequently was highly developed under the kindly shade of royal patronage. According to Prof. Julien Venson, this period is marked out from the others by the publication of the prolific Vaishnava literature. As Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar calls the time extending from 1450 to 1850 the Modern Period of Literature, the different authors and works we propose to enumerate fall under this denomination. During this Modern Period, "the works produced were not confined to

any one subject or department of literature " says Mr Srinivasa Aiyangar " They embraced Hindu theology philosophy ethics, traditions and grammar Islamism and Christianity also added their contributions to the Tamil literature of this period ¹ The majority of the works however were written in Telugu another proof of the dominating power of the Telugu race and language.

2. Literary patronage did not belong exclusively to the Aravidu Dynasty Several of the preceding sovereigns of Vijayanagara were declared patrons of the literary activity of their subjects and Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family favoured several learned people during the first stage of his Regent's rule. In 1545 the young Emperor granted two villages, one to Srimat Talapaka Tirumalayagaru called the establisher of the two schools of the Vedanta ² and another to Tiruvengalanatha, styled the establisher of the path of the Vedas ³ Again in 1549-50 Sadasiva granted the village of Mamidipundi to Acharayya, a learned Brahman who is said to be a lion to the elephants which are his controversialists ⁴

Sadasiva's Regent, the powerful Rama Raya was also a patron of learned men more especially of poets and was perhaps even a poet himself. The British Museum plates of Sadasiva state that Rama Raya is a King Bhoja in exercising imperial sway over the sentiments of poetry ⁵ One of the protégés of Rama Raya was the great sage Ramanuja, to whom the grant recorded in the British Museum plates was made by Sadasiva at the request of Rama Raya ⁶ His-guru Tatacharya, who lived with them for some time at Chandragiri ⁷ wrote a work entitled *Panchamatabhyanjanam* ⁸ The Madhva

1. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar *Tamil Studies* p. 224.

2. Rangacharya II, p. 783-337

3. Ibid. p. 784, 343

4. Butterworth, I, p. 100 vv 45-49

5. *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 4.

6. Ibid., p. 2.

7. Cf. Ch. III, No. 9

8. Gopinatha Rao, *The Artollimangalam Plates Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 347

teacher Vijayindra, the successor of Surendra, was also patronized by Sadasiva's Regent, he was well versed in several arts and wrote works on various religious subjects. Rama Raya honoured him with 'jewel baths' and presented him with several villages¹ Shashta Parankusa of the Ahobala *matha*, was also prominent among Rama Raya's attendants, he wrote a number of works, such as the *Siddhantamanidīpam*, *Panchakaladīpika*, *Prapattiprayoga*, and *Nṛsimhastava*² This Vaishnava teacher was for a time the agent of Rama Raya³ But the highest literary authority of the court of Rama Raya was the poet Bhattu Murti, who received the title of Ramarajabushana, 'the ornament of the court of Rama Raya'

3 There has been much controversy about the identity of this person. Some maintain that he is not actually one person, but that the name discloses two different poets, one called Bhattu Murti and the other Ramarajabushana. The *Vasucharitamu* is mentioned as the work of the former, and the *Narasabhupaliyamu* assigned to the latter. There can however be no doubt about their identity, the commentators of the *Vasucharitamu*, who flourished shortly after him, say that he wrote the *Narasabhupaliyamu* to illustrate the figures of speech used in his former work, the *Vasucharitamu*. He appears to have been born at Battupalli during the reign of Krishna Deva Raya, though he did not begin to write before 1560. He acquired such fame in the six years that Rama Raya's life was still to last, that in so short a period he earned the most flattering title of 'the ornament of his court'. His great works however were written after his patron's death. He continued to be the court-poet during the reign of Tirumala, to whom his great work, the *Vasucharitamu*, is dedicated. This poem reproduces the story of Vasu, King of Pratishtana, who fell in love with Girikanyaka, supposed to be the daughter of the mountain Kolahala. She had been found by Vasu in the forest while hunting. The work is full of poetical exaggerations, but it was

1 *Raghavendraviyaya*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 252

2 Rangacharya, II, p. 971

3. 65 of 1915

nevertheless much admired by its contemporaries, and even became a model for later poets. As a matter of fact the descriptions of nature are excellent and the diction of the poem undeniably good

His second work, the *Narasabhupaliyam* is dedicated to Narasaraya a nephew of Rama Raya and Tirumala. This work is a Telugu translation of the Sanskrit *Prataparidriya*. The examples and the portion dealing with the drama were omitted and substituted by other examples prepared by the poet himself. Another work of his the *Harischandra-Nalopakhyaṇa* was composed in his ripe old age probably during the reign of Venkata II.¹

4. We have already mentioned Tirumala as a patron of Battu Murti. He was indeed a lover of learning. It would seem he was a poet himself this the title of Bhoja given him in the Krishnapuram plates would imply.² He enjoyed the company of poets once Tirumala asked those who were assembled at his court to compose verses describing him charging them at the same time to be true to nature and not to exaggerate. It was then that Battu Murti compared the one-eyed King with Vishnu.³ He flattered Tirumala, though at the same time he was true to nature.⁴

Tirumala has been supposed to be the author of the commentary entitled *Srutiranjani* on the *Gita Govinda* but one of the copies possessed by the Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library Tanjore, professes to have been composed by Lakshmanasuri a worshipper of Dakshinamurti and a younger brother of Kondubhatta of Cherukuru. Dr Hultzsch seems to believe that this was the actual author of the commentary and Tirumala his patron.⁵ Lakshmanasuri called also Ramandarasrama and Lakshmidhara was a *sannyasi* pupil of

1. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 295, 8. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 221. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks Ind. Art* XXVII, p. 332-5.

2. *Ep Ind.*, IX, p. 338, v 9^o.

3. 8 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 221.

4. *Of. Ch.* XI, No. 1.

5. Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS.*, III, p. VIII.

Krishnasrama, whose family came from Cherukuru on the Krishna river. He is the author of the *Anaigharaghava* and the Prakrit grammar *Shadbashachandrika*, based on the grammars of Trivikrama, Hemachandra and Bhamaja ¹

Together with his two eldest brothers, Venkatadri is said in the Kallakursi grant to have been patron of poets like King Bhoja ². He patronized Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha, the author of the *Paramayogivilasamu*. The *Svaramelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya was written by Rama Raya's order at the instance of Venkatadri ³.

Ranga I also was a patron of poets. His court poet was Rayasam Venkatapati, an officer of his court, who wrote the Telugu poem *Lakshmiivilasam* ⁴. Another of his ministers, named Rayasa Ahobala, wrote a Sanskrit drama entitled *Kuvalaya Vilasa* ⁵, while Bhattakalanka wrote the *Sara-traya* at the request of the same King ⁶.

5 But the great patron of literature among the first monarchs of the Aravidu family was Venkata II. He himself was considered one of the wisest men of his kingdom. We read in the Dalavay Agraharam plates that 'he was comparable to the ocean in the profundity of his learning' ⁷, and in the Mangalampad grant he is said to be 'a very moon to the lotuses, which are scholars' ⁸. Accordingly Fr. Rocio tells us in one of his letters that "the King has disputations on God, Philosophy, and Mathematics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day". Sanskrit was the medium in these disputations. Hence Rocio says that though they were present several

1 Ibid, p VIII-IX.

2 *Ind Ant*, XIII, p 157

3 H. Krishna Sastri, *The Hindu Vijayanagara Dynasty*, I c, p 179

4 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 230

5 Ibid, note

6 R. Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, Q J M S, X, p 256

7 *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, vv 27-39

8 Butterworth, I, p 36, v 59

times they could not join in the debate since they understood nothing¹

Again the Mangalampad grant says that Venkata was devoted to the protection of the learned² An inscription of 1612 at Kommaddi Cuddapah records a grant of Venkata II to the learned people of Vuputur³ In 1602-3 the same King granted the village of Mangalampad to Sri Rangaraja, son of Jagganatharaya the foremost of the students of the Yajus Sakha a descendant of the cook of the great Ramanujacharya. This cook had himself been famous for his learning in all the scriptures⁴ The Vilapaka grant was also made to a learned man of Urputur named Tiruvengalanatharaya he is said to be conversant with the eighteen Puranas⁵

6 Naturally a great number of scholars always crowded the outer halls of the imperial palace, first at Chandragiri and then at Vellore. One of the philosophers favoured by Venkata was the Madhava teacher Sudhindra. He had travelled over the country refuting the teachings of the other religious sects. He defeated all his opponents at the court of Venkata and was presented by the sovereign with the conch and other emblems of victory. He lived at the town of Kumbhakonam and was also honoured by Raghunatha of Tanjore with the ceremony of bathing in gold⁶

A contemporary of Venkata also was the great *guru* Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram, a disciple of the great Chidambaram *guru*, Guhanamasivaya. He was the author of *Paramarahasyamalai Chidambara venba Annamalai venba* and other works⁷ An inscription of 1592 at Virinjipuram North Arcot states that Periya Errama Naik of Punnarrur

1. From Fr F Riccio to Fr Aquaviva, Chandragiri, September 10th 1603 Ap. O No. VII.

2. Butterworth, I, p. 31, v 23

3. Rangacharya, I, p. 612 448

4. Butterworth, I, p 34-6

5. *Ep Ind.*, IV p 270 vv 47-8

6. *Raghavendrarajaya*, 8 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 252.

7. Rangacharya, I, p 105

granted a house for the establishment of a *matha* to this Ananda Namasivaya Pandaram ¹. His work seems to have been to supervise the offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram ²

But the great philosopher of Venkata's court was his own *guru* Tatacharya, called, as previously noted, 'the ornament of the wise' ³. The philosophical work he wrote was entitled *Sattvikabrahmavidyavilasa*. He composed also a legendary account of a shrine of Vishnu as Panduranga, who is supposed to have sanctified by his presence in this form the town of Pandharpur, on the left bank of the Bhima, this work is named *Pandurangamahatmya* ⁴. We have previously spoken of this man and shall return to him in the following chapter, when reviewing the progress of Vaishnavism during the reign of Venkata II

7 Among the poets of his court we must mention Chen-namaraju, who was patronized by the general Pemmasani Timma. Once the poet carried from the Emperor to his patron the various insignia of his position. Out of these Pemmasani Timma presented the poet with the white turban, the white chaus, the palankin, and Talichankattu ⁵

Another poet of fame was Tenali Ramalinga. He was first introduced to the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and was still one of the court poets during the reign of Venkata II. In order to please this sovereign he became a Vaishnava in his old days, and then changed his name to Tenali Ramakrishna. His *Lingapurana* was written in the early years of his life. He was born, it seems, in the village of Tenali in the Krishna district, and he studied Telugu so earnestly from his boyhood that he

1 61 of 1887

2 349 of 1913

3 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep Ind*, XII, p 186, v 27-39

4 Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks*, *Ind Ant*, XXVII, p 327

5. *Charuchandrodayam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 242,

became a perfect master of this language. His wit and humour are praised even today by students of Telugu literature ¹

1. Subramiah Pantulu o. c., p. 324-6. This author relates the the following humorous anecdote of the life of this poet. "He was of a humorous character and loved to play practical jokes. The *guru* Tatacharya was a very orthodox man and was in the habit of visiting a cow stall every morning as soon as he rose from bed, being taken to the place blind folded in order to view the cow's excrement as the first object seen during the day thinking it to be a very meritorious act. His habit was to keep his eyes shut and laying hold of a cow's tail to wait till she evacuated when he opened his eyes to be hold the excrement. One morning Ramakrishna got up early and removing the cow from the stall stood in its place stark naked. The guru came as usual and instead of the cow's tail he found a man. His rage knew no bounds, and running up to the King he laid a complaint against Ramakrishna. The King became exceedingly angry and ordered the poet to be forthwith executed. The executioners carried him to a plain and buried him in the earth as far as the neck leaving only his head above ground, agreeable to the sentence passed on him. They left him thus, intending to return with a certain number of elephants to trample him to death. It so chanced that a hump-backed washerman was passing by and asked the poet how he came to be in such a predicament. My good friend said he I was born a hump-back like yourself and having long suffered the scorn of ill-mannered individuals, I applied to a sage who had great knowledge of the occult sciences, and begged of him to relieve me from my misfortune. He informed me that if I should consent to be buried up to my neck in this identical spot, I should be entirely cured of my deformity. In pursuance of his directions, I got some of my friends to bury me here and as I really believe that I am cured already I shall be very thankful to you if you will verify my statement. The washerman did as the poet requested and to his utter amazement found him a well-made man and as he was a credulous fellow he believed in all that the poet had said. As one good deed deserves another said the washerman to the poet I now ask you to bury me in this place that I may be cured of my bodily deformity as you have been. Ramakrishna with a grave countenance buried the poor washerman up to the neck, and after the lapse of an hour went to the King to inform him that by the personal interposition of a god, he had been restored to life. The executioners in the interim had executed the washerman, and were making their report to the King that they had killed the poet according to the royal commands. The whole court were consequently astonished to see Ramakrishna, and as the King really believed that the poet had been killed and restored to life by some god, he promised to forgive him the first hundred crimes that he should commit in future

The famous general of Venkata Matla Ananta, was another of his favourite poets. The Sidhout inscription records that he is the author of the well-known Telugu poem *Kakusthavijayam*. He also composed several other works, which were highly praised by scholars¹

Tarigoppula Datta Mantri, another of Venkata's officers, was a patron of poets. His brother Tarigoppula Mallana was one of the court-poets, he gives this information about Datta Mantri in the *Chandrabhanu Charitam*².

Ayalu Bhascara was likewise another of his court poets. Once he was asked by the King to produce some poem. This request he complied with by translating from the Hala Kanada language into Telugu, the work of a man named Retta. This work, entitled *Retta Matam*, is a most heterogeneous medley of different topics, as much related to one author as the rain is to the science of divination, the devils to the sun, moon and planets and the rainbow to the familiar spirits³

We must not omit the names of two grammarians who lived at Venkata's court. One of them was Erramadhavarya, who wrote a grammatical work called *Tripadadyotini* and was one of the *pandits* of this sovereign⁴. The other was Battalanka, the author of a work entitled *Sabdanusasana*⁵

8 The example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs. From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets. Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva *acharya* Vijayaindra Tirtha. He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraaya Tirtha of the Vyasaraaya *matha*, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra *matha*, from whom he received the robes of *sannyasi*, and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth *guru* and *swami* of the *matha*. He

1 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 248, *M A D 1915-1916*, p 42, No 19 Of *M E R*, 1916, p 148

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 247

3 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p 169-70

4 Hultzsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS*, I, p VIII.

5 Narasimachar, *The Karnataka Country*, *Q J M S*, X, p. 256.

spent the last days of his life at Kumbhakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Appaiya Dikshita. He also wrote many commentaries on all the important Madhva works. His main books are the following The *Chakra Mimansa* the *Chandrikodahrta Nyaya Vivarana Nyayamrita-Vyakhya* and the *Appayyakapala-chepelika* ¹ In 15/6 Sevvapa Nayaka of Tanjore requested and obtained from Ranga I the village of Arivilumangalam as a grant to Vijayindra Tirtha. In the grant Vijayindra is said to be like a peacock roaming about the garden called the school of Madhvacharya ² he is said moreover to be a bee delighting in the scent, the inner meaning of the flowers called the Sastras ³

Vadiraja Tirtha was the co-student of Vijayindra Tirtha under Vyasaraya Tirtha. Vadiraja was also a great controversialist and commentator of the Madhva works. The account of his many pilgrimages is embodied in his *Tirtha prabandha* ⁴

Sevvappa's son and successor Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning. In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit of Appaiya Dikshita ⁵ This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita. He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitam* in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Dikshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangithasiddhanthi* By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister the *Tiruvaiyarru Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil ⁶

9. Surappa Nayaka of Jinji was the patron of the famous poet Srinivasa Dikshita, on whom was bestowed the title of Ratnakheta Dikshita, on account of his excellent poetry. He wrote 18 dramas, the most famous among them being the *Bhavanapurushottama*. Besides he composed 60 epics such as

1. Gopinatha Rao *The Arvilumangalam Plates Ep Ind.*, XII, p 344-6.

2. *Ep Ind.*, XII, p. 357 vv 27-44.

3. Gopinatha Rao o. c., p. 346.

4. 710 of 1904.

5. Kuppaswami Sastri *A Short History* p. 7 and 10

the *Sathakandavyayamu*, several works on rhetoric, and many commentaries ¹

We have already mentioned Appaiya Dikshita as a protégé of Sevvappa Nayaka Tanjore. He was a Tamil Brahman, who has left more than a hundred works ² He was also patronized by the Emperor Venkata II at whose instance he wrote a work on Alankata, called *Kuvalyananda* ³ But this famous Saiva-Advaita philosopher enjoyed the special favour of Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore. In the colophon of his *Swadityama-dipika* he mentions Chinna Bomma as his patron ⁴. This chief performed the ceremony of bathing in gold to honour the scholarship of Appaiya Dikshita. He is said to have with his own hands poured the gold coins out of the vessel ⁵ An inscription of Chinna Bomma, of 1582, in North Arcot, records that this scholar constructed the Kalakantheswara temple at Adaipalam ⁶.

In the petty state of Gandikota we find another poet named Pingali Surana. He was one of the poets of Nandyala Krishnaraja, to whom the work *Kalapinodayamu* is dedicated. Krishnaraja's successor, Nandyala Timmaya, who as an inscription of 1544 shows ⁷, was likewise a patron of learned men, also patronized this poet, the author of the *Raghavapandaviya*, the *Garudapurana* and several other works. Mr Subramiah Pantulu thinks that Pingali Surana 'is by far the best of mediæval poets' ⁸.

In the state of Ikeri we must mention Sankanna Nayaka, who composed several literary works ⁹, and Vadiraja, a man

1. Ibid., p. 11-2.

2. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 326

3. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 250. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 271.

4. Hultsch, *Reports on Sanskrit MSS*, II, p. XII-XIII.

5. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 251.

6. 395 of 1911.

7. Rangacharya, I, p. 580, 60.

8. Subramiah Pantulu, *Discursive Remarks, Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 328-82.

9. *Sivalatavaratnakara*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o.c., p. 339.

of great erudition and author of several works one of his pupils is mentioned in a grant of Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri in the year 1614 ¹

The Viceroy Tirumala of Srirangapatam was also a patron of learning From an inscription of 1610 we may deduce that Ramanujayya called the establisher of the path of the Vedas, follower of both Vedanta was one of his officers ² In 1614 the same Tirumala made a grant of a village to Vengadeyya Bhatta, styled also an establisher of the path of the Vedas ³

Prince Chinna Timmayadeva the brother of Rama Raya Vitthala must also be mentioned among the patrons of literature during this period In 1544 he granted twelve *pattis* of land in the village of Tirumalapuram to its learned Brahmans ⁴ In the same year he gave the village of Annavaram to the poet Anantaraja ⁵ He was also the patron of Dosuri Koneru kavī, the author of the *Balabhagavatamu* ⁶

10. Besides all the poets hitherto mentioned as living around the Emperors of Vijayanagara, there was a family of poets who always accompanied them first from Vijayanagara to Penukonda and later on from Penukonda to Chandragiri and Vellore. We refer to the composers of the imperial grants which task seems to have been hereditary in a family The British Museum plates of Sadasiva were composed by one Sabhapati ⁷ the same who had formerly composed the Unamanjeri grant of Achyuta Raya ⁸ But another grant of the same sovereign, of the year 1558, is written by Sabhapati's son, Svayambhu ⁹ The Penukuluru grant ¹⁰ and the Tumkur plates of Tirumala ¹¹ were also written by

1 110 of 1901.

2 *Ep Carn.*, IV, Gu, 40.

3 *Ibid.*, 13.

4 *Rangrahya* II, p. 915 67

5 *Ibid.*, p. 915, 63.

6 *Ibid.*, I, p. 403; II, p. 915

7 *Ep Ind.*, IV p. 2.

8 *Ibid.*, III, p. 151.

9 *Ep Carn.*, IX, Op, 180

10 *Ep Ind.*, XVI p. 257 v 177 178.

11 *Ep Carn.*, XII, Tm, 7,

Svayambhu, who is said to be the son of Sabhapati. The same Svayambhu was the composer of the Arivilimangalam plates ¹ and the Narcdapalli grant of Ranga I ². This Svayambhu had probably no sons, because almost all the grants of Venkata II were composed by a certain Krishnakavi, who seems to be a nephew of Svayambhu, for he professes to be the son of Kamakoti and grandson of Sabhapati. He is the author of the Dalavay Agraharam plates ³, of the Vellangudi plates ⁴, of the Padmaneri grant ⁵, and of two grants of 1586 ⁶ and of 1589 ⁷. The Vilapaka grant of the same monarch is written by a brother of Krishnakavi, named Rama ⁸. We know of only two grants of this sovereign composed by a person who seems not to belong to the family of Sabhapati, these are the Mangalampad grant ⁹ and a grant of 1613 ¹⁰. The author of both is called Chidambarakavi, the nephew of Sivasuryakavi.

II We have not spoken of the literary activity in the city of Madura, which was nevertheless a centre of learning in the South of India. The famous *Sangams* always attracted hundreds of students to the old city of the Pandyas. Fr. de Nobili, an impartial eye-witness, in a letter of 1610, says that there were then in Madura more than ten thousand students. There was not, it seems, a body of professors, corresponding to the staff of our Colleges and Universities, but the students selected the teacher they liked, and under him they were trained to pass their final examination before the *Sangam*. Fr. de Nobili only says that those ten thousand students 'go to different professors'. The same missionary informs us that Venkata II and the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p 357, v. 65.

2. *Ibid.*, XI, p 329

3. *Ibid.*, XII, p 187, v. 200

4. *Ibid.*, XVI, p 329.

5. *Ibid.*, p 297, vv. 152-153.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p 225.

7. *M. A. D.*, 1921, p 31.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 272

9. Butterworth, I, p. 36, v. 60.

10. *Ep-Ind.*, XIII, p. 231.

Nayak of Madura probably Muttu Krishnappa had in order to foster study "royally endowed several Colleges for the maintainance of professors and students while they are studying they are there supplied with victuals clothes and every thing they are in need of"

The Madura teachers lectured on Philosophy and Theology. The philosophical lectures fell into four groups, corresponding to the four fold division of this science. Argumentation Knowledge, Evidence and Faith. In their Theological lectures the teachers explained the Vedanta discussing the nature and attributes of God starting from his unity. Fr de Nobili gives the full programme of the philosophical studies followed in his days at Madura.

12. Part first is on evidence, and deals with invocation or adoration i.e. whether there be any God to be invoked at the beginning of the work. It contains these three sections —

1st. Certitude.

a. Perfect certitude (*Karana*)

b. Certitude of things which come into existence by generation or production

c. The formal aspect of certitude.

2nd. The various species of objective reality or objects that cause certitude.

a. Local union or contiguity

b. Various kinds of union —substantial accidental and another which is not seen as not existing physically

c. Predicate and subject through negation (*Vipakṣa*).

d. The object of sight.

3rd. The unity and indivisibility of human will, as able to co-ordinate the various perceptions received from the senses.

a. The brightness of gold (as an instance)

b. Reflective act through which man knows and understands himself.

Part second is on knowledge and deals with the following four sections —

1st Means of acquiring knowledge (*Pramanas*)

- a Terms of syllogism. (*Prabans*)
- b The conclusion (*Paramarsa*)
- c Induction
- d Fallacies (*Hetvabhasas* · viz. *Asiddha*, *Viruddha*, *Anaikantika*, *Prakaranasama* and *Kalatyayabadista*)
- e Causes of fallacy.
- f Its refutation.

2nd Process of knowledge.

- a. Subject (*Paksa*)
- b Discursive act
- c Causative signs.
- d Every kind of sophism

3rd. Relation (*Vyapti*)

- a On conjunction or relation subsisting between things that are separable or not intimate (*Samyoga*)
- b On privation
- c On the effect as proceeding from its cause
- d Conjunction in general (*Samyoga* and *Samavaya*)
- e Final certitude or consequence

4th Casuistry.

- a Cause. (*Karana*)
- b Proof by self-evidence
- c Certitude from similarities (*Upamana*)
- d The multiplicity of causes (*Samavay*, material or constituent cause, *Asamavayi*, not constituent cause, *Nimitta*, efficient cause)
- e The natural power and strength of the cause.
- f The additional power of the cause by superaddition

5th Vicious states of mind (*Aprama*)

- a Error (*Bhrama*)
- b. Doubt (*Samsaya*)
- c The variation of supposition (*Tarka*)
- d False conclusion from true antecedents
- e The god Ruden (Ruthru) (as an instance)

Part third is on authority, and speaks of the following subjects —

1st Oral testimony.

- a. Adequation of words to thoughts (*Sakti*).
- b. Common or universal consent,

2nd. Truth.

- a. The union of affections in relation to truth.
- b. Desire of truth.
- c. Corruption of the sounds
- d. Corruption of the whole world, *viz.* can the whole world be deceived as to a truth?
- e. The excellency of the form of verifying truth.
- f. Whether what is not actually, could be affirmed.

3rd. Falsehood.

- a. Novelty of opinion
- b. Annihilation
- c. Personal imposture, *viz.* lie.
- d. How must the sign be.

Such was the programme of philosophy followed in Madura in the beginning of the 17th century according to Fr de Nobili. It was according to him a profound philosophy, but very different from scholastic philosophy¹. The course is properly a course of Logic a kind of *Tarkabhasa* or science of reasoning, though much confused with psychological and metaphysical notions. This kind of Logic evidently belongs to the Syncretist school consequent upon the attempts of Sivaditya to amalgamate the earlier systems. The influence of the *Tarkabhasa* of Kesava Misra is quite evident as well as that of the works of Annam Bhatta, who was at this time probably living².

13 There was moreover at Madura a small school commenced by Fr Fernandes. It was supposed to be a primary school for Hindus. A Brahman who finally became a Christian, was teaching the boys how to read and to write. Fr Pimenta, when passing through Madura, distributed some prizes among the best pupils of the school³. Another similar school was erected in St. Thome at the same time by the same Fr Pimenta.

A Seminarie was erected at Meliapor (Mylapor)" he says of the chiefs Children of the Badagades (Telugus) by the almes of Devout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adjoyned, in which

1. From Fr R. de Nobili to Fr A. Laerzio Madura November 2nd, 1610 Ap C, No. XXXI. Cf. Ganganatha Jha *The Tarkabhasa*.

2. See Kolth, *Indian Logic* p. 36-41

3. Du Jarric I p. 650

is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan (Telugu) used by the Countiers" ¹ In 1567 Fr H Henriquez began a school of Tamil at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists Fr Henriquez himself was teacher and a convert Brahman, named Luiz, was his assistant ²

At the very court of Chandragiri the Jesuits started another school of this type It was supposed to be a school for the sons of the Telugu nobles who were living at the court There was in it a Hindu teacher under the direction of the missionaries, who besides defrayed the expenses of the institution ³ This school and that of Madura are mentioned again in another Jesuit letter of the following year 1607 ⁴, and we suppose they continued in the following years The Chandragiri school was perhaps transferred to Vellore when the capital was established there, and finally closed at the time of the final departure of the Jesuits

These were the first attempts of the Jesuits in the South of India to found the institutions of learning which were to have a marvellous development centuries after

14 The Jesuits had, moreover, earnestly studied the languages of the country, and some of them, as we have already seen in the case of Fr de Nobili at Madura, mastered them to the general admiration of scholars Among those who were working at the court of Venkata there were also some who became very proficient in speaking the vernaculars "In this country of (around) Sao Thome," wrote Fr Ricio in 1601, "two languages are spoken, one is the language of the country, the same that is spoken on the Fishery Coast and which was the first I learned, the other is the language of the Badaguas (Telugu), and since they are alike, I made quick progress in it, so much so that I was soon able to write a grammar of the same language as well as a summary of the Christian doctrine together

1 From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C Aquaviva, Purchas, X, p. 210 Cf Du Jarric, I, p. 638

2 Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 393

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1604-1606, Ap C, No XXII

4 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar, 1606-1607, Ibid., No XXVII

with many mysteries of the life of Christ, all written in their own language ¹ This summary of the Christian Faith was a translation of the one used in Konkani for the neophytes of the peninsula of Salsette, South of Goa as Fr Coutinho writes in a letter of the previous year ²

It seems indeed, that Fr Ricio spoke Telugu to perfection a Jesuit letter of the year 1606 says that he was a good Telugu scholar ³ Nevertheless he did not venture to learn Sanskrit because of his age, as Fr Laerzio wrote in 1604 ⁴ In the same letter we read that Fr Coutinho had begun to learn Telugu. In another letter Fr Ricio himself informs us that Coutinho is making progress in the study of Telugu ⁵ He finally became master of it as is evident from his protracted sojourn at the court where he had to transact business for the King

*15 A special feature introduced by the Jesuit missionaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the literary activity of India, was the casting of Tamilian characters and consequently the printing of the first books in Tamil. According to Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo the first to cast Tamilian characters was the Jesuit Lay Brother Giovanni (Joao) Gonsalves. The same traveller affirms that the first book was printed in the year 1577 It was a summary of the Christian doctrine ⁶ Fra Paolino does not name the author of this book but it seems quite probable to us that Fr Henrique Henriquez, a zealous Jesuit on the Fishery Coast and a contemporary of St. Francis Xavier was

1. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri October 20th 1601 Ap O No I.

2. From Fr B Coutinho to Fr C. Aquaviva Chandragiri July 17th, 1600 Ibid., No V

3 *Litterae Annuae* of the Province of Malabar 1604 1606 Ibid., No. XXII.

4. From Fr A. Laerzio to Fr J Alvarez, Cochin, January 18th, 1604, Ibid., No. X.

5. From Fr F Ricio to Fr C Aquaviva, Chandragiri October 20th, 1601, Ibid., No I.

6 Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, *Viaggia*, p. 44. Cf. O. E. K. *Notes on Early-Printed Tamil Books Ind Art II* p. 180 Cf. Houpert, *The Madura Mission Manual* p 171 Bro Gonsalves was a Spaniard, Cf. Souza *Oriente Conquistado II* p. 67

at least its translator Fr. du Jarric states that Henriquez wrote many books in the language of Malabar, *in lingua Malabarica*, *vis* in Tamil ¹ Now we know for certain that one of these books was a translation of a Christian Doctrine written in Portuguese by Fr Marcos Jorge Sartorius, while in Tranquebar, saw a copy of this book printed in 1679 ² This must be a later edition, for Fr Henriquez had died by that time Both editions of this little book were printed at Cochim in the Jesuit College of the *Madre de Deus* ³ Fra Paolino says, moreover, that a new Tamil book appeared in 1578 It was entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, from which title we may assume that it contained the lives of some Saints ⁴ This work seems to have been printed at Punnei Kayal with Tamil type cast by Fr Joao de Faria ⁵ Fr De Souza, speaking of these early printings adds —“ Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly ” ⁶

16 Finally we must mention that the old South Indian Nandinagari alphabet disappeared during this period Its latest examples are dated 1600 It was the favourite alphabet of the Madhva sect from the 14th century onwards, especially for writing on palm-leaves The disciples of this sect were numerous in the Tamil country Kanchivaram, Kumbhakonam, Tanjore and their surroundings The characters had been formerly employed exclusively for writing on paper, but were latterly also used for writing on palm-leaves Later on, after the Maratha conquest of Tanjore, the modern Nagari character was also introduced in the South ⁷

1 Du Jarric, I, p 627

2 *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore* p 106 The title of this Christian Doctrine, as given by Sartorius, runs as follows *Doctrina Christiana, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P Marcos Jorge, da Companhia de Jesu Tresladada em lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P Anrique Amriquez da mesma Companhia Em Cochim, no Collegio da Madre de Deus, a os quatorze de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX*

3 Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo, l c

4 Ibid

5 Cf Gomez Rodeles-Cardou, *Early Jesuit Printing in India*, J A S B, IX, p 164

6 Souza, *Oricute Conquistado*, II, p 67

7 Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p 56.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SRI VAISHNAVISM AND OTHER SECTS

SUMMARY—1 Brahmanism Salvism and Vaishnavism.—2. Early life of Ramanuja Persecution of the Chola King—3 Ramanuja in the Yadava kingdom and at Seringapatam—4. Schism of Vaishnavism after the death of Ramanuja—5 Bukkaraya I settles the differences between Jainas and Vaishnavas. Jain influence at the court of Vijayanagara—6 Conversion of Emperor Virupaksha to Vaishnavism Religious conduct of Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya.—7 Relations of Sadasiva Raya with Vaishnavism.—8 Devotion of Rama Raya and his ancestors to Vishnu.—9 Tirumala and Ranga I patrons of Vaishnavism—10 Venkata II the greatest Vaishnava Emperor of Vijayanagara—11. Vaishnavism professed by feudatory chiefs. Conversion of the royal house of Mysore.—12 Several manifestations of Salvism—13 Influence of the Jains in Kanara.—14. Eclectic and tolerant religious character of Venkata and of some of his chiefs.—15 Religious controversies between Salvism and Vaishnavism.—16 Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji restores the temple of Govinda Raja at Chidambaram Suicide of the Salva priests.

CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.—1. Hindu Inscriptions and grants.—2. Jain inscriptions in Mysore.—3 *Bhaskarakara Cheruru Venkateswara Mahatmya Kulotunga Cholan Ula Tiru Narayana Puram Prapannasrtam, Varadambika Purinayam*—4. Jesuit Letters.—5 Du Jarric—6 Della Valle

THE supreme god worshipped in India for a time during the pre Buddhist period seems to have been Brahma. Even the Buddhistic scriptures give Brahma preference over the other deities of the Hindu Parnassus¹ But later on another god, Siva, unexpectedly usurped his place of supremacy The Salva system seems to have been introduced in the peninsula from

1. Cf. Bhandarkar *Vaisnavism Salvism*, p 8 Hence the presiding deity of the pre-Buddhist Hindu temple is Brahma. Cf. Prabhachandra Basu, *Art in Hindu Temple The Holkar College Magazine* XI 22.

abroad According to a legend, the first place in which it was practised was Benares. This was due to the efforts of King Divodasa¹ Siva's cult was later on fostered through the preaching of Sankaracharya Nevertheless the superiority of Siva was not to remain long undisputed A new rival arose in the person of the god Vishnu Vaishnavism was propagated early during the Scythian and Gupta periods² and finally with unusual vigour in the IIth century The struggle that naturally ensued between the two deities and their respective adherents during this first period of the Aravidu dynasty will be the subject of this chapter But we shall begin with a brief account of the Vaishnava movement, in order to make clear the position and the activity of the Aravidu Emperors in this religious conflict

2 The founder and propagator of Sri Vaishnavism in the later period was Ramanujacharya³ According to tradition, he was born in Sri Perumattur, near Madras⁴, in 1016-7⁵ and studied at Kanchivaram Thence he retired to Srirangam where he perfected his system and wrote his religious works⁶

1 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p III-IV This author maintains that this system had its origin in Egypt, according to him Siva's bull is nothing but a replica of the bull Apis of the ancient Pharaohs The worship of the bull passed afterwards from Egypt to Palestine, in the time of the great national schism of Jeroboam (1000 B C), from Palestine it migrated to Mesopotamia and finally found its way to Benares in 700 or 800

2 Rayachaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p 98-177

3 Nevertheless in the works of Seven Pagodas (Mahavalipuram), executed by Pallava Princes, there are "mixtures of emblems, weapons and figures belonging to both the Saiva and Vaishnava phases of Hindu Faith" Cf Branfill, *Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas, The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1880, p 126

4 Perhaps, on account of this, the Sri Perumattur temple is traditionally supposed to be the first Vaishnava temple in Southern India Cf Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, I, p LXVI

5 Cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism*, p 51

6 According to the account of the aryangars, the fact that marked the starting point of the religious career of the new teacher is narrated as follows "One day, it is said, the

His chief work is his commentary on the *Bhagvat Gita*, entitled *Gita Bhasyam* ¹ The *Upanishada Vacya Vivaram* by Sri Ranga Ramanuja, if it is not written by the same teacher is an exposition of the same system "The system of Ramanuja is shown to be consistent with the Vedas and their supplements. This book opposes the *advaita* notion of the non reality of the visible world, it maintains that it is real" ² On account of his subtle doctrine and his holy life, Ramanuja was called later on in a decree of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, the king of the kings of ascetics ³ He is also termed Bhashyakara from his explanations of the Vedas ⁴

During his stay at Srirangam he made many disciples. One of the most prominent of them was Tiruvarangattamudana the hereditary trustee of the Ranganatha temple ⁵ But Ramanuja could not live there long The Chola ruler Kari Kala probably the younger brother of Rejendra and father of Kalottunga who was then Viceroy at Urayur ⁶ himself a

Sankaracharya wanted to take an oil bath The pupils used to serve their master in turn and that day it was Ramanuja. He was rubbing the oil over the bald head of the Sankaracharya and another student was taking lessons by his side. A stanza was read in which the face of Vishnu was represented to be as red as the lotus. The Sankaracharya at once exclaimed that it was a *lupfopama*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness which might have been used for the simile. As an example, he indicated the buttocks of the monkey Ramanuja who was a firm believer in Vishnu cried out. Tears from his eyes dropped on the thighs of the Sankaracharya and pierced them like molten lead. At once he ordered Ramanujacharya to leave the *matha* and he accordingly went. And now being a hater of Siva and a special worshipper of Vishnu he started the new religion" Natesa Sastri *The Origin of the Srivaishnavas, Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 252 The author explodes this legend.

1. Taylor *Catalogue Raisonnee* II p. 45

2. *Ibid.*, p. 216

3. *Ep. Carn.*, II, No. 344.

4. *Bhashyakaru Cheritra* Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 214.

5. Seo Gopinatha Rao *Srirangam Plates Ep. Ind.*, XIV p. 85.

6. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India*, p. 332-3.

staunch Saiva, could not tolerate any longer the spreading of the new sect. According to the Sri Vaishnava chronicles, "it was pointed out to this King that converting the common people by force was not in itself capable of augmenting the numbers to the Saiva faith, and if such a great leader as Ramanuja were to be made to subscribe to the Saiva faith, his followers would join that sect in a body. Ramanuja was summoned before the King, Kurattakān (Ramanuja's first disciple), apprehending danger to his master, assumed the garb of a *santhyaśi*, proceeded to the royal court and represented himself as the famous Vaishnava Acharya. The King then compelled him to sign a declaration that no god was superior to Siva. Kurattakān boldly contradicted him by telling him that 'larger than Siva was Drona (words which also mean two different measures, of which the latter was the bigger) thus playing upon the double meaning of the words Siva and Drona. The King, enraged at the behaviour of Kurattakān, ordered both his eyes to be put out immediately, and the order was forthwith carried out. So throughout the remaining part of his life he lived a blind man' ¹

3 Ramanuja himself had to fly from the Chola kingdom, and took shelter in Chandragiri, the stronghold of the Yadava Kings, whose capital was at Naiyanvaram. Tōya Yadava was then the ruling sovereign. He charitably entertained the exiled *guru* and declared himself the patron of his disciples and his doctrine ². Under his patronage Ramanuja visited different holy places, and took from the Saivas several temples and shrines which he dedicated to the worship of different forms of Vishnu. He also founded the temple of Terunarayaria at Terunarayanapur. One of the temples that he took from the Saivas was the famous one at Tirupati ³. The *Venkatesvara Mahatmya* narrates that, to effect this, Ramanuja agreed with

1 *Ep Ind*, XIV, p 85

2 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 85

3 *Bhashyakara Cheritra*, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 214-5. Naturally the Vaishnava literature claims that all these holy places had formerly been Vaishnava temples. Hence they say that Ramanuja recovered them from the Saivas,

the Saiva priests of the temple to leave in the temple at night a conch and a discus, which were the insignia of Vishnu and beside them a trident and a small drum which were the insignia of Siva. The temple was subsequently closed for the night and on being re-opened next morning it was found that the image had assumed the conch and the discus. Since then Tirupati has been one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in the whole of India¹

From there Ramanuja proceeded to Mysore. It seems that the prevailing religious faith in the old Karnataka country was Jainism. According to an inscription on the summit of Indragiri at Sravana-Belgola, the Jains came to Mysore in an immigration from Ujjayini (Ujjain) under the leader Bhadra Bahu in order to escape a dreadful famine². The colossal monolithic statue of the Jain Saint Bhujabalin that crowns the rocky hill, is a dumb witness to the preaching of Ramanuja for it was erected between 977 and 984 A. D. by Chamundaraja the minister of the two Ganga Kings, Narasimha II and Rachamalla II³. Many conversions were also effected

1. Wilson o. c., p. 254. Cf. Ch. XV No 9. The conversion of Tirupati from a Saiva to a Vaishnava temple by Ramanuja has lately aroused much controversy. Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 215-8. The Vaishnava chronicles are not impartial authorities. We really believe that the fact took place through a fraud most probably though formerly only Siva had been worshipped there. Naturally Ramanuja declared that he had re-started the previous cult given there to Vishnu, in order to give solid ground to his desire of establishing the Vaishnava religion there. An enormous amount of literature has been written on Tirupati. See for instance Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 254-5 349 Taylor *Catalogue Raisonné* I p. 587 588 589 etc.

2. *Ind Ant* III p. 153-4. The inscription may also be seen in *Q J M S.*, III, p. 27-8. Jain tradition avers that the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta after resigning his crown, was one of those who accompanied Bhadra Bahu to the South. Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 154, Tabard, *Sravana Belgola*, *Q J M S.*, III, p. 12. F. Deaerville Walker *Ancient Jain Shrines IVenders of the Past* III p. 1034.

3. Hultzsch *Inscriptions on the Three Jain Colossi*, *Ep. Ind.*, VII p. 103. Tabard, o. c. p. 12-31. The statue is 57 feet high. Chamundaraja was not the founder of the present Jain religious settlement, as Rice, *Mysore* I, p. 461 says,

by his exhortations and disputes in the Karnataka country. One of the converts seems to have been King Vitthala Deva (1104-1141) ¹ The *Sri Ranga Mahatmya*, that seems to refer to this period, states that Ramanuja "with his disciples visited the 108 Tripetis (Tirupatis or temples to Tirumal), and disputed with opponents. He taught the Vaishnava creed with great success, visited many places, and at length returned to Seringapatam" ²

Ramanuja returned from Mysore on the death of Kulottunga I, which seems to have occurred in 1118 ³ The *Kulotunga Cholan Ula* relates that, during Ramanuja's second stay in the Chola country, Kulottunga II (1123-1146), 'a hater of the god Vishnu', removed the Govinda Raja temple at Chidambaram from the premises of the great Siva temple, and ordered the statue of Vishnu to be thrown into the ocean, 'his original shrine'. Then Ramanuja and his disciples either brought back the same idol or made a new one, and enshrined it in a new temple at Tirupati, with a formal and solemn consecration ceremony ⁴

4 After the death of the reformer, his disciples continued his work. Besides the above mentioned Kurattalvan, the one who worked most for this cause was perhaps the famous Sri Vedanta Desika ⁵ The *Tiru Narayana Puam* mentions a Vaishnava Aluvar, named Yempramanar, who also made many conversions to his sect in the kingdom of Mysore ⁶

Things however were not going too well. Soon after the death of Ramanuja, there arose a schism in his sect. Were the Sanskrit or the vernacular works to be the chief object of study for the Sri Vaishnavas? This question naturally gave origin to

1 Bhandarkar o c, p 52

2 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p 589

3 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p 219

4 Cf Brahma Sri R Raghava Aiyangar, *Chelli Kulotungal Anapayan*, *Sen Tamil VIII*, p 301-2, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 299

5 Cf Rangachari, *The Life and Times of Sri Vedanta Desika*, B B R A. S., XXIV, p 277-312

6 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonnee*, I, p 510-1

two different schools. For some time the Sanskrit school prevailed, during which period Vaishnavism was almost restricted to erudite people. But finally the vernacular school came out victorious in the contest. Those were the palmy days of Sri Vaishnavism when its doctrines were easily spread among all classes of people.¹

5 Naturally the propagation of the new creed was the cause of differences between its adherents and the members of other religious denominations. One of these religious disputes apparently in Mysore, was appeased by Bukka Raya I of Vijayanagara in 1368. Dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (Vaishnavas) "says the royal decree, "the blessed people (the Jainas) having made petition to Bukka Raya about the justice done by the Bhaktas the King taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri Vaishnavas (here 48 representatives of the Sri Vaishnavas are mentioned who come from different places even from Tirupati Kanchivaram and Srirangam) and declaring at the same time that there was no difference between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas decreed as follows —

"This Jaina *darsana* is, as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalasa* (or vase) If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina *darsana* through the bhaktas the Vishnavas will kindly deem it as loss of advancement caused to their (own *darsana*) The Sri Vaishnavas will to this effect kindly set up a *sasana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure the Vaishnava creed will continue to protect the Jaina *darsana*. The Vaishnavas and the Jainas are one they must not be viewed as different. Tatayya of Tirumula (Tirupati) by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom will, out of the money levied at the rate of one anna a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom for the bodyguard to be appointed by Vaishnavas at the holy place Belugula (Sravana-Belgola) appoint twenty ser

1. Cf. Rangachari, *The Successors of Ramanuja* B B R A S., XXIV p. 126-8.

vants as bodyguard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinalayas (the Jaina temples) white-washed. In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, will they without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit. He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the kings, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudaya*. If an ascetic or chief of a village destroys this charity, he shall incur the sin of having slaughtered a tawny cow and a Brahman on the banks of the Ganges" ¹

In this document preference seems to be given to the Jainas, although Bukka was not a Jain himself. It shows, however, how the King was influenced by Jainism. We know indeed from other lithic records that one of the ministers of Bukka was a fervent Jain: his name was Baichappa. He is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola ². According to an inscription of 1385 in Vijayanagara itself the same Baichappa and his son Irugappa, himself a Jain also, were ministers of Bukka's successor, Harihara II ³. Another inscription of 1387-8, in a Jain temple near Kanchivaram, records some donations of this Irugappa, mentioned as son of Vaichaya (Tamil form for Baichappa), General of Vijayanagara and follower of the Jain religion ⁴. Irugappa's two sons, named Baichappa and Irugappa, are also mentioned in another inscription of 1422, at Sravana-Belgola, as Jain Generals of Vijayanagara ⁵ during the reign of Vira Vijaya. His successor, Deva Raya II, was also much inclined to Jainism, as is shown in an inscription of this King, of the year 1426, in Vijayanagara itself ⁶. Probably there was built during this period the Jain temple, the ruins of which, on the slopes of the rocky hill that protects the Pampathu temple of Hampi, are one of the most interesting features of the glorious capital.

1 *Ep Carn*, IX, Ma, 18 Cf *Ibid*, II, No 344

2 *Ep Carn*, II, SB, 253 Cf Luders, *Sravana-Belgola Inscription of Irugapa*, *Ep Ind*, VIII, p 17

3 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p 161

4 *Ep Ind*, VII, p 115-6

5 *Ibid*, VIII, p 22

6 Hultzsch, o. c., p. 162.

BRAS.

6. In spite of this Jain influence, the Vijaynagara sovereigns remained faithful to the cult of Siva till they became disciples of Sri Vaishnavism towards the close of the 15th century

Their family god was then Virupaksha, the name under which Siva was worshiped in the celebrated temple of their capital. But at that time it happened that two brothers from Ettur named Nrsimhacharya and Srirangacharya arrived at Vijayanagara. They were learned Vaishnava gurus and easily persuaded Virupaksha the then Emperor of the great Hindu Empire, that there was no other god higher than Vishnu¹. Accordingly the sovereign forsook Saivism and became a

1 The *Prapanamrtam* which affords this information gives the following legendary account of Virupaksha's conversion to Sri Vaishnavism. "Nrsimhacharya and his younger brother as they entered the city during night mistook this haunted palace for the King's residence and entered it, Ramayana in hand. At their approach the ghosts remained quiet and they were admitted into the palace. Entering the palace they found the ghosts holding court with king, council and attendants. On their approach all the ghosts bowed to them and showed them the respect due to scholarship and the ghost minister inquired who they were and for what purpose they had come there. They narrated their whole story on which the king directed them to come secretly every night and read to them the Ramayana for which he promised to pay them at the rate of one *nishka* every day. This they did for some time. When they came to the end of the Ramayana Nrsimhacharya and the brother directed them to make due preparation for the celebration of the coronation of Rama as is usually the practice even now. On the day of the reading of the coronation portion of the Ramayana, the brothers were presented with many thousands of gold coins and precious stones. After the reading was over the ghosts narrated to the brothers their story as follows. We are all related to Virupaksha the present sovereign of the country and have been foully murdered by him in our sleep. This horrible death has forced us to haunt the palace. It was on our account that Virupaksha left this palace and built another seeking to get rid of us by vows and charities. But all that was of no avail. You two holy people by coming here every night and reading to us the Ramayana have ridded us of our sins, and we now go to the heaven of Santanika. They took

fervent Vaishnava. On this occasion the majority of his subjects also became followers of Vaishnavism ¹.

Virupaksha's successors were also faithful devotees of Vishnu, without however excluding the devotion to Siva, the old protector god of the Empire. Krishna Deva Raya worshipped Vishnu, Siva and also Vithoba (an incarnation of Vishnu known only in Maharashtra) to whom he erected a temple in Vijayanagara ² Achyuta Raya made in 1534 a gift of land with a house in the presence of Vitthalesvara and on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, to each of the two Vaishnava Brahmans who recited a *puanam* in the same temple ³ Then the same sovereign is said to have had a son by the favour of the god of Tirupati, hence the child is called Venkatadri ⁴ But the greatest achievement of Achyuta so far as the propagation of Vaishnavism is concerned, was

leave of the two brothers thus, and went to heaven. The palace became rid of the ghosts and the whole neighbourhood, to its great relief, was rid of the nightly disturbance. They reported the matter to Virupaksha, and Virupaksha, on learning after inquiry what had taken place, summoned the two brothers before him. He inquired who they were and why had gone to the haunted palace. They told him that they belonged to the village Ettur, and were the descendants of the famous Srisailapurna whom the god Venkatesvara called 'grand father', and who explained the Ramayana in twenty-four different ways to Ramanuja. They then gave a full account of their going to the haunted palace and of what had transpired there. On hearing the whole story, King Virupaksha felt great reverence for the Ramayana, the god Rama and the preceptor Nrsimha. The King was soon admitted into the Vaishnava faith by him, for before that time he was a Vira Saiva." S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 71-3

1 *Prapannamrtam*, l c, p 73. The poem says that all the subjects of Virupaksha became Vaishnavas. This is evidently a poetical exaggeration.

2 Cf Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House*, *Ind Ant*, XLIV, p 222

3 240 of 1910

4 *Varadambika-Purnayam*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 172 Cf Ch I, No. 2

the foundation of the Nayakship of Madura. The Pandyas of those days had remained faithful Saivas, as the Tenkasi inscriptions of Arikesari Parakrama Pandya prove ¹ The Telugu chiefs sent from Vijayanagara to the South were almost always Vaishnavas. The final settlement of Vishvanatha and his successors as rulers of the Pandya kingdom naturally marked the commencement of a flourishing period of Vaishnavism in the southern dominions.

7 Sadasiva, the last representative of the Tuluva family was also a fervent worshipper of Vishnu. In 1556 he granted 31 villages to the great sage Ramanuja *i e.*, to the sect founded by him—as Dr. Kielhorn understands—to enable the devotees to carry on the regular worship of Vishnu with incense, lights oblations of food flowers dancing singing music, etc. In 1568, at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, he granted the villages of Krishnapuram to the temple of Tiruvengkata natha at the same place, to keep up the cult of the god Vishnu who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvengkatanatha, by means of burning incense by lights and by the offering of good food cakes etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights by means of dancing singing and music, with umbrellas *chauris* on days both ordinary and special for the car festival at the beginning of each year for the floating festival during the hot season and for the *ratrotsava* ² For Sadasiva, to die is to attain the Vishnava seat as may be seen in a grant of his of the year 1558 ⁴ In his inscriptions several Vaishnava teachers are mentioned on different occasions. Vallabhacharya whose eloquent panegyrics as a Vaishnave *guru* are described in an inscription of 1544 at Govada, Guntur ⁵ the *sannyasi* Emberumanaru Jiyangaru, mentioned in another inscription of 1559 at Markapur Karnul ⁶ and finally Parankusa Van-Sathagopa

1. *T. A. S. I.*, p. 93 and 98.

2. British Museum plates of Sadasiva *Ep. Ind.*, IV p. 5-10

3. *Ep. Ind.*, LX, p. 341 vv. 67-69

4. *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 186.

5. Rangacharya I, p. 841, 825

6. 158 of 1905

Jiyyangaru, spoken of in three inscriptions of Lower Ahobalam, Karnul, of 1555 ¹, 1560 ² and 1564 ³. Another inscription at the same place, of the year 1567, mentions a gift from a chief, consisting of some offerings to be distributed among twelve Sri Vaishnava mendicants ⁴.

Nevertheless, Sadasiva was not so staunch a devotee of Vishnu as to despise the other gods or to force people to join his own sect. He sometimes invokes Siva, Vishnu and Ganesa in the beginning of his grants ⁵. Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, his feudatory, built a temple to Siva in his new city of Krishnapuram ⁶. The most characteristic feature of this tolerance is the fact that the Yelahanka Prabhu, Kempe Gowda I, on returning to his dominions from his captivity at Anegundi, adopted the worship of Siva, instead of the cult of Bhire Devar, his family god. He thought, in changing his devotion, that it made no difference, as Bhire Devar was the son of Siva, his offerings and prayers however remained in the same family. His broad and tolerant spirit is moreover shown in the fact that he built a temple to Vishnu at Bangalore ⁷.

8 Sadasiva's Regent, Rama Raya, was a no less fervent worshipper of Vishnu than his master. The Aravidu family appears to have worshipped Vishnu from ancient times. The names of the majority of its chiefs are names of Vishnu or of his *avatars*. Moreover several of those chiefs are mentioned as staunch Vaishnavas such are Rajanarendra, called 'a devotee of Vishnu'; Vira Hemmaliraya, stated to be 'a devotee of Murari (Vishnu)', and Ramaraja (the grand father of the founders of the Aravidu dynasty) who 'was poisoned by his

1 65 of 1915

2 75 of 1915

3 73 of 1915

4 69 of 1915

5 See for instance British Museum Plates of Sadasiva, *Ep Ind*, IV, p 12

6 Taylor, *O H MSS*, II, p 23 Cf Ch XIII, No 2

7 Puttaya, *The Kempe Gowda Chiefs*, *Q J M S*, XIII, p 728
Cf Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 21

relatives but by the grace of Vishnu whose devotee he was, suffered no harm" ¹

The most important act of Rama Raya in connection with Sri Vaishnavism is the restoration of the idol of Govindaraja to the temple of Chidambaram. The *Prapannamrtam* relates that there was at that time a Vaishnava scholar named Mahacharya who lived in the sacred town of Ghatikachala (Sholighur). He had defeated all the Saiva scholars of Chittrakuta (Chidambaram) among whom was the celebrated Appaya Dikshita. After this victory he grew desirous of re-establishing the worship of Govindaraja in the temple of Chidambaram abolished since the time of the Chola king, Krimikantha (Kulottunga II) ². Rama Raya seems to have been then at Chandragiri with his teacher Tatacharya. Mahacharya went there, and with the assistance of the Emperor and his *guru* succeeded in restoring Govindaraja's idol to its old place at Chidambaram ³.

It has been said by modern Saivas that the tremendous defeat of Raksas Tagdi was the punishment inflicted by Virupaksha on the house of Vijayanagara for going over from his cult to the cult of Vishnu. We already find this idea in an old work of the Mackenzie Collection entitled *Jangama Kalanyana* in which the defeat and death of Rama Raya are given in a prophetic strain by Sarvajna, a Jangama priest, and his son Virupana, staunch devotees of Siva ⁴.

9. The immediate successors of Rama Raya, however, did not abjure the cult of Vishnu. On the other hand, it seems their devotion even increased. Tirumala is called in his Penuguluru grant a repository of nectar like devotion to Hari (Vishnu) ⁵. According to the colophon of his supposed commentary on the

1 Dalavay Agraharam plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.* XII p. 186 vv 5-6 and 9 12

2 Cf. above No 3

3 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar o. c., p. 208 Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Ancient India* p. 320

4 Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection* p. 272

5 *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 245

Gita Govinda his favourite deity was Rama ¹ In 1568 he made two grants to a Vaishnava temple at Khairuwalla, Karnul ² In the same year he made another grant to another Vaishnava temple in the village of Gundala ³ The so-called '*three Swami pagoda*', introduced by Tirumala, displays three figures, the central one standing, and the other two seated, they are said to be either Lakshmana with Rama and Sita, or Venkatesvara with his two wives ⁴ In either case this coin proves Tirumala's Vaishnava devotion With Tirumala also a new Vaishnava feature appears in the royal grants Till the battle of Raksas-Tagdi the grants of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, even after their conversion to Sri Vaishnavism, were as a general rule made in the presence of Virupaksha, but after the establishment of Tirumala at Penukonda, his grants were made in the presence of Ramachandra in the temple of its fort ⁵.

His devotion to Vishnu, nevertheless, was not that of a fanatic who despises all other deities His grants after the usual 'prostration to the blessed Ganadhipati' start with an invocation to Siva, Vishnu and Ganapati ⁶ One *vritti* of the Penuguluru grant was by his order given to the local shrines of Vishnu and Hara (Siva) ⁷ Tirumala moreover, in an inscription of 1571, mentions the Saiva teacher, Anantasivacharya, his pupil Ponnambala Dharmasivacharya, and the latter's pupil Immadi Dharmasivacharya ⁸ Another Saiva teacher is mentioned in another of Tirumala's inscriptions dated 1577, this *guru* is named Santabhiksha *vritti* Ayyavaru, and seems to have been a man of great influence in Karnul ⁹

During Tirumala's reign we hear of two Vaishnava temples

1 Ibid

2 Sewell, I, p 93

3 Rangacharya, III, p 909, 10

4 Brown, *The Coins of India*, p 64

5 See for instance the Penuguluru grant, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 256, vv 44-62

6 See the same grant, Ibid, p 254, vv 1-3.

7. Ibid, p 245

8. 497 of 1905

9 43 of 1915.

which were improved through the munificence of the devotees. One was the temple of Bhaktapala Venugopala Krishna at Holalakere, which had passed through different vicissitudes referred to in the inscription. The idol had been set up by one Janamejaya but owing perhaps to difficult circumstances the god was buried in the earth by a certain Vishnuvardha Raya till it was restored to its old shrine by Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya it seems enlarged or beautified the temple which after the wars with the Muhammadans was dilapidated and ruined. Then in 1568 Kamageti Kasturi Medakeri Nayaka set up the ruined god, and repaired the temple with the aid of the Brahmans of the place ¹. Some years later Sri Van Sathagopa Swami established the Idols of the Vaishnava *Altars* at the temple of Purushtamam (Jaganath) ².

Ranga I followed the example of his father in his devotion to Vishnu. He is said in the Maredapalli grant to have borne in his heart Sarngadhara, i e., his god Vishnu ³ and in the Arivillamangalam plates he is called worshipper of Vishnu ⁴. Nevertheless Ranga, as much of an eclectic as Tirumala, invoked Siva, Vishnu and Ganesha at the beginning of his grants ⁵. During his time the Hande chiefs of Anantapur who were bigoted Saivites co-operated with Ibrahim Shah of Golkonda in the sack of the temple of Ahobalam ⁶.

10. Ranga's successor Venkata II was the great Vaishnava Emperor of the dynasty. His fervent devotion to Vishnu was the cause of a great change introduced in the grants issued by him. During the third dynasty and even during the reigns of Tirumala and Ranga of the Aravidu family the Emperors had commenced the practice of invoking Vishnu together with Siva at the beginning of their grants,

1. *Ep. Carn.*, LX, Ht, 7

2. Ahobalam Inscription, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 233

3. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 328, v 35

4. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 357 v 20.

5. See for instance the Maredapalli grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 327 vv 1-3 and the Arivillamangalam plates, *Ibid.*, XII, p. 356 vv 1-3

6. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 233-4.

but still they used to sign the same grants with the solitary word 'Sri Virupaksha', the name of the guardian god of the old Empire. "The Vijayanagara throne", says Mr Krishnamacharlu in this connection, "was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virupaksha" ¹. According to the *Prapannamrtam* the Emperor Virupaksha after his conversion "gave up the use of the old seal with the sign manual Virupaksha on it, and adopted a new one on which was inscribed the name 'Sri Rama'" ². But his successors had resumed the old seal of Virupaksha Venkata II broke this tradition for ever: Virupaksha was no longer the protector of the Empire, Vishnu had taken his place. Accordingly all the grants of Venkata bear the following signature 'Sri Venkatesa' ³, one of the forms of Vishnu worshipped at Tirupati. The very beginning of his grants, moreover, shows more signs of the Vaishnava faith than the former grants. The Padmaneri grant, for instance, starts with an invocation to Venkatesa, the feet of Rama Vishvaksena and the Moon ⁴. In the Vellangudi plates the invocation is addressed to Rama's feet, Vishvaksena and Vishnu ⁵. The beginning of the Mangalampad grant is as follows "I seek refuge in that pair of substances (Rama's feet), by virtue of whose touch a stone became the gem of women and which is deserving of worship by the gods" ⁶. Besides, almost all his grants are made in the presence of Venkatesa at Tirupati.

We have still several other instances of Venkata's devotion

1 Krishnamacharlu, *The Religion of the Vijayanagara House*, *Ind Ant*, XLIV, p 221

2 S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p 73. We have not seen any grant of Virupaksha with the colophon mentioning *Sri Rama*. His ordinary signature was, it seems, *Sri Harihara*. Of his Alampundi plate, *Ep Ind*, III p 229, and Sornikavur plates, *Ibid*, VIII, p 305

3 See for instance the Vellangudi plates, *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 329, and the Padmaneri grant, *Ibid*, p. 297, v 159.

4. *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 296

5. *Ibid*, p 318

6. Butterworth, I, p. 26, v. 1.

to Vishnu. In 1590 he made a grant to a Vaishnava shrine under the management of one Krishna Das¹. In 1597 at the request of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura he granted two villages in the Madura district to several Vaishnava Brahmans². On another occasion the King made arrangements for celebrating a festival in the temple of Alagiyarama Perumal³. Venkata's gold coin called *Venkatapati pagoda* shows on the obverse Vishnu standing under an arch while the reverse bears this Nagari legend *Sri Venkateswara Namah* adoration to the blessed Venkateswara⁴. Another coin of Venkata shows the figure of Hanuman advancing to the right with the same legend on the reverse⁵.

II Vaishnavism was also openly professed outside the royal palace. Venkata's nephew Tirumala, the Seringapatam Viceroy starts one of his decrees with the suggestive words Obeisance to Ramanuja⁶. The poet Matla Ananta in the prologue of his works invokes the blessings of the god of Tirupati and in the colophon to the same work calls himself disciple of the Vaishnava teacher Tirumala Tolappa Acharya⁷. In 1609 a gift of seven gold-gilt pinnacles for the big *gopura* of the Vira Narasimha temple at Diguva Tirupati and of two fly whisks and an umbrella of white silk with a gilt *kalasa* over it was made by some merchants of Aravidu⁸.

But the most interesting event in connection with the propagation of Vaishnavism is the conversion to this sect of the royal house of Mysore. We do not know for certain when this conversion took place; we are only aware that the early Rajas

1. Rangacharya, III, p 1497 457

2. Ibid., II, p. 1002, 91

3. 385 of 1905

4. Hultzsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind. Ant. XX*, p. 308. Cf. Brown, *The Coins of India* p 64.

5. Rangachari *Some Inedite Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara Ind. Ant., XXIII*, p. 26.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, IV Gu, 40

7. Cf. Krishnamaachari *The Penuguluru Grant Ep. Ind., XVI*, p. 246.

8. 67 of 1915

of Mysore were devotees of Siva, and that shortly after this period they appear as worshippers of Vishnu¹. "But many circumstances afford room to conjecture", says Wilks, "that it was about this time (after Raja Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam) that they adopted the insignia and ceremonies of the sect of Vishnu"'

12 The whole Empire however was not Vaishnava. Several feudatory chiefs still adhered to their old family sect. One instance is that of the Nayaks of Vellore, who with their families remained faithful to Siva. Lingama Nayaka, the last known member of this dynasty, is said in the Vilapaka grant of Venkata II to 'be engaged in establishing lingas of Siva', 'his prize'. says the same grant, "was the works relating to Siva"². Another family very faithful to Siva was that of the Nayaks of Ikeri. Among their titles there are two that refer to their devotion: they are called 'establishers of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine' and 'devoted to the faith in Siva and the guru'³. In their zeal they seem to have converted many of the Jains to the Saiva creed'. We know likewise of a grant of 1592 for the services of a *malha*, issued by Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka, son of Sadasiva Nayaka II and grandson of Sadasiva Raya Nayaka, the grantor is called in the grant 'feudatory of Venkatapatiraya, devoted to Siva and gurus'⁴. The chiefs of Ullal were likewise devotees of Siva, Pietro della Valle says that the family god of the Queen he met during his travels was Putia Somnata⁵.

There exist moreover several other grants of petty chiefs announcing their liberality to the temples and to the mendi

1 Cf Thompson, *Religion in the Mysore State*, Q J M S, I, p 135.

2 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, p 43 Cf Krishna Row, *A Brief History of Mysore*, p 10, Rice, *Mysore*, I, p 364

3 *Ep Ind*, IV, p 271

4 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p 157

5 Cf Burnell, *On the Colossal Jain Statue at Karkala*, *Ind Ant*, II, p 353, Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p 62

6 *M.A.D.*, 1923, p 106-7

7 Della Valle, II, p. 341

cants of Siva. In 1612 Nanja Raja Odeyar made some offerings to Siva ¹ In 1593 Immadi Rama Raja Nayaka, son of the chief of Hadinand-sima D vappa Gowda, made also a grant to Siva recorded in a stone charter he gave to Channa Basavaraja Deva disciple of Sivaratreya Deva ² In 1588 Vaiyappa Krishnappa Nayaka ordered 30 rice offerings to be distributed among Saiva mendicants ³

13 Furthermore the Jains were still powerful in the Kanarese Viceroyalty The gigantic statue of the Jain Saint, Bhujabalin set up at Enura (Venur) in 1603 ⁴ is a clear proof of this. It was erected by the chief Timmaraya of the family of Chamunda the younger brother of Pandya son of Queen Pandyaka and nephew and son in-law of Rayakuvara. He is said to have made the image at the request of the Jain priest Charukirti, who was the pontiff of Belgula (Sravana Belgola) On the opposite side of the colossus there is another inscription according to which Timmaraya belonged to the lunar race and was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike ⁵

There are still other instances of the widespread influence of the Jains in the Kanarese country during the reign of Venkata II. In 1591 a Kanarese Prince named Kinniga Bhupala made a grant for the purpose of maintaining a Jain temple ⁶ In 1586 the Karkala chief Bhairava II built a Jain temple on the Chikkabetta hill at Karkala, set up the images of the three Tirthankaras, Ara Malli and Munisuvrata on each of the four faces of the temple, and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthankaras and those of the Jains together with those of Brahma and Padmavati. This temple, built at the advice of the Jain teacher Lalitakirti was called the temple of the three jewels ⁶ Its *chaturmukhabasti* indeed shows down to this day three nude statues of the

1. *Ib d.*, 30.

2. *Rp Carn.*, IV Ch, 135

3. 339 of 1918

4. *Rp Ind.*, VII, p. 113-4. *Of Ind Ant.*, V p 37

5. Sewall II, p. 14.

6. Karkala inscription of Bhairava II, *Rp Ind.*, VIII, p. 124-5

Tirthankaras strongly resembling each other, carved in black stone, and surrounded by many other idols also naked

14 This variety of sects within the limits of the Empire shows the eclectic character of the Emperors of Vijayanagara, so inconsistent with the exclusive spirit of orthodox Vaishnavism ¹. The two most prominent representatives of this characteristic eclecticism of the Vijayanagara House are Krishna Deva Raya and Venkata II. The latter was really a fervent devotee of Vishnu, but he also favoured the cult of Siva when occasion arose. In 1588, for instance, he gave 20 offerings to be distributed among the Saiva mendicants in the Bhisesvara temple at Chidambaram ². Similarly there is a plate of his of the year 1596 proceeding from Cuddalore, bearing a large number of mythological figures of both the Saiva and Vaishnava sects; such are for instance Ganesa, the lingam, Hanuman, Narasimha, etc ³.

The most striking specimen of this eclecticism is given in an edict issued some years before the accession of Venkata in 1561, by Krishnappa Nayaka, the feudatory chief of the North Kanara, when speaking of some differences between Saivas and Vaishnavas. It runs as follows "Obeisance to Ganadhipati May it be fortunate. Praise of Sambhu There being some who say that besides Hari (Vishnu) there is no god in the world and some who say that besides Hara (Siva) there is no god in the world, to remove those doubts of mankind, they assumed with affection in Kudalur the glorious double form of Harihara may he protect us.

"Be it so. To the chief lord of all worlds, the chief god and supreme lord of the gods, destroyer of the contradictory statements of Saivas, Vaishnavas and others, the bestower of a boon on Markkandeya, the single incarnation of Hari and Hara, tearer asunder of the pride of Guhasura, his two lotus feet placed on the chest of Guhasura, worshipped by the three worlds of heaven, earth and hell, bestower of their desires on the faithful, granting the gift of being without fear to the

1. Cf Raychauduri, *o. c.*, p. 116

2. 349 of 1913

3. Sewell, II, p. 9.; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

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1. Cf. Raychauduri, o. c., p. 116.

2. 349 of 1913.

3. Sewell, II, p. 9.; Rangacharya, I, p. 154.

dwellers in the auspicious forest Guharanya residing on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra boon lord of Manigapurn the god Harihara ¹

15 In spite of this eclecticism and toleration we cannot doubt but that the reign of Venkata II marked a period of proselytism towards the spreading of Vaishnavism. The *Prapannamrtam* tells us that when Venkata became a disciple of Tatacharya a large number of the subjects became Vaishnavas ². Tatacharya indeed was an ardent Vaishnava missionary and under the patronage of Venkata contributed largely to the progress of his creed.

This proselytism produced warm disputes at the court itself of this sovereign among the Saiva and Vaishnava teachers. One of these controversies took place between Tatacharya and the court poet Appaya Dikshita. This scholar was a very fervent Saiva. He chanted four verses in honour of Siva wherever he went and by his zeal and preaching reconverted many Vaishnavas to their former faith in Siva. In the religious disputation with Tatacharya Appaya Dikshita was victorious. Hence the royal *guru* cherished a mortal hatred against him and even they say actually plotted to put an end to his rival's life ³.

Another of these religious controversies took place in Kumbhakonam between the Vaishnava philosopher Vijayindra Tirtha and a famous Vira Saiva *guru* of that *matha*. The condition under which it was held was that if the Saiva *guru* succeeded Vijayindra Tirtha would join his *matha* but if the latter triumphed the Saiva *guru* would make over his *matha* with all its belongings to his opponents. The discussion lasted eleven days at the end of which term the Saiva *guru* declared himself vanquished. Consequently Vijayindra Tirtha entered into possession of the *matha* at Kumbhakonam ⁴.

1. *Ep. Carn.*, XI Dg 18. The edict evidently speaks of the temple at Harihara on the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Sources* p. 231.

3. Subramiah Pantulu *Discursive Remarks Ind. Ant.*, XXVII p. 326.

4. Gopinatha Rao, *Artellimangalam Plates Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 346.

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Vijayindra Tirtha had also several discussions with Appaya Dikshita. When the latter wrote some works condemning the Madhva philosophy, Vijayindra Tirtha wrote several works against him refuting the Saiva arguments ¹

This antagonism between the two sects which existed in some quarters of the Empire and specially in the Tamil country, finds expression in a poem existing in the old library of Fort St George. This work deals with the marriage of a Brahman's daughter with the god Ranganathaswami of Srirangam, but incidentally refers to the sectarian disputes between Saivas and Vaishnavas in the South of the Empire ²

16. A notable instance of this struggle between the two sects is the lamentable event that took place at Chidambaram in the year 1597, while Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji, himself a staunch Vaishnava, was there superintending the improvements which he had ordered at the temple of Govinda Raja within the great Saiva temple. Fr N. Pimenta, who passed through Chidambaram at this time, narrates in one of his letters that on this occasion a great controversy arose as to "whether it were lawful to place the Signe of Perimal in the Temple at Cidambaran. Some refused, others by their Legats importunately urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple". These last words of Pimenta indicate that, after the restoration of the idol to the temple by Rama Raya, it had again been removed and its shrine probably destroyed. In order to re-install it with due honour, Krishnappa Nayaka ordered the old shrine to be repaired, and even perhaps enlarged.

This was the cause of the whole trouble. "The Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers", continues Pimenta, "(were) withstanding, and threatening if it were done, to cast down themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple, sware to doe the like after they buried the former, which yet after better advice they performed not". But Krishnappa Nayaka was unmoved by any such threat, the recon-

1 Ibid

2 Taylor, *Catalogue Raisonné*, I, p 646

struction of the shrine was carried on without hesitation Whereupon the priests climbing one of the high *gopurams* of the temple, started to cast themselves down while the Nayak was in the temple About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure says Pimenta " whereat the Naichus angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them the rest wandring in uncertaine places A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that shee cut her owne throat " Naturally Krishnappa Nayaka accomplished his purpose in spite of this opposition¹

This brings us to a point in the history of Vaishnavism and Saivism where we see the opposition between them at fever heat. But the struggle between the two sects was practically over at the end of Venkata II's reign. Although the sect of Siva still counted many adherents, Vaishnavism had won the victory.

1. From Fr N Pimenta to Fr C. Aquaviva Purohas X, p. 208-9 CL Du Jarric, L n 637 Anquetil du Perron L c. n. 169

APPENDIX A

THREE CANTOS OF A PERSIAN POEM IN PRAISE OF

HÛSAIN NIZAM SHAH OF AHMADNAGAR

(P. P. P)

شکرت آرا حسن حسیه نعم مرای کاوردان سدن کاب کھا نگر

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ۱ | حسنیہ آن بادشاہ دلی | کہ سلسلہ و محمود ہاسر |
| ۲ | سرور داران و گردن گسان | کہ بروی کند آفرین اسرار |
| ۳ | خداوند سیر و کشت و کلا | عربانہ و کسب ماہر و جا |
| ۴ | تاج محمد و ماہر و رنگی | پان بہت و عروہ و رنگی |
| ۵ | مرد و ماہر و کسب در عمان | حمادار و نور ماہر و گسان |
| ۶ | عمان و است و کسب و ماہر و کسب | کسر در عمان و نور و کسب |
| ۷ | بدلہ فخر و آن آرد و فی نداس | عروہ و کسب و نور و کسب |
| ۸ | کہ ماہر و کسب و کسب | کہ کسب و کسب و کسب |
| ۹ | کہ ماہر و کسب و کسب | مسلمان و کسب و کسب |
| ۱۰ | محمود و کسب و کسب | کہ ماہر و کسب و کسب |
| ۱۱ | وہ ان کسب و کسب | موسیٰ و کسب و کسب |
| ۱۲ | وہ ان کسب و کسب | وہ ان کسب و کسب |

HUSAIN SHAH ORGANISES AN ARMY WITH THE INTENTION
OF WAGING WAR AGAINST THE INFIDEL, AND HIS
MARCH TOWARDS BIJANAGAR

- 1 & 2. Husain Shah, that brave king, before whom the lion is like the fox, is the chief of the exalted and mighty men, because on him men and geni bestow ' Afareen's (i.e. Bravo ')
3. Lord of the sword, the throne, and the crown ; as resplendent as the sun , with honour and dignity.
- 4 & 5. With his pomp and grandeur and wisdom, with his awfulness and strength and bravery, none existed and never came into this world. World-possessor and victorious, with honour and respect.
6. He had such a sword and such a powerful arm, that on account of him there was a tumult and uproar in the world.
- 7 & 8. In heart he cherished no other desire, and his inclinations were bent towards no other direction, but to fight against the infidel Rao of Bijanagar and subdue sedition and wickedness.
9. Because many Moslems had suffered oppression at the hands of the wicked infidel.
10. He always asked of the kindness of God only to make him successful in the battle.
11. In short, without delay, he marched towards the kingdom of Bijanagar in order to fight.
12. He arrayed his army with the intention of fighting, in a manner that none had mustered army.

- ۲۹ پوشان گزینار جاری شد . . . دلبران کافر براری شدند
- ۲ سرمه‌ساز کافر را مراح . . . سرست بر ریش جوردا افتاد تاج
- ۲۱ رافقادی کافر از رم نیر . . . تو گفتی مرا آمد یکی ستمیر
- ۲۲ بکت اسارت جوان سناه کرد . . . سرش را برید بدو پرگاه کرد
- ۲۳ رسته رسته مردان مرد . . . شده راه کشته مرده دورد
- ۲۴ ربه غارت آوردن از مهر شاه . . . عجمت نگنجید در عرصه گاه
- ۲۵ چو شاه آن شماع گران سنج دید . . . چو دریا یکی دستت پر گنج دید
- ۲۶ شاد رویی که از تاراج گنج . . . خوشان و سر آسوده ار راه و رنج
- ۲۷ بعزت در آن کشتگان مگر نسبت . . . بحدید پیدا و پنهان گز نسبت
- ۲۸ که چو بطلایق در این دارو گیر . . . چرا کشت نایب شمیر و تیر
- ۲۹ گه گز را نشان بهم نارد است . . . و ران خود عصایم این هم عصاست
- ۳۰ فلک را سر ادا حق شد برشت . . . و شاید کسیدن سر از سر دوست
- ۳۱ که داند نه این حالت انگیزه . . . کون چه دنیا ست اسبزه
- ۳۲ بیاساقی ارجمی مراست کی . . . چو می درد می نقل درد دست کی
- ۳۳ ارا می که در زبان خوش گم . . . بدو رخ درش خلق آتش گم

۵		وزیرانم پیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۱۵		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۱۶		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۱۷		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۱۸		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۱۹		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۰		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۱		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۲		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۳		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۴		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۵		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۶		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۷		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان
۲۸		وزیران و قوادمان	وزیران و قوادمان

HUSAIN SHAH'S WAR AGAINST RAM RAJ, THE KING OF
BIJANAGAR, AND HIS VICTORY

1. Early morning when the bird stretched its wings, the brain of the sphere (*i. e.* sky) became void of pictures (*i. e.* stars).
2. The cock shouted to the black demon (*i. e.* the night), the clamour of the drums began roaring.
3. When the infidel came to know that the army had approached, the world appeared dark to the eyes of the infidel.
4. He gathered an army (equipped) with arrow and sword. Its burning flash reached the clouds.
5. On account of the tramlings of the steel-shod animals, even the earth shook to its foundation.
6. On account of the excessive shouts that came from the ambush, the sky dropped down to the earth.
7. From the resurrection-like clamouring of noise, the beasts of the desert took to flight.
8. When their musical instrument was tuned for war, (or when their weapons were ready for battle) the devil ran away on account of their shouts.
9. Two clouds from two sides began clamouring, and two seas of fire came to ebullition.
10. From both the armies arose such a tumultuous noise that the horror of it made the brain of the devil mad.
11. When the armies stood facing each other, the hero came forward from both the sides.
12. The black cloud began to roar (the reference is to the army clad in iron). From the fish (in the sea) the flash of the sword reached the sky.
13. On account of the galloping which pressed the foot on the ground, the bones of the limbs of the

bullock got crushed. (The reference is to the belief that the earth stands on the back of the bullock that stands on the back of the fish which is in the sea)

14 The weapon shattering arrow, coming and going successively pierced through the limbs of steel devouring lions (warriors)

15 The twangs of the arm breaking bows made unconscious many a man.

16. The rows of bulky elephants as dreadful as war, entered the army like mountains.

17 Eye lashes like spear eyes cornelian like from trunk to tail immersed in iron

18 From the many rows of stout elephants, the earth became indigo coloured on account of their tramping.

19 The clamour of the two armies passed through the sphere in such a way that the angel became deaf

20 But the number of persons killed was greater on the side of the infidels and the heart of Infidelity was more injured than Islam

21 & 22 Husain Shah that monarch of the world whom the fierce lion feared, decorated the market of battle, (and) stirred the flowing water

23 As a sword belt an Indian sword like water in lustre greater than the fountain of the sun.

24 A helmet of Indian steel on his head, so lustrous that (even) jewel was envying it

25 Seated on horseback like a mountain happy spiritual and cheerful.

26. When he caught hold of the sword of malice, there came about defeat in the market of the infidel.

27 The disgraceful infidel lost his heart as the heart of wax from the furnace.

28. Success became the guide of Husain Shah. The captives asked for refuge.
29. When the enemies were involved in contempt, the brave infidels showed humility.
30. With the blow of the spear the head of the infidel Rumi Raj fell to the ground, and (also) his crown.
31. On account of the falling of the infidel (struck) with a sharp blow you may say, appeared resurrection.
32. With a single sign that the king made, his head was cut and stuffed with straw.
33. From the slain over slain of valiant men, the road was blocked to the wayfarer.
34. On account of (the excessive) booty which they brought to the king, the wealth could not be lodged in the plain.
35. When the Shah saw that precious and weighty commodity, like the sea, (he saw) a desert full of treasure.
36. Because of the success over the infidels and the plunder of treasure, he became joyful, and remained at ease from travelling and distress.
37. For the sake of warning he glanced at those slain. Apparently he laughed, (but) wept in-wardly.
38. "Saying—Why is it necessary to kill so many creatures in this strife with sword and arrow?"
39. "If I attribute the fault to them, it is unlawful. If I regard the crime on my part, that also is a mistake.
40. "It is in the nature of the sphere to cast down head, it is not possible to draw the head from destiny.
41. "Who knows with what blood of heart this heap of dust is mixed."

564 THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

42. "Oh cupbearer! intoxicate me with wine (and)
when you have given me wine, place in my hand
sweets.
- 43 (Give me) "From that wine with which I may
gladden my heart (and) in hell make it a tale
(preventive) against fire.

یار آمدن بی شاه ارغرای کا فردیت بیجا نگرشهر راجد مکر و رحلت کردن

اوار دارا الهاد دارا الهما

- ۱ گداریده دانسان درسی چس داد نظم گمارش گری
- ۲ که چون مری شاه رگشت جفت . چو گمار حیدر و چون گل شکفت
- ۳ در گنج بکند در گنج حواه . خوا نگرشدار گنج و گوهر سپاه
- ۴ عی کرد کردن کش سران گنج رگوهر کشی لشکر آمد در رنج
- ۵ هر بود تا کوس مو اشد . در آسما سوی ملک خود تا اشد
- ۶ روار و ریان نای زربین زد . سرا پرده بر تپت پروین زد
- ۷ شهشده کوس لشکر بر آید . سر را بیت خود نگر و در رساند
- ۸ پس آنگه روان شد دفع و خلفر بریده سرا و بیجا نگر
- ۹ سوی ملک خویش در آسگاه که نده هر اجد نگر شخاه
- ۱۰ حسین شاه آفشا ویر زد . مرا راخته سر بچرخ بلند
- ۱۱ نشسته بر ملک خاص خویش . مرا مرده بر اسب رفاه خویش
- ۱۲ بمو کپ روان لشکر بر بار . بگردان که داد کسی آراستار

HUSAIN SHAH'S RETURN FROM THE WAR AGAINST THE
INFIDEL AND THE CONQUEST OF BIJANAGAR TO
AHMADNAGAR AND HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE
ABODE OF DESTRUCTION TO THE ABODE OF
ETERNITY

- 1 The relater of the Dari (language) story so versified the narration —
- 2 "When fortune became the mate of the king, he laughed like pomegranate-flower, and blossomed like the rose
- 3 "He opened the door of treasure to those desirous of wealth. The soldiers became rich on account of money and jewels.
- 4 "With treasure he rendered rich the brave and valiant, (so much so) that the army was distressed by carrying wealth
- 5 'He ordered the drums to be beaten, and they marched to their native place
6. "They (officers) played, Proceed! Proceed! (March) on the golden flute, (and) fixed the pavilion on the back of the Pleiades. '
- 7 'The king struck the drum and drove the army, and caused the top of his banner to reach the sky "
8. "Successful and victorious he departed, having cut the head of the Rao of Bijanagar
- 9 "(He marched) towards his own country and place of rest which was the capital—Ahmadnagar "
- 10 'Husain Shah, that victorious Shah, elevated his head to the higher sphere."
- 11 'He sat on his special horse, galloping on his dancing steed.
12. 'The army from every quarter moved in cavalcade, to an extent that no one knows its number "

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES
OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

(Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim).

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE
VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE*(Lisbon, January 12th, 1591)*

E assi me escreue (Manoel de Souza) que no Canará se fez a maior parte da pimenta que uco nestas naos, e que entende que ao diante se fara cada vez maes que sera de muito effeito pera o auimento da carga de cada anno, e que trabalhaua por ter contentes os Reis daquella costa por respeito da pimenta que dão de que a maior parte he das terras de São carnão botto o qual tratara aua poucos dias com o Idalxá pera lhe entregar alguãs fortalezas suas o que não querião consentir os Reis uezinhos, e que seria Isto de muito dano asi pera a pimenta como pera as fortallezas que tenho naquella costa e que por esse respeito o mandara auisar per suas cartas que não tratasse de se sogear sendo liure e que posto que lhe não respondera hia temporisando com elle. E porque o comercio da pimenta daquella costa he de tanta Importancia como sabeis, e tella certa pera a cargua das naos volla encomendo muy encarecidamente. E sobre a materia de Sam Carnão botto que he de tanta consideração como se deixa bem entender pello discurso della vos encomendo tenhaes nella muita vigilância e que em nenhu modo consintaes entreguarensse aquellas fortallezas ao Idalxá procurando de lho estrouar por todas vias que puder ser tendo nisso tal modo que com se fazer este effeito não se mouão nouos descontentamentos com o Idalxá

Memçoes do Reino, No 3, Ano de 1585 até 1598, fol 406

II

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE
VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE*(Lisbon, January 12th 1591)*

Tambem me escreue o ditto g^m (Manoel de Souza) que pella entrega que o São carnão botto faz ao Idalxa de suas fortallezas fica a de Barcellor com maior sobroço por estar danificada, e quasi de todo arruinada, pello que mandara Inuernar nella Joao de Valladares de Soutomayor com quarenta soldados e atenha mandadado uer por officiaes pera se reparar posto que não detreminaua fazer muita obra nella por não estar em sitio pera isso. E porque assi como

não conuem fazerensse nouas fortallezas nesse estado he necessario acudirsse as que estão feitas, pello credito e reputação d'elle, e se preuenir o que poderia a contecer não estando deffensauéis vos encomendo q. com ésta de Barcellor tenhaes a contta que conuem e pede a vezinhanza que hora diz q. tem.

Monções do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 até 1598, fol. 408.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE
VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 18th, 1595.)

E tambem diz que El Rey de Canan(or) não he poderoso para impedir que não sayão olandeses de seus portos posto que entende que os consinte pella parte que tem das prezas que fazem, e que por esta causa e por dar pouca pimenta lhes pos por condição nos cartazes que lhes congedeo q saindo alguns cassaios de seus portos lhe não ualherião e ficarião de preza os nauios que os leuassem, e que dom fernando de meneses Capitão daquella fortalleza trataua co Cunhi copra mouro principal naquelle Reino sobre da valgua pimenta o que tenho por de meu seruiço como sempie o sera todo o bom modo de se auer maes pimenta.

Monções do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 até 1598, fol. 408.

IV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE
VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, February 18th, 1595)

E tiue contentamimto de mi dizerdes qui por achardis as fortallezas do canará faltas de munições e fracas as mandaris prouer e fortificar. E Vos encomindo qui assy o façais sempre com elas.

Monções do Reino, No. 3, Ano de 1585 até 1598, fol. 532.

V

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE
VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, February 8th, 1596.)

Tambem me dis (Matias de Albuquerque) que mandou o Idalcão algus capitães seus sobre os Reis Esnores do Canará a jnstancia da Rainha de Baticalla, e que tomarão duas fort" no Gatty se o allevantamento de hirmão do dito

Idação o não obrigara nos mandar chamar no que o dito Visorrey fez o q lhe pareceo q Cumpria a meu seruiço, e Vos encomendo que com a informação deste caso procedais tambem nelle como conuem, e assy no q toca a morte Del Rey da Serra a que diz q succedeo hu jrmão

Monçoes do Reino, No 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol 631

VI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP II TO THE VICEROY MATIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE

(Lisbon, January 2nd, 1596)

Indo de alguns anos a esta p^a em muita deminuição a rendados d^{ms} dos caualllos que uem de Ormuz mandei dar licença peraque se pudisem trazer ao Canara, Cochim e outras p^{as}, e que sea demandasem os direitos.

Monçoes do Reino, No 4, Ano de 1595 te 1598, fol 673

VII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES DE SALDANHA

(Valladolid, December 23rd, 1604).

Do fruto que tiuerem feito osque residem com el Rey de Bisnaga spero q me auisels e folge(y) d auerem sido bem agasalhades e respondidos de Vos os Embaixadores deste Rey como m(e es)creueis q fizestes.

Monçoes do Reino, No 9, Ano de 1604, fol 1

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY MARTIM AFONSO DE CASTRO

(Lisbon, February 26th, 1605)

Diz (Ayres de Saldanha) que os Christaos da costa da pescaria teueram o anno passado alguãa vexações do Naique de Madure com tributos nouos. E dos cortisias que fez a hum religioso da companhia sobre que ficaua com alguns Requerimentos nesa cidade Manoel da Cunha Paj dos Christas da costa da Pescaria, encomendouos fauoreças

* direytos, in another copy of the same letter, fol. 720

a Christandade em tudo o que foi posuiel e procureis por todos os meos que o dito Naique cesse di fazer semelhantes extorcoes.

Monções do Reino, No. 6 (2a pte) 1, Ano de 1605 te 1607, fol. 19.

IX

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE KING OF CANANOR
(Lisbon, December 23rd, 1606.)

Copia da carta q uay nestas uias p el Rey de Cananor. Muito nobre Rey de Cananor eu Dom felippe ettz Vos faco saber que por carta do meu Viso Rey fuy informado que nessas partes andauão Roubando alguns leuantados dos estados de flandes que sam sogeitos a minha coroa e indo ter ao porto de uossas terras offerecemdouos sua amisade e peurando uosso fauor e ajuda para poderem carregar suas naos não soo as não consentistes mas acodistes com gente a socorrer a minha fortaleza q'tudo he conforme a uossa nobreza e lealdade, nem fora comueny ente a ella dar entrada a Piratas e a leuantados da obediencia de seu Rey e snor natural, e nesta boa com Respondencia espero pcedais sempre de que terey disso comtentamento. e vos emcomendo q'mãodeis aduirtir em todos os portos de uossas terras os não consintão nelles mem lhe dem carga para suas naos e delles não sejam paros a Roubar de manr^a que por falta de aduirtencia nossa não suçada o contr^o p que Receberey disso muito dispraser e ao meu Viso Rey escreuo ordene q minhas Armadas se encontrem com os ditos Rebeldes para lhe darem o castigo que merecem, e o mesmo lhe mando faça aos que nessas p^{as} lhe darem fauor e Recolherem em seus portos e ho auiso q' em tudo o que uos cumprir desse estado procure daruos satisfação conforme ha muita q'de uos tenho muito Nobre Rey de Cananor Nosso Snor uos alumie em sua graça e Com ella uos aja. semp^{re} em sua guarda, escrita em Lx^a a 23 de Dezb^{ro} de 606.

Manções do Reino, No. 6 (1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol. 116.

X

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO VENKATA II
(Madrid, January 27th, 1607.)

Copia da carta q' uay nestas uias p^a el Rey de Bisnagà.
Muite Nobre Rey de bisnagá.

Eu Dom Phelippe, etc^o Vos faco saber q eu tenho entendido o bom acolhim^{to} q em uos achão os Religiosos da Comp^{ta} E o fauor e ajuda q lhes dais nas cousas da Christandade de q me Pareço uos deuia dar (como faço por esta minha carta) as diuidas graças, e significaruos a boa Vontade com q por este Respeito folguarey de uos comprazer todo o Possiuel em uosas couzas E assy m^{te} no meu Viso Rey desse estado q o faça no q'nos delle Cumprir E espero de Vossa nobreza q continuareis este bom procedim^{to} com os ditos Religiosos de Man^{eira} cada vez me d(eu)ria Eu hauer por mais obriguado delle muito nobre Rey de bisnaga nosso S^o uos alumie com Sua graça e com ella aja uossa pessoa em sua guarda.

Escrita em Madrid a 27 de Jan^o de 607 -

Monçoes do Reino, (No 6 1a pte), Ano de 1600 te 1603, fol 124

XI

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY

DOM JERONYMO DAZEVEDO

(Lisbon, February, 20th, 1614)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo Eu El Rey Vos inuio muito saudar O Bispo de Meliapor me escreueo representando os seruiços que me tem feito no cerco que se pos aquella cidade E enfortificar o na tomada do forte que os olandeses tinha em Paleacate, E em outras cousas, e que por se não pagar o q tenho applicado a fabrica daquela sei nã vi(o) ordenados (o)s Sacerdotes e ministros que nella serué e se destruiré as terras que o Rey de bisnagá daua para sua sustentação paga

Per ser informado q a cazada myá da mesma cidade de Meliapor e a muitos annos q anda mal gouernada aplican cándose o dr^o dos depozitos a os uzos pas pessoas que nella sirué

Escrita em Lis^{boa} a xx de f^{evereiro} de 1614 O bispo Dom Pedro

Monçoes do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 143

XII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO DAZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613)

Resposta da Carta que tratta dos P^{re} da Comp^{ta} que residem no Reino de Bisnagá.

Primeyro. Estes Relligiosos que estauão em Bisnaga, e residião em Chandegri, onde o Rey assiste, tanto que seus Supperiores souberão de q' V Mag^o. sobre elles escreueo os fizerão logo recolher para a sua Prouincia, que foi perda pa. muitas couzas do seruico de V. Mag^o. e disto em particular resultou teré oje os Holandeses fortz^a. em Paleacate, e a guerra q per ordem daq^{ta}. Rey se fez a Meliapor com m^o. danno daquella cidade, e cada dia, e cada dia succederão outros incomuenientes. Pollo q ey q não so he necess^o. residirem em Chandegri junto a pessoa do Rey, que faz delle cabedal, mas tambem em Paleacate tomandose aquella fortz^a. aos Holandeses (como eu confio em Deus, q hade ser breue m^o. co a armada, q ally dettremino enuiar) e em outros portos daquella costa, porq' em todos será sempre a sua assistencia, e bons officios, q co prudencia sabem fazer de muito effeito contra quaes quer intentos destes Rebeldes, e porq' toda aquella gente deppende de interesse pareçeme, q não so' conuem, q^e se lhes prouea a estos Relligiosos o necess^o. p^a sua sustentação, mas alguã cousa maes, q^e possa dar, e q co isto se conseguirão p seu meyo muitas q de outra man^a obrigarião a se faseré grandes gastos para as Remedear E assy por isto, como porq' quando eu estaua em Ceilão lhes ficaua Vesinho, e sey q procedião exemplarm^{te} Pollo q a informação q. foi dada a V. Mag^o. deuia proçeder de emulação (cousa muy ordin^a entre Ecclesiásticos) ou de outro algu particular resp^o. E principalm^{te}. por entender, q essa he atençaõ de V. Mag^o. ando trattando co o seu Prouincial, que os torne a enuiar ally Aos de Maduré se dará a ordin^a q V. Mag^o manda E eu lhes dey de parte de V. Mag^o. as graças do bom procedimento, q^e tem nas materias da Christandade, q elles mereçem muy bem, porq se empregão neste ministerio co todo cuidado e applicação.

Monções do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fol. 26.

XIII

A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO AND THE LATTER'S REPLY

(Lisbon, March 7th, 1613.)

Dom Jeronimo dazeuedo Viso Rey da India amigo Eu El Rey uos enuio muito saudar. Por cartas do Viso Rey Ruiz L^{co}. detau^a. e do Bispo de Meliapor entendí o apertado çerco que a gente dEl Rey de Bisnaga poz aqla cidade, e quão necessario hê fortificarse, assi e por se(r) de tanta importancia

para a nauegação, e commercio dos m^m della, e principal
mente por estar nly o corpo do bema(ue)nturado São
Thomè, pello que hey por bem que a a çidade se fortifique e
de conceder para sua fortificação huã viagem de Choromandel
diante de todos os prouidos, como uereis pella prouisão que
mandei pass(ar) e se uos enulara com esta, e vos encomendo
que p(ara) o bom effeito e cumprimento della deis todo o
fauor e ajuda necess^a e para a obra da dita fortificação
se fazer co toda a brouidade despendendose n(ell)a odr^a
procedido da dita viagem para se acabar a obra da dita
fortificação uos deua ordenar (q o) Bispo procurasseis por
persuadir aos Marado(r)es (della) que pozessem sobresy
para ella odr^a dehum p() em suas fz^m como hà nas
mais cidades em q de(uem) uir facilmente por ser para sua
defensão nao o () por bem de que por ahora se tratasse
de a carregar com este nouo direito por respeito das perdas
que padecer(em) no çerco e co esta consideração uos hey
por encurre(gado) tratar deste negocio quando enterderdes
q (sea) parauisso melhor occasião e hauendo algu alu()
com que possais ajudar a dita obra, o fazeis, com tanto que
não seiao viagens ne cousa com que se prejudique aos
prouidos, né de minha fz^a pello estado em que ella eila para
isso esta como sabeis.

O mesmo Viso Rey me escreueo també como os Mora
dores da ditta çidade de são Thome de Meliapor lhe pedião
ajudas e fauor, não so para se fortificar, mas para se incor
porar na jurisdição desse estado, e se por alfandega, e
arrecador para minha fz^a os quatro por çento que se
pagão de dr^m na praya a El Rey de Bisnagà o qual
hi tão uelho q^a se espera por horas sua morte, e que aja co
ella discençoés, e occasiao de se poderé senhorear aquellas
terras o q se me representou ser de muita consideração
pello trabalhoso estado em q esse Está em muitas cousas a
que ha que acudir e estar çerto o mal q o tomarà aquelle
Rey ou os q lhe succeder com que não som^a será mui
difficultoso conseguir o q se propoe (ainda q^a se meta muito
cabelal) mas se arriscará a q co essa occasião dem os portos
q té naquella costa aos Olandeses q os deueio muito, e que
tendo os elles seajntem hus e outros, e deitem dally meus
vassallos, pello q me pareceo deuernos remeter esta materia,
e encomendaruos (como faco) que sopostas todas estas diffi
cultades pondo tudo em conselho fazeis nella o q se assen
tar, e uirdes que mais conuem ao seruiço de Deos e meu, e
seguranta daquella çidade auisandome particularm^a do q^a
se asentado e fizerdes.

E porque eu tenho muita satisfação da pessoa e serviços do dito Bispo, e do bem que procedeo no dito cerco, E elle se me queixa que se lhe não pagão seus ordenados Vos encaminando que co muita Preuidade lhe façais pagar todo o que delles lhe ser devido, e que os que for uensendo se lhe puguem com pontualidade, e que encarregueis a alguns criados seus q elle ...

E porque tambem fui auizado do bem q o Naique de Tanjaor se ouue em meu seruico na occasião do dito cerco lhe mando agradecer por minha carta que se uos enuiará com esta para lhe enuiardes como uereis da copia della. Escrita é Lisboa sete de Março de 1613 Rey.

* (Cap. 1º). Tanto que Recebi esta carta de V. Mag^{de} vendo a merce que por ella faz a cidade de Meliapor para sua fortificação de huã viagem de Choromandel p^a Malaca passei logo potente della para a fazer a pessoa q^a o Bispo e cidade nomeasse, e assi lhe passei prouiso pra co o procedido della se correr na forma q V. Mag^{de} por este capº manda

(Cap. 2º.) Este Rey de Bisnaga he falecido, e como naquella cidade de Meliapor não ha presidio né força para vencer os contrastes q recreseré querendose tratar de q neste capitº se apporta me pareceo q não era tempo de de fer nesto nouidade.

(Cap. 3º.) () am^{re} mil v^{to} q V. Mag^{de} faz o Bispo lhe passei prouiso e procurarei q com effeito se lhe pague .

(Cap. 4º.) A carta de Vossa Mag^{de} para o Naique de Tanjaor se mandao ao Bispo para elle lhe enuiar. Guarde Deus a Cat^a. pessoa de V. Mg^{de}. como a Christandade hà mister deste galeão todos os Santos a 21 de Jan^o de 1615.

Monções do Reino, No. 12, Ano de 1614, fols. 143-144.

XIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(Goa, December 24th, 1613.)

E os de Meliapor é particular q são todos muy liures, e não bem acostumados, e a experiencia té mostrado q^a nao se milhorarão nenhuã cousa por hauer ali Bispo, nã hera necess^{ria}.

Monções do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 51.

* This is the draught of the Viceroy's answer written in the margin of the same folio.

XV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D AZEVEDO TO THE KING PHILIP III

(Goa December 26th, 1613)

A cidade de Meliapor de.oejei muito prouer de hu presidio, e dar lhe p cabeça hu fidalgo de authoridade porque de faltar nly semelhante pessoa a q se tenha respeito, hey q resultão as desordens q nella se commetê e estar co a diuisão e discordia dos moradores maes arriscada e em particular para acudir dally a impedir o q os Olandeses intentarê de nouo naquella Costa e tratar de lançar os q estão em Palleacate communiquey a metteria e conselho, e pareço q era huá das maes importantes q de presente auia para bem do estado trattouse tñobem da pesson, e pollos mais Vottos sabio q fosse dom Bernardo de Noronha, e assy lhe mandey declarar e q lhe daria tudo o q se pudesse tirar do estado co o mesmo ordenado q tem o capitão de Ormuz, e os poderes naquella cidade e em toda aquella costa q se comçedem aos Capitãos mores das armadas E por maes officios q com ele se fezerão da minha parte pello Arçebispo e por Dom Luis dagama E ultimam^e pello Secret^o do estado como Ministro de V Mag^e dizendolhe q como as maos chegassem lhe enuiaria gente co q e podesse dar em Paleacate E em sua companhia levaria logo todo o q pudesse tirasse daqui resolueose co tudo em o não fazer o posto que entendi q era este caso digno de se fazer huá grande demonstracão sobre, deixey todavia de o fazer p não acabar de se desacreditar o seruiço

V Mag^e o mandara fazer é tudo como o uuer q le maes seu seruiço

Goa a 26 de Dez^o de 1613*Monções do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 51*

XVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613)

Resposta a la Carta, q tratta dos Reis Vesinhos

Ao Samori e Rey de Cananor se derão as graças como V Mag^e manda do bom procedimento q tiuerao na occasião dos olandeses q vierão a esta costa, e assy se faz sempre nas semelhantes, q se offerecê

Monções do Reino No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 21

XVII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613.)

A cidade de Meliapor he pouoada de gente, q estaua costumada a Viuer co toda liberdade, onde a Justiça não tem mais lugar de fz^r sen off^o. q o que os mesmos moradores lhe querẽ dar, e empaticular os q^o são poderosos, porq como aquella terra he do Rey de Bisnaga, e não ha aly presidio, nẽ poder de q^o se temão cada dia succedẽ estas, e outras muitas desordens sem se poderẽ remediar, e posto q o principal respeito, porq desejo por naquella cidade hu fidalgo de authoridade p^a seruir de capitão della e ter hua guarnição competente p^a. as cousas da guerra, q^o se offereçerẽ e fortaleza de Palleacatte, q aly tem, todavia considero tambem a neces. sidade que ha aly de Semelhantes pessoas, co poder p^a. enfrear aquelles moradoses, e os faser Viuer em temor, sobediencia das Justiças e em quanto isto não ha nenhuã cousa montão deuassas, e eu fico aduertide da q V. Mag^o. manda, q^o se tire de Ant^o. Pereyra de Sousa cujo procedimento he tão conhecido, q^o se^o eu podera haner as maio^r poucas prouas mais se lhe ouuerão de buscar.

Monções do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fol 30.

XVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(December 31st, 1614.)

Por o Bispo de Meliapor me fazer instancia todo este jmuerno passado sobre se emuiar a quella cidade hu fidago de qualidade a que se tiuesse respeito e alguã gente de guerra com q obrigasse aos detr^a a lho terem e para o q comprisse para sua defensão e o mais q se offereçesse tocante a fortz^a q os olandeses tem feito em Paliacate e em particular para compor e aquietar os bandos q aly ha entre os moradores daquella terra q^o são de qualidade q^o se podẽ m^{to}. temer q esta seja a principal occazião para seella perder, Tinha assẽntado de enviar aly dom Bernardo den^o. o qual sẽ embargo de não hauer aseitado o anno passado fazer esta jornada a aseitaria agora, e somente esperaua q as naos chegassẽ para da jente dellas lhe dar ate çento e sincoenta homês, porem como V. Mag^{do} em hua das cartas q me escreue não aproua que se

enuio para residir aly semelhante pessoa dezisti do negocio, nã elle poderã já ter effeito se não em fer^m q Vem por as naos hauerẽ tardado, quererã Deus qe desta minha jornada resulte ficar isto do Norte nos termos q conuẽ porq com isso me disporẽ logo a tratar das cousas daquellas partes, e por Ventura q passe em possoa a ellas

O Rey do Bisnagã he morto e se mouerão co isso grandes disçencoes sobre a successão daquelle Reino, e hu q elle deixou nomeado não se satis fizerão os grandes, e o matarão e estão as cousas nesta confuzão e tempo era este q se estiuer(a) aly hua pessoa de confiança co alguã gente fora façel lançar mão de alguma cousa naquelles contornos

Desta parajen dos Ilheos queimados ao ultimo do Dez^o de 1614

D Iedoymo dazeuedo

Monções do Reino, No 12, Ano de 1614, fols 165 166

VIX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM JERONYMO D AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(January 4th, 1616)

V Mg^a tem concedido a esta cidade de Meliapor duas viagens de Choromãdel para se fortificar as quas antepus as q V Mg^a tẽ concedido para o estado com o procedido dellas se poderã dar principio a obra e faser parte della e conforme ao q isto luzir mandara V Mg^a emtão tratar da mais merçe q for justo q para a dita fortificação mande faser

Monções do Reino, No 12 Ano de 1614, fol 218

VX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF KING PHILIP III TO THE VICEROY AYRES de SALDANHA

(Lisbon January 22nd, 1601)

E assy dizem que pela fortaleza de Manar estar muito desbaratada, os Religiosses da Companhia que Ressidem naquelas partes persuadirão aos Christãos da pescaria dessem alguma ajuda a sua custa para o Repairo E concerto da dita fortaleza. E que Vierão em dar a metade do custo que se fizesse para o que logo depossitarão dous mil pardaos e que ate gora (se) não tinha ordenado nhuã cousa nella encomendouos daiz ordem, como se faça esta obra. E que

seya de maneira que fique aquella fortaleza defensauel, para os a. Adentes que lhe sebre Vieram pois estes Christaos da pescaria querem contribujr com a metade da dep. a desta obra.

Monções de Reino, No. 8, Ano de 1601 te' 1602, fol. 79.

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF THE VICEROY DOM
JERONYMO D'AZEVEDO TO KING PHILIP III

(1613).

Os auizes q V. Mag^{de} me escreve que teve de naos olandezas e Ingresas q seaprestauão para passar a estas partes, e depoderẽ ser ja partidas alguas, me não fez nenhua nouidade, perq isto mesmo espero q sejacada anno em q^{to} se não cortarẽ as 1aizes que cá tem lançado esta gente.

De nenhua destas naos olandezas hà nouas ategora e o Bispo de Meliapor me escreuee q não auia aportado por lá nenhua embarcação sua, sendo assi q os olandeses q residem en Paleacate estauão co muito cuidado aguardandoas, e posto quo uendo eu q nenhua das naos do Reino chegou ca .

Monções de Reine, No. 12, Ano de 1612, fol. 31.

APPENDIX C

DOCUMENTS FROM THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS

I

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr FRANCESCO RICIO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Chandragiri, October 20th, 1601)

Nesta terra de São Thome ha duas man^{as} de lingoas, da terra hua como da pescaria q̃ eu tinha prendido a outra dos badaguas p̃ isso comensei a prander a lingua dos badaguas, e p̃ ter semelhança hua co outra facil^{mente} entrei nella, e logo fez hua arte da mesma lingua tudo isso parece q̃ foi providencia de dispor q̃ veio a São Thome o p̃ Visitador Nicolas Pimenta p̃ visitar os p̃ encomendou m^{eu} q̃ se buscasse modo de ter entrada nesta corte do bisnaga p̃ poder nestes reynos manifestar a ley de Christo Nosso Snor, & sendo reitor o p̃ Simão de Saa p̃ meu de hu criado sobre del Rey q̃ se chama oburaja entramos nesta corte p̃ q̃ hoburaja escreveos duas ollas nos p^{re} q̃ (foss^{am}) co elle q̃ lhe faria m^{uita} honras E assi ho p̃ Simão de Saa e eu por seu companheiro viemos a esta cidade de Chandrigirim a (ter) co elle o qual nos fes m^{uita} honras e nos levou a el rey o qual tãbẽ nos fes ho mesmo e nos deu lisença q̃ nos podessemos fazer igrigia e cazas nesta sua cidade depois d̃ isto fomos a São Thome e escrevemos a Goa ao p̃ Visitador o q̃ passamos co el Rey o qual mandou logo o p̃ Manoel da Veigua ordenando que fosse eu em sua cop. e viessemos neste Chandrigirim a fazer igrigia E assi vimmos praterço oburajo o qual depois de nos ter feito mu^{ita} honra nos apresentou a el Rey o qual folguo co nossa vinda o burajo p̃ vontade del rey nos deu hu logar m^{uito} bo e grande p̃ fazer Igrigia pequena e cazas e sereamonias ao Redor, na Igrigia possemos duas imagens hua do Salvador outra do nossa snora na qual Igrigia vẽ continuam. muito concurso de gentildade fazendo m^{uita} reverencia deltando se p̃ terra dantes das imagens, pedindolhe merces teporales e muitos delles vierão a dar graças p̃ os favores q̃ alcançarão demos os mistarios de nossa fee convencidoos q̃ vão errados e p̃ q̃ as cousas q̃ elle crẽ sã mentros manifestos e pecados nenhu deller sabe q̃ hão de responder se não ficar confusos e honrar as cousas de nossa ley taobẽ ao mesmo rey p̃ meio das das imagens q̃ lhe mostramos co as quas elle muito folguo declaramos m^{uita} vezes as cousas da nossa ley o qual paser de m^{uita} endimientio taobẽ faz o mesmo mas co tudo isso nã elle nã nenhu destes gentes tẽ agora se baptizou tira(n)do hu menino esperemos em De q̃ hos luminara no entendimento e darã força na vontade p̃ deixar os seus erros

e abrasar a verdade q̃ lhe tomos declarada p^a ajudar esta gente taobẽ eu trabalhei e tirei hua doutrina crista e m^{to} mistérios da vida de Christo na mesma lingua delles o q̃ (seivira) muito quando o nosso snor lhes abrija os olhos agora temos grandes esperanças de suas conversoes, pq. el rey que(r) ter m^a amizade co os portuguezes o qual manda seus embaixadores ao Visorej co dous p^a nossos s. o p Simão de Saa e o p^a Belchior Cout.^o mandando dous aneis q custarão sinco mil pagueos e levão recado q̃ quer ser irmão em armas do Rey de Portugal. Nesta residencia de Chandrigrim estamos tres companheiros, s. o p. belchior Coutinho q̃ he de m^a vertude & de grande ingenho e vaj m^a p^a diante na lingua badagua, outro o Irmão Alexander frey de nação Ingrez po ser pintor e muito aceito al rey o terceiro sou eu minimo de todos isso he o que me oferece escrever a V. P. de mi desta gente E p. q. el rej e esta gente são m^{to} afeiçoados as images Roguo a V. P. nos faça caridade de mandar p^a esta Igreja hua imagem do Salvador transfigurado q̃ olha p todas as partes q̃ he seu orago co as figuras q̃ estiverao na transfiguração e sj V. R. nos ouuver de fazer esta caridade seja de la manho de hu home e rogo V. P. que mande en seu nome algua pintura boa e fermosa a el rej a qual daremos en nome de V. P. peço taobẽ a V. P. que mande p^a mim o liuro das images do P. Nadal asi p^a minha consolação espiritual como taobẽ p^a mostrar a esta gente a qual folgua muito de ver images resta somente deitarime aos pees de V. P. a sua s^a benção como taobẽ fazẽ os dous companheiros de Chandrigrim 20 de outubro de 1601.

FRANCISCO RICIO.

II

AN EXTRACT OF THE 'LITTERAE ANNUAE' OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA, 1600

(1601).

Na missão de Bisnagã residem 3. P. e hu Irmão
El Rey he ppicio aos P. e lhes faz merces e m^{to} mais fizera,
e de mais dura se dos seus fora obedecido. Dos Embaixadores do Gram Mogor o m^{to} cazo que seu Rey fazia sos nossos P^{to} o q̃ ajudou não pouco p^a autorizar naquella Corte nossas couzas.

III

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr MANOEL DE VEIGA
PROVINCIAL OF MALABAR, TO Fr JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, December 10th, 1601)

S Thome tera 500 cruzados de renda, a maior parte lhe deu o rei gentio da terra, e tem algumas casas q̃ lhe rendem

IV

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE
PROVINCE OF GOA 1601

(Goa, December 21st, 1601)

At Cioromandelis oram, ū Negapitano, vsq ad Bisnagoram obiit P Emmanuel Veiga qui iam Residentiam inchoavit Chandegrini quae urbs nunc Bisnagorani regni sedes est.

Goae ad XII Calend Januarij 1602

V P filius in Dno

NICOLAUS PIMENTA.

V

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE
PROVINCE OF GOA 1602

(Goa December 21st, 1602)

Bisnagoranam Missionem magnopere promouerant P Emmanuel de Veiga Melchior Coutinlus Franciscus Ricus, et Frater Alexander natione Anglus Regem habent ualde beneuolum, id quod ex litteris quas ad me scripsit V Pat. cognoscet, has, ut ex lingua Canarana traducte sunt, hic ascribam.

Rex Regum Dominus magnus Eques Equitum, Ven catipati post Deum Rex Patri Visitatori, qui Goae est, Nicolao Pimentae hanc epistolam mittit — istis litteris, quas V R. ad me scripsit, colloquente mecum P Emmanuele de Veiga Superiore patrum qui in his partibus commorantur vehementer laetatus sum ac facultati dedi Ecclesiam et domum extruendi in urbe mea Chandegrino Pagum etiam quē uocant Elamur prope ab oppido S Thomae contuli in Patrum expensas, atq̃ tum istos, tum etiam alios qui eis

successerint, honoribus amplissimis et praemius decorabo. Concessi praeterea amplam facultatem legem Dei praedicandi ut uolens quisque Christianus fiat, neque propterea de honore pristino quicquam detrahatur. Meus in lusitanos amor antiquus jam satis Goae innotuit. De honore quem Patribus detuli ipsi scribebant. Annulum et alia quaedam munera Proregi mittere decreui, quae Condoqor Interpreti meo perferenda tradam. Id V. P. Proregi significabit, ut antiqua inter nos renouetur amicitia. Quid erit praeterea noui, id referet P. Emmanuel de Veiga, mihi quod scribam aliud nihil occurrit. Huc usque Rex. Reliqua intelliget V. R. ex litteris P. Melchioris Coutini, datis ad 16 Calend. Augusti anno 1600, in quibus scribit quae sequuntur—

Postquam P. Emmanuel de Veiga ad oppidum Sancti Thomae profectus uisitationem accepit tres tantum in praesentia hic sumus P. franciscus Ricius et ego linguae addiscendae operam dāmus. Doctrinam Christianam quae propter Neophytos Salsetanos composita fuit, nos hic et alia nonnulla in linguam Badeganam uertimus. frater Alexander tabelam a se pictam regi monstraui, ubi inerat pictura haec Saluatorem recens natum, quo pacto tre Magi iacentem in praesepio adorarunt. Aliam tabellam obtulit ubi inerat B. Virginis effigies puerum in ulnis tenentis hanc Rex uenerabundus in palatio loco celebri collocauit. Aliam frater pingere incepit de descensu Christi ad inferos, quam inchoatam Regi ostendit, is serio exoptat dum perficiatur, monstratis autem nonnullis imaginibus impressis, Rex hanc et illam de tribus Magis pingi uoluit. Faxit Deus ut harum rerum cum aspectus, tum doctrina, ei ueri notitiam aperiat aliquando. Cum fratre familiariter agit, ac forte cum pingenti adesset se dicentem audiret pigmenta deesse, quibus colorem picturis induceret, illico cubiculum ingrediens ipse sua manu, ei centum aureos protulit, quibus, quae opus essent coemerit.

His erroribus Brachmanes multa adiciunt nefariae superstitionis plena, maxime ea quae de Perimale passim feruntur. non ita multo ante Tripitini, quae ciuitas ab hac urbe per tria millia passuum distat anniuersarii nuptiarum Perimalis dies festi agebantur. huc tanta perigrinorum turba confluit, ut delita donaria ducentis aureorum millibus censeretur. Crines tonsi, eorum qui hoc pacto Se omnium peccatorum ueniam consequi arbitrantur, multum afferunt emolumenti iis, qui continentis elephantes funes faciunt, quos aiunt his capillis factos esse fortissimos. illuc Rex cum Reginae et ciuitatis uniuersa se contulit uno relicto Dalattao at palatii et urbis custodiam. Omnis illa solemnitas in hoc

uno consistit. Simulacra ingenti curru sublime uehantur. Currum decem hominu millia trahunt, ipse Rege cum primis adnitente. Caepit opus primo noctis crepusculo media nocte pluuia Regem abegit, reliquis in labore perseuerantibus, donec uehiculum, ad mille et quingentos passus abductum, ad lucum unde fuerat delatum, restitueretur.

In nouilunio, quod proximo praecessit, festum quiddam fuit vaccarum. Periculum quippe de uacca ortum perhibent, Videre erat in urbe, et in regia omnia uaccis plena, quas passim obuias habebamus, ut mirum uideret, in homines rationis compotes, tam turpes errores cadere potuisse. liceat certè aliquid dare educationi, et consuetudini, unum illud ualde ineptum atq. absurdum, Regi non licere quemquam mane alloqui, nisi prius duorum Brachmanu uultu conspexerit. Quod si Deus illum et reliquos incolas sua luce illustrauerit, haud dubie eos, in bonos Christianos euasuros crediderim ac eadem constantia diuinis praeceptis obtemperaturos, quae nunc Daemones et inania simulacra uenerantur. Viseret me Regis, magistris falsis, ita per omnia more gerentis, ut stata ieiunia, quae bis recurrunt in mense, tam accurate obseruet, ut ne unum quid praetermittat.

Singulari beneuolentia, et amore nos complectitur. Ac nuper natis inter Lusitanos et Dalauaium discordiis in ciuitate S. Thomae, cui Dalauaius praeesit quaecumque ab eo postulauimus, libenter concessit. Itaque opera et industria P. Emmanuelis de Veiga et P. Rectoris S. Thomae conciliata inter omnes pax, et discordiae sublatae. Quin et Dalauaius suam domum petentes benignè, et humaniter nos accepit, comiter introduxit, et donationem annuum trecentorum aureorum a suo Antecessore factam ratam, ac firmam habuit. Aedes possidet Dalauaius, quae pulchritudine, et hortorum cultu, et ornatu fontium, et aquarum scatentiu artificum, alias huius urbis facile superant. Rex per hos dies haec loca pertransiens quaesivit a suis, ubi esset nostra domus. Nos audito Regem uenisse, pro portis uenerabundi obuiam incessimus, qui Regem comitabantur acclamabant. Paroco parangolu, id est uideat uestra celsitudo Patres Lusitanos, ille de nobis festinum et affabilem exhibuit. Deus Optimus Max. eius animum ac populi uniuersi, ad ueri Dei cultum & uitae prauitatem conuertat.

Ad eum Rex Mogolorum Achebar legatum cum quatuor equis et aliis muneribus misit, quae cum sui Regis nomine obtulisset is rursus omnia legato donauit, et alia insuper munera cum pecuniis quas item dari iussit in expensas. Aedes nondum habet quia propter is qui id muneris habet,

ut legatos suscipiat, et in regis conspectu sistat, nos rogauit ut domi nostrae non amplius biduo hominē admitteremus. Locum dedimus idoneum, in quo mense iam comoratur, homo est prudens, et experiens. Ex eo cognouimus, quid agerent Patres nostri, qui apud Achebarem sunt. In colloquio quod cum Rege habebat honorificē multa de nobis praedicauit nostrosq apud dominu suum praecipuo in honore, ac pretio haberi affirmauit. Respondit Rex se eodem prorsus animo erga nos affici, quin et Ecclesiam, aedes, et alia omnia daturu. Regi dicunt eo consilio munera Achebaris legato donasee, eumq non ante uigessimu diem ad colloquium admississe, quod a ducibus monebatur, ne Achebari fideret. Si enim tres illos Reges Mahometanos, Abdeneganu, siue Meliquum, Dialcanu, et Mussalepatanu sub iugum mitterit, dicebant facile fore ut Regnum Bisanaganu in potestate redigat. Ad haec Regem dixisse aiut regnum in manu Dei est, me (inquit) si uolet priuare imperio, quis eum prohibebit? Ego uero Mahometani pedes no osculabor. Si uenerit certum est paelio decertare. Alii alias causas afferunt.

Coeterum ille delectum habet fortissimorum ducum, per causam Canguiarani recuperandi, quae ciuitas cum omni ditione adiacente Astapanaico Tangiorano Dynastae parebat. is nuper satis concessit, corpus demortui in rogo ex sandali ligno extructo, una trecentae et septuagintae uxores uiuae concrematae sunt. Huius filius natu minor, maiorem, quem pater antea custodiae tradiderat, interfecit. Ac iam constat Regem nihil de hac expeditione cogitare. Neq uero de alia, ad quam, eum proceres magnopere hortabantur Gingiam urbem ut capiat. Christapanaicus enim, is qui V. R. illic iter habentē tam humaniter accepit, ueneno infectus insanit, quamquā sunt patuisse iam dolos, atq Dynastam ut fucum faceret quatuor regni sui magnatibus, quos postea occidit, se mente captum finxisse. Hanc urbem suaserunt Regi, ut armis impeteret, ille quamquā iure fortasse posse, tamen ut est leni et miti ingenio, respondit, efferatae crudelitatis esse stipendiarium suum insania laborantem armis insectare. Quare probabiliore coniectura ducor, ut credam, hunc ducum et proceru conuentum eo tendere, ut de Achebare repellendo, deq urbibus praesidio occupandis consulint. Equidem non incredibile existimauerim haec omnia Dei nutu ad optabiliorem finem contigisse, ut nimirum hac occasione Sanctae fidei notitia ad plures perueniat, atq non solum in hac urbe, uerum etiam ubiq gentium catholicae ueritatis praeconibus locus pateat, quoniam uti antea ad V. R. scripsi Tornogoda Olalae Praefectus de integro nos inuitat. Et Trimarragius Regis Bisanagorani fratris filius, natu maximus,

Answer—I object to being tried by any of the Native officers of my own regiment.

I object to Durga Ram Subadar Meerwan Sing Subadar Ajoodhia Tewarry Subadar all of the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

Question—Will you state your reasons for your objections to these Members ?

Answer—I don't think they will do me justice.

Subadar Durga Ram 70th Regiment of Native Infantry to Court—I have no enmity against the jemadar, I will do my duty to the Government.

Subadar Meerwan Sing—I have no spite against the jemadar Perhaps he may have against me

Subadar Ajoodhia Tewarry to the Court—I have no spite against the jemadar

The Court is closed—the members objected to withdrawing

The Court is opened.

President to Salickram Sing Jemadar—The Court have decided that your objection should not be allowed, you have assigned no reason for it.

Jemadar Salickram Sing to the Court—There is an ill feeling against me in the regiment. My heart does not fancy them. It rests with the Court.

BY THE COURT

If you can state any reason why you conceive there is ill feeling against you or show that either of these sirdars has expressed an unfavorable opinion of you the Court will hear the objection.

Jemadar Salickram Sing to Court—I don't think they have enmity against me but I don't fancy their sitting I withdraw the objection.

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

Question—Do you object to any one else?

Answer—No.

The Interpreter President Members and Judge-Advocate make the prescribed solemn affirmation.

The following charges are read out —

CHARGES

Jemadar Salickiam Sing, of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, placed in arrest by order of Major-General J B Hearsey, CB, Commanding the Presidency Division, on the following charges —

FIRST CHARGE

For having begun a mutiny, and incited others to join in a mutiny, in the regiment to which he belongs, in the following instances —

1st—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the 5th March 1857, in presence of Issuee Sing, Havildar of the Light Company, addressed Jemadar Sewbuccus Sing, of the Light Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry, in words to the following effect —“My only hope is in you, what do you say? The sepoys may bite the new cartridges if they like, but I will not bite them,” thereby endeavouring to persuade the said jemadar and havildar to combine with him in resistance to lawful authority

2nd—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the same day endeavoured to persuade the men of his company to disobey the order they had received to thatch their huts without delay, informing them that they need be in no hurry in thatching their huts, as there would shortly be a disturbance, thereby inciting the men to resist authority

3rd—In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the 8th March 1857, had a meeting of non-commissioned officers and sepoys of his regiment at his hut in the lines of the 1st Company, 70th Regiment of Native Infantry in breach of the standing orders of the army and of the regiment

SECOND CHARGE

For conduct unbecoming an officer, in having made no report to his commanding officer of any intended disturbance, although he informed the men that a disturbance was intended, as set forth in the second instance of the first charge

By order of the Major-General Commanding the Presidency Division

BARRACKPORE, }
The 16th March 1857. }

(Sd.) A H ROSS, Major,
Asst Adjt-Genl, Prescy Division.

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

Question—Jemadar Salickram Sing of the 1st Company 70th Regiment of Native Infantry—How say you are you guilty or not guilty of these charges?

Answer—Not guilty

JUDGE ADVOCATE

Colonel Kennedy proposes to produce his evidence separately on each instance of the charge and to close the evidence on each instance before proceeding to the next, which will be the most convenient way of recording the evidence.

1st Witness

Brevet-Colonel J D Kennedy the Prosecutor is sworn

EXAMINED BY THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE

Question—You command the 70th Regiment of Native Infantry?

Answer—I do

Question—Was the prisoner with the regiment in the present month at Barrackpore?

Answer—Since the 4th of the month when he returned from garrison duty I believe he returned on the night of the 3rd instant.

Question—Has there not been a great deal of excitement amongst the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore arising from, or connected with a new kind of cartridge issued by Government?

Answer—Yes more or less in all the regiments.

Question—Will you state to the Court, what measures you know to have been taken by the authorities at Barrackpore in consequence of the excitement and what measures you yourself took?

Answer—The Brigadier and General ordered a parade of the whole force. The General addressed the men and explained to them how groundless their suspicions were regarding the preparation of these cartridges, that it was far from the intention of Government to interfere in any way with their religion and caste; and not to suppose that there was anything prejudicial to their caste in the paper of which the cartridges were made. The address appeared to have the desired effect upon the men. The men went to their lines appearing to be perfectly satisfied with this explanation given

Answer—(concl'd)

by the General. I myself went on two different occasions into my own lines, taking with me some cartridges and paper of which they were made, which I had received from the Brigadier Commanding. I showed them to the men in the lines, whom I had called out and collected near the bells-of-arms. The cartridges and the paper I distributed myself amongst the men, told them to examine them carefully, and to hand them round that all might see them. This I saw done in my presence, as I was standing surrounded by them. I then explained to them that those were the kind of cartridges which would be issued for the new rifle and that would be the paper of which they would be made, and to tell me what they thought, if there was anything prejudicial to their caste or religion in either the one or the other. They carefully examined the papers, and said that there was nothing, that they could see nothing that could injure their caste. I assured them there was no grease whatever in the paper. Had there been, it would have been very perceptible, indeed, the paper could not be made with grease in it, to the best of my belief. That Government would not, on any account now, as they had ever done before, interfere with their religion or caste, and I appealed to one or two old Native officers, who were standing near, to know if what I said was not the case. They all appeared quite satisfied with my explanation, and said they felt sure that my statement was perfectly true. I then collected from them the paper and cartridges, and returned with them to my quarters, and have kept them ever since.

Question—When did you make this explanation to the men of your regiment?

Answer—On the 3rd February, the day on which I received them from the Brigadier.

Question—From that time to the 5th of this month, did you have any dissatisfaction amongst your men on the subject of the cartridges?

Answer—No, I am not aware that my men were at any time dissatisfied.

Question—Will you show the Court the cartridges which you received from the Brigadier and made over to your men to examine?

Answer—These are the cartridges and this is the paper. They are placed before the Court.

Question—Is there anything in the composition of this paper which can possibly be objectionable to the religion of any man, whether a Mussulman or Hindu?

Answer—Certainly not to the best of my belief.

Question—Have the new cartridges which you have produced been generally issued out to the men?

Answer—No, they have not been issued at all.

Question—When was the second occasion of your speaking to the men on the subject of these cartridges?

Answer—It was about the end of February when I proceeded into the lines as I had done before showing the men the paper and the cartridges, and explained to them almost in the same words as on the previous occasion. Thinking I had not shown them the thick paper of which the cartridges are made I went again and procured some of the thick paper from the depot at Dum Dum. On showing them this paper they said I had shown it to them already on a previous occasion. They however re-examined it and the cartridges on that evening and to my mind appeared just as satisfied as they were on the former occasion.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

Question—When you spoke to the sirdars at your bungalow on the subject of the cartridges did I object to use them?

Answer—I cannot exactly say whether he was one of the Native officers present when they were at my quarters, but none of them made any objection, so of course if he were there he would be included.

BY THE JUDGE ADVOCATE

Question—When was this occurrence at your bungalow?

Answer—I have had them to my house two or three times, it may have been in January because I remember having the Native officers up there about a bad feeling which

Answer—(concl'd)

appeared to exist amongst the troops at the station generally before I received the cartridges and paper from the Brigadier, which was on the 3rd February

The witness resumes his seat as Prosecutor.

2nd Witness

Major J Bontein, 37th Regiment of Native Infantry, is called into Court, and sworn

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—You command, I believe, the School of Musketry at Dum-Dum?

Answer—Yes

Question—Will you be so good as to give the Court such information as you can as to the preparation of the cartridges used in the School of Musketry?

Answer—There are two kinds of paper used, specimens of which I have with me. The finer kind is the same which was formerly employed in making cartridges, to the best of my belief. The other is of a thicker quality, and forms the inner case or cylinder. The thick paper is known as what is generally called "cartridge paper". It is employed in making the present cartridges in consequence of its greater strength. I have tested it in a variety of ways by burning it and writing on it, and I can detect nothing beyond the ordinary cartridge paper.

Question—Is grease of any kind used with it?

Answer—The cartridge is made up, and the ball end of it should be dipped into grease. I mention this as the process of making the regular cartridge, but in the exercise of cartridge-making at the Dum-Dum School, we have not as yet employed grease of any kind, the object being simply to teach the men the process.

Question—Have greased cartridges ever been issued by Government to the depot at Dum-Dum?

Answer—Never

Question—Will you produce the specimens you have brought of cartridges? Who are these cartridges made by?

Answer—Made by Mahomedans and Hindus, Native officers and men at Dum-Dum,

Question—Why has this process of making cartridges been taught to the Native officers and sepoy at the Dum Dum Depot?

Answer—Because it is so ordered in the book of instructions the object being simply that the men should understand the process as a part of their profession, and not with the smallest expectation that they would be called upon to practise it. The system of instruction includes a certain course of drills of which cartridge-making is one.

Question—Is not this cartridge for a new kind of musket which is not in general use?

Answer—Yes.

Question—What are your instructions regarding the use of grease for these new cartridges by the men at the Musketry School?

Answer—In consequence of some objection raised at the School of Musketry to the grease employed in the magazine I reported the circumstance officially to Major General Hearsey and in due course I received orders to parade my men and explain to them that the Commander in Chief readily attended to their objection and that instead of the grease then employed in the magazine for the purpose in question they would be allowed to procure the materials in the bazar, provided, of course that it in no way lessened the efficiency of the cartridge. The depot was accordingly paraded and after I had myself explained to the men the decision of Government they unanimously expressed themselves perfectly satisfied and ready to obey any orders that I might wish to give them.

Jemadar Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine
The witness withdraws.

3rd Witness

1st Lieutenant M E Currie Artillery is called into Court and duly sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—You are I believe Commissary of Ordnance, and in charge of the arsenal of Fort William?

Answer—I am.

Question—Will you give the Court such information as you possess regarding the preparation and manufacture of the new cartridge ?

Answer—The cartridge is prepared with a particular sort of paper sent out from England. The directions are to prepare it with care, to keep the grease to fit the bore exactly, for which purpose paper of a uniform thickness is required. After the cartridge is finished, as you see it here (the witness takes up a cartridge already in Court), about two-thirds of the bullet is dipped in grease. The cartridge is then ready for use.

Question—Have greased cartridges ever been issued to the troops from your magazine ?

Answer—No cartridges have ever been issued from the arsenal here, but some have been sent from the arsenal to Delhi, and to the depots of instruction up-country. None have been issued from the arsenal to any regiment, but they have been sent to the Delhi magazine for the 60th Rifles, a European regiment.

Question—Do you issue any cartridges for the use of the Dum-Dum School of Musketry ?

Answer—The depot under my orders at Dum-Dum makes up the cartridges required for that place.

Question—Were the cartridges made there and issued from your magazine prepared with grease ?

Answer—I really cannot answer that without referring to the records in the office.

Question—Did you receive any orders from Government on the subject of grease for these cartridges ?

Answer—I got an order to supply cartridges for the use of the Dum-Dum depot free from any grease.

Question—When did you get that order ?

Answer—On the 27th of January last.

Question—Then since that date no greased cartridges have been made ?

Answer—No greased cartridges have been made at Dum-Dum since that date.

Question—In the paper used for the new cartridges is there any grease, to the best of your knowledge ?

Answer—To the best of my knowledge there is none.

The witness withdraws.

4th Witness

Lieutenant H Michell Assistant Commissary of Ordnance is called into Court and sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—Are you employed in the arsenal of Fort William?

Answer—I am

Question—Will you look at the cartridge paper of which these cartridges are made and say if there is any or the slightest appearance of grease in this paper (the cartridges in Court shown)?

Answer—I should know from their outward appearance, I know there is nothing of the kind in them.

Question—Have you seen the manufacture of paper and have you ever seen or known grease to be a material employed in the composition of paper?

Answer—I have witnessed the whole process of making cartridge-paper at the Serampore Mills, I saw no grease used of any kind. I believe that grease would be dangerous, I could give many reasons for it, owing to the fear of spontaneous combustion I should say that grease would be entirely discarded in the manufacture of paper, the use of it would also cause the paper to rot.

Jemadar Salickram Sing the prisoner declines to cross-examine

The witness withdraws.

It being ten minutes to 4 o'clock the Court adjourns until Monday, the 23rd March at 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

Fort William, 23rd March 1857

The Court reassembled this day at 12 o'clock A. M. the President Members Judge-Advocate Interpreter Prosecutor and prisoner being all present.

3rd Witness

Lieutenant Currie Commissary of Ordnance recalled and examined on his former oath.

BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—You stated in your evidence on Saturday that before the 27th January cartridges were issued to the D. L.

Question—(concl'd).

magazine from the arsenal, already greased, what are the orders you have received on the composition of grease for the use of cartridges?

Answer—The grease was to be made of six parts of tallow and one part of bees-wax.

Question—Of what ought that tallow to consist?

Answer—No inquiry is made as to the fat of what animal is used.

Question—You do not yourself know what fat is used?

Answer—No, I don't know.

Question—Is not the intention of Government that the tallow to be used in the preparation of grease should be mutton or goat's fat?

Answer—It is not the intention of Government that all grease used in any preparation in the magazine is to be made of goat's and sheep's fat only.

The witness withdraws.

5th Witness

Colonel A. Abbott, C B, is called into Court and sworn.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—You are, I believe, Inspector-General of Ordnance?

Answer—Yes

Question—Will you be so good as to state to the Court what the tallow used with the cartridge for the new musket was to be composed of?

Answer—The tallow is that which the contractor supplied, but I can't say positively what it consists of.

Question—Did you receive any information that an objectionable material was used in the grease supplied from the arsenal for the new cartridges in the first instance?

Answer—I heard on the morning of the 27th of January, I believe, I am not positive, that the sepoys objected to use the new cartridges because they were greased. I inquired at the arsenal what composition had been used, and was told that the composition was that which the Regulations prescribed, and that the tallow might or might not have contained the fat of cows or other animals.

Question—What did you do on receiving this report?

Answer—I went to my office immediately, and then I saw Major Bontem who stated what had occurred at Dum Dum. I told him to take any cartridges he liked from the depot, and to do anything he pleased to satisfy the men and that the warrant officer there would comply with all his requisitions. I afterwards received the original correspondence showing that the case had been submitted to Government who had sanctioned the issue of cartridges free from any kind of grease.

Question—Did you accordingly give any instructions for the discontinuance of the issue of greased cartridges?

Answer—Decidedly, immediately not only here but to all the magazines in the Upper Provinces.

Question—And what are the orders now for the use of grease for the new musket cartridges?

Answer—The orders are at present that they are to be made without any grease whatever.

Question—When did you give the order for the discontinuance of grease in the new cartridges?

Answer—I gave orders to stop the making of cartridges with grease on them immediately after I heard of the objection.

Question—Are you not aware that directly Government heard of the objection raised by the men that they immediately sanctioned the issue of cartridges free from grease of any kind?

Answer—Yes I am aware.

The prisoner Salickram Sing declines to cross-examine.

The witness withdraws.

6th Witness

Saibuccus Sing (Hindu) Jemadar Light Company 70th Regiment of Native Infantry is called into Court, and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR

Question—On the evening of the 5th instant, did Salickram Sing, Jemadar 1st Company the prisoner in Court, go to you at your hut in the lines and converse with you on any particular subject, and what did he say?

Answer—About 10 o'clock on the day of the 5th March I and Issuree Sing Havildar Light Company were talking together in my hut regarding furlough. After

Answer—(concl'd)

the usual salutations, I asked him to sit down, he then said—"Now tell me, I want only your opinion now, and I place great hope (tawakku*) in you" He said—"Tell us what is the state of your mind about it" I said—"About what?" He said—"About biting the cartridges" I replied—"I will bite cartridges if I get the order, and will obey whatever I get, I don't care if any one should say that I have lost my caste by biting them. I will still obey the Government, from whom I get my livelihood." He said—"I will not bite them; I will cut them with my sword" Subadar Ram Kissen was passing my door at the time, so Salickram got up and joined him. Issuree Sing and I were left alone. I reported the circumstance shortly afterwards to Homail Sing, Subadar, Light Company, in the presence of the Subadar-Major, Durrat Sing.

Question—What did you understand by the expression, "I place great hope in you?"

Answer—I understood that he wished me to side in his opinion regarding the cartridges, by doing which I should have been a guilty man.

Question—Did he say that he had spoken to any others on the subject, and whether they had agreed with him or not?

Answer—He said—"All the rest have taken cartridges in their hands, you only remain"

Question—Had you been on garrison duty with the prisoner Salickram Sing, and when did you both return?

Answer—He was on duty in the fort, I was on duty on the Governor-General's guard at Government House. We returned to Barrackpore on the 3rd of this month. This man came to me on the 5th of the month.

Question—During the time you were down here, did you see much of Jemadar Salickram Sing?

Answer—We met twice. He came to my guard once; and I came into the fort on business once, and met him and all the rest of the Native officers.

Question—Did Jemadar Salickram Sing say anything to you on these two occasions about the cartridge question?

Answer—He said nothing to me, or to any one else before me.

Question—What cartridges did you understand the prisoner to say he would not bite?

Answer—I understood him to mean those that had gone to Dum Dum.

Question—Why did you understand this?

Answer—Because there had been a great deal of talk about these cartridges in the station and the colonel had told us there was nothing wrong in them, that no one wished to take our caste from us and that if there was any thing said about it no matter to what regiment the men belonged we were to report it to him.

Question—Were you on intimate terms with the prisoner at the time he came to you?

Answer—We have known each other a long time and we were on the usual terms of friendship.

Question—How long did he remain with you on the occasion in your hut?

Answer—About half an hour

Question—What was the conversation about all this time?

Answer—We smoked and talked on general subjects with the exception that I have above related.

Question—State to the best of your recollection what were the exact words spoken by the jemadar regarding the cartridges?

Answer—He said—"What do you say on the subject of the cartridges? Will you bite them or not? I replied—"I will." He replied—"I will not cut them with my teeth I will cut them with my sword."

Question—Did he use no other words whatever on the subject?

Answer—No I told him not to talk about the cartridges as it is forbidden, saying what will people say if they hear that we have had a conversation on the subject in my hut.

Question—Was Havildar Issuree Sing Light Company in your hut during the whole time Jemadar Salickram Sing was there?

Answer—He was there the whole time.

Question—Did the Jemadar assign any reason for his not biting the cartridges?

Answer—He said there is some grease in them and therefore I cannot bite them

Question—You have been twice asked if Jemadar Salickram Sing said anything more about the cartridges than what you previously said, now you say that he said this, what explanation do you give ?

Answer—You did not ask the reason for his not biting them, or I should have stated it.

Question—Do you now recollect whether he did or did not use any other words than those you have given in evidence about these cartridges, and on what subject ?

Answer—I don't recollect any more

Question—When you told Jemadar Salickram Sing not to talk about that subject, what did he say ? Did he say anything ?

Answer—He took his leave and went away.

Question—At what part of the visit to you did this conversation take place about the cartridges ?

Answer—Shortly after he came in

Question—You have said the visit lasted half-an-hour, and he went away when you told him not to speak about the cartridges Are you quite sure that in all this time the jemadar said nothing more about them ?

Answer—We had a smoke and chat, and it does not take long for half-an-hour to pass

Question—Do you know whether, before the time of that conversation, there had been a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the Native troops stationed at Barrackpore regarding the new cartridges ?

Answer—There was a little dissatisfaction The manner of the men was different from usual. It was the talk of the place. The people left the Sudder Bazar through some fear.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY JEMADAR SALICKRAM SING

Question—Did you not at first say that the conversation was in the evening and afterwards at 10 o'clock in the day ?

Answer—I did not mention the word evening, it was in the question put to me, and when I was asked if it was in the evening, I said—"No, it was in the forenoon"

Question—Did you report the circumstance on the same day, and when ?

Answer—I reported on that day, the 5th, at about 4 o'clock, I did not report before, because I wanted another officer to be present.

Question—Did you send for the subadar-major or did he come himself to the subadar's hut ?

Answer—No the subadar came of his own accord, and when I saw the two officers together I went and reported.

Question—Why did you not report such a serious circumstance to the commanding officer direct, instead of reporting to Native officers ?

Answer—The subadar my senior officer was present in the lines and it is my duty to report to him. Had he not been there or had he not reported what I told him I would have done so myself.

Question—Why did you not report a circumstance that occurred at 10 o'clock in the day time until 4 o'clock in the afternoon ?

Answer—I waited until I could see two officers together, there would have been no witness if I had gone and reported the circumstance to him while he was alone.

BY THE COURT

Question—Had any cartridges been distributed to any men of the regiment, that this jemadar should speak about them ?

Answer—No none had been distributed to the regiment, but the colonel had taken some down, as well as the paper of which they were made and showed it to the men. The Native officers took them in their hands and showed them to the men. I heard of this.

Question—Had any ever been distributed for use ?

Answer—No

Question—On the 5th or about that day had there been any new cartridges distributed to the men ?

Answer—No

The witness withdraws.

7th Witness

Jesuree Sing (Hindu) Havildar Light Company 70th Regiment of Native Infantry is called into Court and makes the prescribed solemn affirmation.

BY THE PROSECUTOR.

Question—Were you at the hut of Jemadar Sowboccus Sing of the Light Company at Barrackpore on the 5th instant ? If so state what occurred there ?

fora olhando m^o tempo por ellas queira aquelle mesmo Snor e Senora que tudo pode, abri-lhe os olhos do coração p^a que lho reuerencie e adore como o merecê. a o presente disem q^o o Rei fas faser Duas manilhas douro com pedrerias p^a me dar q^o he aos seus modos faser grande honrras dar manilhas, joyas Culares o outras cousas semelhantes. estou agora fasendolhe outra lamina diante delle que me pidio q^o lhe fisesse porque me queria uer pintar cousas pequenas, por isto peço a V R q^o me mande algum pinceis daquelles pequeninos q^o sejam m^o bos. Diserão-me q^o uinha hu irmão pintor framêgo m^o bom com oqual folguei porque hira acabando a Igreja Noua de Caza professa q^o eu tinha comecada que si se acabar a de ser hua das bellas Igrejas q^o se poça uer mas duuido que se acabara tam depressa por que a obra he tão grande que não podera acabar hu so em quinze anos. não mos faltão enfad^o m^o. e persesequicoes. Deos seja aquelle que ponha a mão na sua obra porque os homens do mudo parece que la querê mais apagar q^o manter não me estenderei mais Nisto porque o sabera mais meudam^o. Encomêdo m^o a VR o meu Irmão, e o ajude fazer-lhe dar alguma obra boa p^o sei q^o o sabera fazer perfectam^o como q^o quer outros. não se ofrece mais Destas partes. Rogo m^o a VR. que me encomende a o p^o Joseph de fano, e a todos os p^o e Irmãos e emparticular a o Irmão Juliano pasagnano a la su deuota oraciom. nos sanctos sacrif^o, e deuotas oracoes de De V R m^o me encomêdo. de Velur aos onse de Nouêbro de 1607.

Minimo Seruo em xpo de V R

+

I BARTOLOMEO FONTE BONA

XX

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO
TO Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVIA

(Cochin, November 20th, 1607).

Nas Residencias de Bisnagá se uay continuando co a couersão, q^o o bo P. Fr^o. Ricio tinha comêçado, e o p. Antonio Rubino em Chandrigry tẽ ja feito algus xpãos de nouo, como elle escreuera a V P. E pera o p. Belchor Coutinho fallar, e tratar as cousas de nossa s^a. fê co el Rey, foy grande meo o Ir. Pintor Fontebona, q^o he a el Rey e a todos muy aceito, e uiue là co m^o. edificação e exemplo, e merece p sua m^o. bondade tudo. A my pareciame poderia ajudar na

q'lles Reynos muito mais se fosse jutam" Sacerdote, elle sabe latim q̃ basta verdade he q̃ nuca elle me fallou nisto nã directo nã indirecte, nã nhua outra pessoa p' elle, nã exerguey nelle q̃ disto tiuesse imaginação nhua mas eu som cuidey nisto ha ja alguns anos, p' me parecer fara co isto m' mais serviço a Nosso Sor, e na Prouia cuidando não auerã disto nhum escandalo nos outros los coadjutores p' estar elle na q'lles terras tã separado dos outros, e co tã differente ministerio, e não saberẽ por uentura em q̃ estado seja recebido na Com. Se a V P parece bõ mandar esta licença, pera my tenho serã pera gloria de Nosso Sor, e mayor bẽ d'q'llas almas

Al P Roberto Nobili mandamos p' a Residencia de Madure agora faz ano e meo, pera se perfeccoar na lingua d'q'llas partes e prouarmos se se podia dar algu principio a aliqua conuersão na q'lles Reynos

Cochim 20 de Nouebro de 607

D V P

Inutil filho e S^{ra} em Chro

+
ALBERTO LAERCIO

XXI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO VICO TO
Fr PIETRO ANT SPINELLI

(Cochim December 9th, 1607)

Il Re di Bisnagà ogni giorno piu s' affectio na alle cose di Dio et da licenza a nri che si deuidono i altre città del suo Regno di Cocci li 9 di xmbro. 1607

D V R. Serui idigni i Cho.

ANT VICO.

XXII

LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE PROVINCE OF MALABAR
1604-1606.

(1607)

Ex his (Nayaks of Madura Tanjore and Jsnr) Gingensis qui proxime regiam ditionem attingit regnum in alios minores Naiches sub-diviserat. Horum unus cui Lingama naiche nomen est, paucarum urbium dominus, adeo divitius pollebat ac viribus, ut Gingensis ac Bisnagensis impetum

sustinere se posse ratus, físus Volurensis arcis munitionibus, diu neutri parere voluerit.

Itaque Rex Bisnagrensis Adelaraio suo (is est dux exercitus maximus) dederat in mandatis ut rediens in hyberna Ciandegrinum, Volurum inopinatam aggrederetur. Adelarayus non procul ab ea urbe cum exercitu iter habens, prima nocte aberrasse se ab itinere simulans, cum tatam noctem maxima celeritate praecurisset, non potuit tamen ante lucem Velurum ita cum omni exercitu opprimere, ut detectis portis exclusus et globorum ferreorum imbre e tormentis exploso, moenibus amotus non sit. Dous menses, ruente imbris coelo, sine ulla spe urbis potiundae, Velurum obsedit. Cum ecce tibi quadam die duobus adelarai militum praefectis qui Lingamanaiche amicitia, nescio etiam an sanguine conjuncti erant, Velurum ad colloquium ingressis, in reditu Linguamanaiche urbanitatis ergo, amicos extra portas deducens, ab adelarai militibus capitur, atque in castra vinctus adducitur, ibique amicis custodiendus traditur. Qui ubi evadendi spem sibi praereptam vidit, astu atque cuniculis rem aggreditur. Adelaraium oneratum promissis ut liberet obsidione Velurum hortatur, viginti leches post discessum se daturum pollicitur, quindecim auri, et quinque gemmarum et margaritarum, (continet autem Lechis pagodes centum millia, qui sunt nummi aurei nostrates centum quinquaginta millia) Adelaraius Lingamanaichis dolos odoratus, litteras ad regem mitti quibus eum Velurum evocabat, nunc esse tempus, aiens, at regium erarium adimplendi, et suae ditionis fines addita urbe munitissima porrigendi. His litteris Rex, qui antea ad exterrendo Naiches Ciandagrino fuerat, regressus cum infinita prope militum, aliorumque hominum multitudine, magnoque elephantorum numero, Velurum versus castra movit, quinto idus Januarias anni 1604 January 9th. Eo ubi pervenit, militum ducumque acclamationibus ac militari plausu exceptus, Lingamanaichem qui se ad pedes regis abjecerat, bene sperare jussit, tum Lingamanaichis filius qui tormentorum explosionibus Regem ab ingressu arcis arcebant, ut arma ponerent, imperavit. Tunc Rex cum Regina urbem ingressi in regia Laingamanaichis e marmore, auro, gemmisque distincta, opere Corinthio, commorati sunt. Totus que in eo rex positus erat ut viginti Leches, quos promiserat Lingamanaichis exprimeret, Sub idem tempus, ineunte scilicet Februario, P Franciscus Ricus Regem ut inviseret ageretque cum eo quaedam negotia, ad Regem Velurum se contulit, a quo perhonorifice exceptus, atque per quatuor menses retentus est, diutiusque

Gingaris
- a alios
- L ngama
- 20 civitas
- impetum

remansisset nisi quodam Regis simulato Chandagrimum regressu deceptus praecurrisset

Non multo post tempore P Belchior Coutinho, recuperandae valetudinis gratia quam amiserat, S Thomae venit ibique mansit usque ad mensem Augustum quo tempore P Provincialis eo Regem Bisnagrensem Patresque tam S Thomae quam Ciandrigrum visurus appulerat S Thomae P Provincialis paululum commoratus, quinto idus septembris exornatus muneribus quae Regi daturus attulerat, videlicet Elephantum quem dono a Rege Jaffnapatano acceperat, cane venatitio aliisque munusculis, Patribus Rectore Belchior Coutinho, et Emmanuele Fonsecae comitantibus Velurum iter aggreditur, atque ex itinere Puley veterem Patrum Collegii S Thomae amicum ut videret, Canjiverano transire decreverat. Hic est qui Superioribus annis P Francisco Martino nostri Collegii Rectore, cum a Rege Tanguario oppido S Thomae fuisset praefectus, captus Nostrorum praesertim Rectoris consuetudine ejusque sanctitatem admiratus, ex Regis vectigalibus quae civis S Thomae Tanguario solvebant quotannis trecentos nummos aureos quibus nunc victitent Patres, in annos singulos Patribus regio nomine donaverat.

Hic P Provincialis iter subodoratus certis locis quae Pater erat transiturus ut eum omni apparatu exciperent, sibi conjunctissimos quosque disposuerat. Prima itaque die cum Patres pervenissent Conducturum a Puley sororis filius per honorifice excipiuntur Altero die pervenerunt Canjiveranum, quae arx est munitissima Tanjaorii magnificentissimi sane celebritate longe lateque maxime inclita quam arcem et alios amplius centum pagos Puley supra 40 annos administrat. Qui P Provinciali aliquot leucas e sua familia virum nobilissimum obviam miserat, officii causa, et ut ad se spe eorum adventum exhilaratus deduceret tum ipse sub nocte duobus militum milibus circumseptum totidem ad arcis custodiam relictis egressus est extra portas in planitiem satis amplam ibique duarum horarum spatium substitit missis identidem exploratoribus qui scirent ac de Patrum itinere eum certiores facerent, ac funalibus (nox enim iter habentes oppressem) Ubi pervenere, Pule senio facieque venerabilis, majorique dignus imperio e suorum agmine procedens taedariis funaliumque luminibus noctem superantibus in P Provum alis aliorumque complexus humanissimus ruit, us benevencio hae argumentis quae quivis Europaeus a sui amantissimo christiana Reipublicae principe posset optare

Post mutua salutationis officia, Patres domum suam amplam atque magnificam deduxit, in ejusque parte accommodatiori, quam aulaeis tapetibusque constriverat atque ornaverat, collocavit. Ibi tres dies Patres subsistere coegit, quibus ea suae erga Patres Societatis propensae voluntatis argumenta dedit, ut plura aut majora ab alio Societatis studiosissimo expectare non possis.

Conjiverano Patribus Vellurum contendentibus, Rex qui de adventu fuerat certior factus, cujusdam pagi viri nobilissimi domum qui in arce Vellurensi, juxta domos regias habitabat jussit ornari, in quam deducti Patres, illico a Regia familia visitantur, eorum salutem ab eis nomine regio sciscitatura. Tum Ramana sororis regiae filius, nostrorum studiosissimus, per aulicos ac familiares suos Patres invisit, eisque cibaria opipare de sua mensa, uti Patribus Nicolao Levanti atque Francisco Ricio antea fecerat, missurum se dicit. Cui cum respondisset P. Provincialis Patribus comitibusque suis domi velle se cibos parare, tum ille vervecis atque gallinas in magna copia, necnon batyrum et orizam aliaque cibaria, nondum parata, et paulo post aprum quem ejus frater ex venatione attulerat, misit ad nostros, tum ipse venit, easque benevolentiae significationes exhibuit ut eorum familiaritate diutissime usus videretur.

Altero die Rex suos P. Provinciales misit viderent, ab eoque sciscitarentur quando ad eum ingredi vellet. Quibus respondit Pater se elephantem qui Conjiverani, ut paulum quiesceret substiterat, expectare, qui ubi pervenit Pater significavit Regi, qui Optimatem qui illi est a secretis, Patrum amicissimum, cum magno comitatu misit, accitum quocum Patres ex hedris vecti venerunt ad valvas regiae. Descendit Rex in atrium ad excipiendum P. Provinciales, atque una ut videret elephantem canemque venaticum et alia quae attulerat. Tum secum deduxit in aulam sedemque in sella regia Patrem, sui Regni principibus stantibus in peristromati, apud se sedere jussit, a quo P. Provincialis petit ut alios etiam Patres sedere juberet, quod et fecit. Accepit hic P. Provinciales humanissime, maximis verae benevolentiae argumentis. Cumque Pater abeundi facultatem, eo quod tempus Coccinum redeundi ad accipiendas litteras ex Lusitania advenerat, peteret, nunquam sivit, addens nec Rgem Bisnagrensem nec Societatis Provinciales Praepositum decere, eum in primo statim congressu demittere. Ad haec habere se dicebat quiddam magni momenti tractandum, quod in praesentia tractari non poterat. Itaque illi perendiae condicit. Condita die adfuit Pater,

sed tanta in Regem moles negotiorum irruit audiendi, nam quae fuere legati Mogorenses, Idalcani, Gingones, Tanjaorenses, ac Madurenses, aliaque tot negotia gravissima super venerunt, ut non nisi sub noctem intempestam potuerit Patres audire, quos ubi hilare excepit, remotis arbitris, P. Provinciali ad aurem per interpretem significavit se ad novum Proregem Indiae, qui eo tempore sperabatur, mittere vele legatos, renovandae firmandaeque cum Lusitanis amicitiae causa, sed eos sine P. Rectore ab se nolle dimittere itaque se etiam atque etiam rogare ut P. Rectori eundem cum suis legatis facultatem in scriptis relinqueret. Cui P. Provincialis respondit cum Proregis adventus certi nuntii venissent tum se ea de reconciliatione capturum Subdidit Rex post istos nuntios, quis hic erit qui Rectori det facultatem eundi? Nunc necessarium capiendi consilium tempus esse postea neutri integram fore. Tunc Pater Regis postulata concessit quibus ille laetus Patri Rectori voce ut omnes audirent Goam, inquit cum legatis eundi facultatem habes, atque ita P. Provinciale officii muneribusque cumulatam dimisit.

Hinc profecti Patres, relicto apud Regem Veluri P. Belchior Coutinho, venerunt Clandeigrinum, ubi P. Franciscum Ricium senio meritisque venerabilem, Badagarum linguae morum ac religionum peritissimum, in excolendis Neophytis ethnicorum sectis evertendis, X^a religionem propaganda, occupatum invenerunt.

Illud etiam ad rem Xnam plurimum facit, nobilium puerorum schola Badagarum litteris sub ethnico praefectore, nostris sumptibus nostrorumque moderamine discentium. Decet praesertim varias canciunculas Jesu et Mariae laudes continentes, quibus teneri aetati sensim sine sensu X^a pietas instillatur.

Nunc Vellurum cogor reverti atque inde Regem P. Coutinho Chandegrinum deducere. Fuit Pater Veluri, Patrum Xnorumque causas agens, regemque omnibus officiis delinitum habens a mense septembris usque ad Maium quo tempore Rex cum a Lingamanaichi magnum gemmarum ac margaritarum numerum expressisset, cum arce Vellurensi spoliatum Chandegrinum duxit in triumpho, de quo ipsius P. Coutinho ad Patrem Provinciale libet attingere.

* Perrexerunt tandem (quod Dei benignitas fuit) in columnas Chandegrinum quamvis ut in maximis caloribus fessus via, sed itineris molestiam comitum infinita

multitudo levabat, quorum aliqui, ut omittam pedites innumerabiles, essedae, alii equis et bobus, alii elephantibus bini vel terni vehebantur. Me quamvis uno die Rex praecessisset, tum eum antequam urbem ingrederetur, consecutus sum, nec enim ingredi voluerat, antequam Tripiti in celeberrimo fano, uti ante decessum voverat voti religione se solveret. Sexto itaque Calendas Junias * quatuor post ortum solis horis, hac pompa in urbem invectus est. Viam quā, per urbem mediam, erat transiturus, aulaeis ac festa fronde visendam, arcus etiam in magno servii variis coloris vestiti terni certo inter spatio dispositi plurimum ornabant Regem, praeter instrumenta bellica, tam ex aere cavo, quam tympana et classica et praeter alia signa quamplurima, regium vexillum in quo ex auro leo et piscis depicti significant eum terra marique dominari Praeibant equites multi, ipseque Obraias, Regis socerus, alique regni proceres auro gemmisque pellucidi. Ipse Rex una cum Connanaichi elephante pulcherrimo, croco toto corpore et capite, feoribusque ornato quem oloserico et culcita serica auro intertesta in qua ipse sedebat, gemmis ac margaritis contextus vehebatur. Non usus est corona regia quam habet maximī ponderis et pretii. Quidam ideo eum non uti ea corona dictitant, quod alii Reges statim ac capiti eam imposuerunt, morte immatura sublatis sunt, alii ideo eam neque ad similes triumphos adhiberi autumant, quod nonnisi recuperatis regnis quae à superioribus regibus Mauri detraxerunt eam in triumpho Regem Bisnagrensem ferre mereatur. Cum ita in triumpho veheretur, hilares oculos benevolentiae indices, circumquaque in subjectam conjiciens multitudinem, forte nos vidit pompam spectantes, nobisque arridens, tum ad Cinnanaichem conversus, nosque ostendens, nescio quid cum eo est collocutus. Credo equidem Regem aspectu P. Francisci exhilaratum, quem jamdiu videre cupiebat. Nos praetereuntem usque ad Regiam secuti, iterum eum ex elephante descendentem vidimus. Hic Rex in aura sella ab Adalaraio urbis praefecto, ut mos est munus accepit. Tum alii proceres Regem venerati discedebant. Nos etiam accessimus et quidem P. Franciscus Ricus ei cyathum e vitro inauratam quem ad id servaverat, obtulit, atque ita domum revertimus." Haec P. Belchior Coutinho.

Patres ad Bisnagrensem Principem uti superioribus annis praescriptum est, inopia mittendorum, nondum iverunt. Instat tum quotidie importunis litteris nec ullum finem facit

* May 27th.

evocandi, et Provincialis, cum esset Ciandagirini ei Patres se propediem missurum promisit, sed nondum stetit promissis, quia quos mittat cum maxime cupit, non habet. Unas ipsius Principis ad Patres Chandagirinenses litteras opponam, et hanc residentiam absolvam

Anno Subaratutii mense decimo decimo post plenilunium die Litterae Trimalaragi, Ramaragi filii, maximum principis ragi inter regios datae ad Patres Ciandagirini Accepi vestras litteras quas mihi per vestrum Tagium misistis easque abscondi in praecordis Accepi etiam munera omnia gavisus sum vos de meo istuc adventu apud regem et principes regni studiose agisse Vos cum hac Goam iter haberetis dixistis vos huc ad commorandum propediem venturos Miror nondum venisse Veniant, oro, ne morentur Cetera meus legatus ore ad os loquetur

VIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr BELCHIOR COUTINHO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, October 11th 1608)

Pax Christi

O anno passado escreui a V P as novas destas partes mas como quera q as naos forão de Goa, o nehua de Cochim pode ser q as cartas ficarão em Cochim pera onde as enca minhe e q este anno uão. Nestas darei novas do mais q este anno acaesço e encaminhoas p Goa por terra, pera q não foça da ficarẽ como as outras. Estamos de saude Deus seja louuado aqui en Velur o irmao Bertolameo fonte boa e eu e em Chandregri o P^{re} Ant^o Rubino, onde faz m^u seruiço a Deus () E posto q alguns delles se desgarrarão por varios seruos dos mesmos gentios, todavia ao menos fica sempre aqillo casal de () he nomeado q sempre se mostrou alegre firme e perseverante ne fee, () em Chan(dregri) baptizadas e pcuro o q posso de os mouer o q sabem () q () rrao e continuar N^o S^{ra} da assumção he de 100 annos, e dizẽ q não adorava os idolos (mas) hu so Deus q lhe demos a conhecer como fez S Paulo aos areopagitas. E po(r quem) dantes sospiraue m^u pollo baptismo ao dia q tinhamos concertado ()

e assim o bautizei, sendo padrinho hum mercader portuguez q ueo aqui uender esmareldas a este R(ei) ..

As mais nouas deste Reino são q o Rei este anno passado em ianeiro abalou daqui e foi a Ginga q està daqui 2 dias de caminho e () foi q tendo ido seus capitães diante a conquistar as terras do Naique de Ginga porq tardaua na paga do tributo e indose acercando a fortaleza, quis Deus castigar aqille Naique q nella estaua como hu epicuro e brutal nao tendo menos q mil molheres dentro no paço, e sese deixara estar na fortaleza, ninguẽ podera co elle porq he quasi inexpugnael, çeguro a paixão sahio fora contra os capitães do Rei, e os seus co medo o desenpararão e foi () ficando o ditto Naique catiuo, a quẽ dando as orelheiras, a quẽ as (joyas) do peito porq. o nao matassẽ. foi a uictoria dia de IESV *como depois dissemos ao mesmo Rei, e a meia noite veo cà a noua roando, () El Rei e foi a Ginga, o Naique catiuo se lhe deitou aos pees, e por meo da Rainha, e seus irmãos se concertou a lhe pagar 60 () mil cruzados, e p^a. á Rainha largar a fortaleza de Cauaripa(tão) aqui perto, e co isto se recolheo outra uez o Rei cà p^a. Vel(ur) e o Naique de Ginga sentido da perda de sua renta e de seus elephantes () foise como da çere perigrino a Cirangã hu seu pagode dizendo q não queria mais do mando etc. mas os 2 Naiqu(es) seus amigos o de Madure e Tangior lhe derão m^{tas}. dadiuas e fizerão q tornasse p^a. seu estado o qual possue —Este (anno) ueo o P. Prou^u. da costa da pescaria a uisitar esta, e () a S. Thome onde o P^c. a todos nos consolou. .T(ambẽ) ueo a S. Thome o nouo Bispo mandado por S. S^{de}. e por S. (M^{de}.) E o P. R^{tor}. lhe fez m^{to} gazalhado ã nossa caza na qual (esteue), e dalli por onde do P^c. foi leuado a pee co m^{ta}. (honrra) e festas de danças, folias, disos, por arcos, etc —Corre (sua) amizade co nosco Todas estas materias deixo p^a. os P^{as}. q (naqllas) partes residẽ. E torno a estas ã q estamos Poucos (dias ha) q os Naiques de Tangior e Madure mandarão ao Rei seu tri(buto) de 500. mil cruzados e m^a. uariet^a. de psentes de ()-p^a. receber isto se poz de festa todo ã si cheo de (ouro) e pedraria. e no aroia q tinha no peito de q. () ual 100 m(il) cruzados, assistimos a este acto, por priuilegio e licença do Rei, (o qual) sempre se mostra amigo, posto q ha m^{to}. q não se nos paga a (renta) nos te ordenado, p. a qual agora lhe pedimos os ()tos en olas, queirão () outra paga q os Naiques lhe hão de fazer. queria Deus q decess() pois o P^c. R^o. (q se e não outro poderia

dazela) estes annos () sua industria o m^m charid —
tambẽ o irmão esta desgostozo p(orque) o Rei não differe a
pintura, e telhe pmetido m^m cousas de () o monil
has, etc. ã tudo sabio mintirozo como o ho estados es()
assim q dantes era tão liberal quando menos p^r Chandregri
() posto a privazou a Rainha ase feito tão escação
ou este o fica co () q todo mundo se queixa desto
parentes seus, e soldados, etc n() chamar p cà nã
ouvir falar a Trimalarayu o Principe, o qual de(sde Ciran)—
gapatão ondo esta, sempre nos escreve olas e nos chama e
mostra por escrito (a) mesma amizade q ã presença mostrou
quando nos agazalhou in(do) p Gor co os embaixadores
desto Rei E a mesma nos mostrou co seu sogro e ()
q he a caza q ha de montar m^m no tpo de seu governo Fize-
mos este anno as festas do natal co hu lindo psepio

De Madure tera V P nouas daqla mi são, naqual não
ha q notar mais q o grande fto co q o P Ruberto e tanta
adificação se entrega alli ao servico do Deus disfarçado etc.
q no mais he como cà e nã tanto ainda, pois he gente
peior

De Velur 11 de outubro de 608.

De V P Minimo f em Christo
BELCH^r COUT^r

XXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO
LAERCIO TO Fr JOAO ALVAREZ

(Cochin, November 20, 1608)

Pax Chri

Quatorze naos partirão na fim de Marzo passado de
Lisboa pera estas partes co o Visorei o Conde da Faria, co
m^m mil soldados q se chegarão todas estas naos e gente
fora o remedio da India, e alevatara este estado cabeça, q
esta quasi todo perdido co estes anos do governo do Arce-
bispo frade e co tantas naos Olandesas quãtas estes anos
andão passeando p estes mares do Oriente, se auer que lhe uã
á mão co ellas fazerẽ q^m querẽ em tudo Mas parece q
Da não foi seruido disto, pã hu galeão dos 14 appartãdose
do Visorei chegou a Mocãmbique ã Agosto, onde achando
huas treze naos olandezas q tinhã posto de cerco a nossa
ortaleza, depois de pelejar hu dia foi dellas tomado pollo

qual sabendo os olandezes q̃ vinha o Visorei atras, leuatarão o cerco, (postq̃ nelle lhes foi m^{to} mal, e murrerão m^{tos}. s̃ẽ faser nhum mal a Fortaleza p os nossos se defenderẽ, e pelearẽ ualerozam^{te}.) e se uierão p. Goa, puse na barra, onde estando, ouue nouas q̃ hua nao nossa p nome nao Oliueira da Comp^a. do Visorei tinha tabẽ chegado, e estaua seis legoas p o Norte a uista da terra, forão de Goa nauios, tirarão o dinh^o e todo o fato de cima, e antes q̃ os olandezes chegasse a ella, os nossos lhe puserão o fogo, e ardeo toda, p. os imigos se não aproueitare della, Das outras dose naos co o Visorei até oje se nao sabe noua nhua, q̃ he cousa q̃ a todos nos magoa, nẽ parece podera ja uir se não ã Mayo, p terẽ já começado os Leuãtes q durão estes seis mezes, Não parece isto se não castigo de Ds, q̃ ainda se não acabou, p̃q̃ na verdade nesta vinda do Visorei co este socorro estaua o remedio de todo este estado, seja o Sor p.^a sepre louado ..

Cochin 20. de Nouẽbro 608.

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ALBERTO LAERCIO.

XXV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO
LAERCIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, December 30th, 1608.)

As Residencias de Bisnagá, onde estão os dous P.^{es} Belchior Coutt., e Antonio Rubino E o irmao Bertolameu fontebona muy aceitos a El Rey, e a toda aquella Corte, tem feito alguns Christãos, mas não tantos como desejauamos, e ainda estes este ano co a perseguição de hu Gouvernador de Chandrigry tiuerão bem de trabalhos, e el Rey como he muito velho, postoq' tem muita bondade natural, e partes grandes com tudo, não acode, as guerras e inquietacoes q' este ano teue, tambem adjudarão a isto ...

Cochin. 30. de Dezembro de 608.

D. V. P.

Inutil f.^o em x.^o

+

ALBERTO LAERCIO.

(1603)

He Madura cabeça dos estados do Naique o qual posto que não tenha tit^o do Rei, se não do capitão que isso quer diser Naique seu poder he muito grande, e tem reis tributarios sendo o ele tambem ao emperador do Bisnagar cujo capitão antes era, e seleuntou com os estados que governaua quando o emperador em hua rota perdio o imperio. E tornando depois recuperar parte delle, este de Madura, e os dous de Tanjor e d^a Ginja lhe derão obediencia, e pagão parcas em sinal de Vassalagem porem são absolutos, e mui poderosos porque cada qual t^e trescentos elephantes de peleia, a fora a gente de caualllo a pee

O nouembro passado de 606 passando po aquella residencia o P^o provincial deixou nella o p^o Ruberto Nobilli por compaunhr^o do padre Goncalo frz assi pera aprender a lingua da corte mais pollida, como porque a cansada velhice, e as doenças do padre pedião Succesor

Custumão os padres assi nesta residencia como em Chandeguerim aser escola de ler e escreuer em Badaga com mestre gentio posto por nossa mão para que se uão affeiçoando os animos tenros dos mininos aos padres e os cousas de Deos

Pertencem ao Collegio de S Thome sete da Comp^h ha m^o annos que esta Cidade anda reuolta com bandas a modo de guerra ciuil sem te lhe poder dar remedio algum por estar em tr^o de Rei gentio e longe da corte e a iustiza e capitão não ter poder d armas pera prender, e castigar os malfeytores com tudo muitos males se atalharão por meio dos nossos, hua sesta fr^a de quaresma tratou o p^o pregador com tanto espirito e zello sobre os odios, e brigas que o principal de hum dos bandos que ouuio a pregação e tinha vindo com muita gente de armas, e espinguardas, se abrandou de maneira que logo determinou deixar o odio e pretendeo amizade com seo contrario como fes na Igreja Matris do Apto de S Thome restituindo cada hum todas as perdas e danos q tinha feito, e confessandose com mostras de arrependimento e emenda, ao presente não ha odios, nem brigas

Está a cidade de S. Thome nas tr. del Rei de Bsnaga, e posto q̃ os Portugueses tem capitão, e ouuidor que os gouernem, e administrem a iustiça, em outra pouoação apartado e vecinha esta hum capitão do Rei que arecada os direitos, e gouerna os gentios, hum Portugues hua noite foi co armas a sua pouoação p^a buscar hua moça que lhe tinha fugido, e armandose la hua briga foi morto. Os parêtes pedirão vingança ao capitão, o qual aiuntando muita gente d'armas foi dar na fort^a. del Rei, e porque o Adigar se acolheo, lhe pos o fogo, destruindo m^a. parte da povoação, e matando alqua gente mesquinha, chegou a fama deste aleuantam^o. a el rei, o qual sentio muito à fronta que lhe fiserão em lhe queimarem sua fort^a. allegando se o Adigar tinha culpa lhe fisessem queixume que elle o castigaria. Os moradores de S. Thome areceando que o Rei mandase exercito p^a. lhe por cerco, pedirão ao P. Reitor Nicolao Leuanto que fosse ter com El Rei p^a. com resoos, e presentes o aplacar, sabendo o Rei da sua vinda lhe mandou diser q̃ se queria tratar cousas dos p^a. que leuaria muito gosto em lhe fallar, porem tratar dos negocios de Maleapor, não era resão tendo lhe feito tão graude afronta ne menos auia de receber seus presentes, com tudo pouco a pouco se foi abrandando, e como de sua natureza he manso, e benigno, mandou depois chamar o p. e com mostras de muito amor o recebeo e concedea tudo o que pedia, tirando aquelle Adigar ou capitão da fort^a. e pondo outro a uontade dos Portugueses...

Em Velur reside o padre Belchior Cout^o...

Em Janr^o. de 607 foi mandado o Irmão Bertolameu Fonte Bona.

XXVII

A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO RUBINO TO Fr CLAUDIO
AQUAVIVA

(Vellore, September 30th, 1609.)

M^{to} R^{do} in Chro Pre nro

Pax Chri

Gl' ani passati a scrissi a VP. il stato di qsta missione del Regno di Bsnaga, do() mi ritrouo co gradiss^a. mia consolat^a. se bene l'essere la porta sì chiusa al Euangello, causa non piccolo dolore. Al presēte io inteme co il frillo Bartholomeo fontebuona, che molte uolte pinge auātī il Re ho cura d' ambe due qste residenze di Vellur, e Chandregui o così sto un poco in un luogo, et un poco nell' altro. La

causa pche no tiamo dui Padri in qsto due residenze, è p no tenere co che sostētar li, pche sono già 6 ani, o più ch il Re no ei paga ne ei dà un quatrino, se bene i giorni passati diede il Re al frillo la ualuta di cento scudi d oro p coprare colori Adetto dice, che li farà pagare mille scudi ma Dio sa quello che serà pche di loro si po dire p(ro)ssima, che mēdaces filii hnum, e qui no dice bugia fra loro no è haomo Il stato della Christianità in qsto Regno e l istenso che degl ani passatti p che no battelar se no un figliolhino d eta di 4 ani che raccolhi in casa co () de suoi parēti, e quelli pochi Christiani, ch abbiamo, che sono 15 dano si mal odore di se, ch io mi risolhi, à no uolhere battellare () s il Sig no li chiama co particolare uocat , p che alchī defecerunt altri nuāti mī si mostrano Christiani, in sua casa uiuono como Gentili No si po credere quāto chiusa sta la porta in qsto Regno alla sūta fede, e tutto cio nasse dall auuers et odio grāde che ei portano, p sapere che sūmo sacerdoti dellī portughesi i qquali mangano carne di uacca beuono uinho () se bene noi in qsto regno abstinemus ab iis, co tutto cio basta isto nro uestito nero p che gli fughino et abhorriscino, come la peste, e basta come dicono il sapere che suome Sacerdoti dell Portughesi. Per far alche frutto he necess p uestire mangiare e nelle cose politiche trattare como lore in quātu fieri potest e qsto sempre dissi al P Prou^e il quale ha animo di mādarmi p isto Regno uestito al modo loro a un luogo oue no seja conesciuto m il no hauere () ha ipeditti qsto disegno Il mutare uestiti in qste residenze () è supfluo p che ja siamo conesciuti e fora com poco frutto così è è necess andar in parte oue no siamo conosciuti, in qsto si gran regno no māca no V P ordine quello, che li parera piu expediente, che stādo del modo, che stiamo, mais faremos cosa di momēto Il Re già no ci mostra l afetto che ci mostraua gli ani passatti à psuasione di quest maladetti Bramani che sono inimici capitali della nra sūta fede de qual il Re è piu che schiauo. Le cose particolari di qsto Regno e di qsta missione, scrissi al P^e Prou^e credo che lui informarà VP p qsto io le scriuo finisco co dimādarli humil' la sua sata beneditt' pregādole che si faci raccomandare nellī assⁱ Sacrifici et oratⁱ della Compagnia Nelli assⁱ Sacrifici di VP m^e mi raccomandō Di Vellur città del Regno di Bijnaga li 30 di Settābre del 1609

D V P Minimo Figliuolo nel Sig^o

ANT^o RUBINO.

XXVIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr. ALBERTO LAERZIO TO
Fr. CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 20th, 1609.)

Della Missione, et Residenza di Madurè.

Accio messo si possa intender quello, che Dio N. S. si è degnato di oprar per spatio di qsti tre anni in qsta missione di Madurè, dal mesi di Nouembre dell' anno di 606, nel quale il P. Rub^o. Nobili fu mandato a quella residenza, sino a qsto presenti di 609., he uoluto far qsta informatione, et perche sia piu chiara, repetivo prima in breue, quello che gia si scrisse a V. P. nelle due annue passate, dipoi andare seguitàdo quel' che nell' anno psenti è succeduto.

La città di Madurè, che sta lontana da qsta di cochino cinquantana leghe per la terra dentro, restando nel mezzo le alte montagne, chi si chiamano il Gatte, è Metropoli delli stati, et terre del Naiche, il quell' è molto gran' signore di molte terre, uassalli, et ricchezze, et è come uno de i gran' Duchì de europa et ancor che non tenga titolo de Rè, ma solamente di capitano, che tanto ual qsta parola Naiche, tutta uia tiene molti Re tributarij, com il di Trauancor, di Manamadurè, di Tengage et altri, essendo egli ancora tributario del Re di Bisnagà, del quale è capitano, et si ribello con li stati che governaua nel tempo, che il Rè di Bisnagà in una rotta persi l' imperio, et tornàdo dipoi a ricuperar parte di quello, questo Naiche di madurè, et li due di Tangiaor, et di Gingia gli resero obediencia, com pagargli tributo in segno di vassallaggio, ma tuttauia restarono signori assoluti, molto potenti, et di gran' forze, perche ciascun' di loro mette in campo 300. elefanti di guerra fuera della molta gent' a pie, et a cauallo.

Per causa de negotij de i Parauà com questo Naiche, che è signor della costa di Pescaria, son gia 17 anni che si fondo qsta residenza com casa, et chiesa assai buona, per dar' ancora con questo pretesto la prima luce dell' euangelio ai Badagà, i quali ben che restarono marauigliati della santità del Padre, et particularm^{te}. della sua castità, non dimeno furono sempre disprezzando la legge che predicaua, come legge bassa, et uile, tenendo essi in questo concetto i Parauà et nostri Padri che la stanno per esser' Potughesi, li quali sono da loro stimati per la piu uile et bassa genti del mondo. Vere è che si marauigliano, et stupegono del soa animo, et

ualore, et dell atti heroichi, et gloriosi che hanno fatto, et fanno in guerra, i quali si como fanno per fama, cossi sperimentassero nelle sue terre, il che per star molto dentro la terra non puo essere, formerano altro concetto de Portughesi. Si marauigliano ancora delle sua ricchezze, liberalità, apparato, et gentilezza nel uestire. La onde intendo che la causa di formar aglino tal opinioni di Portughesi, fu il uederli beuer uino et mangiar uacca, et lasciarsi toccare, et portare in lettica da i Parià che è tra di loro genti abietta, et uilissima, la qual superstitione è in qsta gente inuolabil, che una gente nobile non tocchi ne tratti con altra men nobili di manera che un Brameni si lasciarà piu tosto morir di fame, che mangiar cosa fatta, o datagli per mano di alcuno che non sia Brameni. Et per esser li gentili di Madurè venuti in questo concetto si basso del Padre che li dimoraua, in 14 anni di tempo non gli fu possibile far ne un solo xpiano in una citta si grude, et popolosa come è Madure che diceuano che facendosi xpiani perdevano la casta, et nobilta, et che si faceuano franghi che cosi chiamano li Portughesi et resteuano per sempre disonorati, et infami

()trattar con quei gentili, et nuoui xpiani et del loro feruor et molta capacita che non mi parece ragione impedir il frutto che chiamam mostraua lo Spirito S^m uoler oprar in qlla gentilità, et cosi gli concessi piena licenza si Sdaro alla scoperta et di dar il battes^o a tutti qlli che fussero chiamati da Dio senza timore di qillo che potrebbe auenire sperando nell aiuto, et fauor Diu^m gia che Dio N S I haveua scielto per qlla impsa. Et pche penso, che ricoveranno piacere di saper il modo del suo uestire, mângiare, et trattar co quel gentili, lo discriuero qui breuemente.

Il uestito del P Rub^m è una ueste longa sino alle piedi qual chiamano Cabaia, di color bianco ue o il giallo sopra di qsta un come roscetto di tela piu fina del medesimo colo, et sopra il roscetto un panno o costo, e dell istesso color della cabaia qual gle ua gettato per le spalle in testa tiene un panno di tela fina bianco a modo di barretta rotonda a trauerso al collo un cordone di cinque fili tre di oro et due di fil bianco, con una croce, chi gli viene a dar nel petto Et cio fece il Padre per qsta causa, perche si come i Brameni i quali sono i loro maestri in qsta guisa portano un cordone di tre fili il qual ancora che sia principalm segno della sua stirpe, è ancora in alcuna parte segno della legge che insegnano cosi ancora uole il padre portar segno della sua legge spirituale la qual fa professione di insegnar come

publico maestro conforme al costume della terra, perche li tre fili d' oro in un' cordone significano tre Persone diuine, et un sol' Dio, gl' altri doi fili bianchi, il corpo, et l' anima santiss^a. di xpo. N. S., et la croce è chiaro segno, di passione, et morte dell' iste(so.) Di maniera che in qsto cordone professa li mistern della della santiss^a Trinità, Incarn^{te}, et Redentione, Quanto al uitto il suo mǎgiare, che è una sol uolta il giorno alle 22. o 23 hore, è riso, legumi, herbe, latti, et per nessun caso ha da mǎgiar carne, oui, ne pesce, perche i Gurus Saniassi, che professano castità, guardano qsta legge nel suo mǎgiar inuolabilm^{te}., ne per nesuna necessità, o infirmità per grave che sia despēsano in carne, che qsti gentili si burlano di quei che dicono, che si puo consomar la castità mangiādo carne. L' habitatione del Padre, è in una strada doue habitano la gente nobile, et per acgitar' maggior credito, non esci fuora di casa, ne pmette che altri lo ueggia, ne che gli parli qualsi uogliapsona, ne in qualsi uoglia tempo, ma dipoi, di ir la 2 o tre uolte et pregar il suo interprete, che lo lasci parlar con l' Aier, che è l' istesso che Signore, et finalm^{te} dipoi di si uendere molto caro, conforme all' uzāza del paesi, et per maggior riputatione, essendo eglino introdutti a parlar col Padre lo trouano che sta sedendo in un' loco alquanto eminēte, coperto con un panno rosso, e del color del vestito, auanti del quale sta distesso in terra un' altro panno rosso, et piu auanti una stoia di paglia fina. Tutti qlli che entrano, etian dio li piu nobili, et principali della corte, gli fanno riverēza alsādo le mani giunte sopra la testa, et dipoi abassādole con una profonda inclinatione, et quei che uogliono esser suoi discepoli fono l' istessa cerimonia tre uolte, et dipoi si postrano in terra, et si tornano a star' in piedi. Impero il Padre la lingua Tamul piu polita et cosi ben la pronutia che gli piu periti Brameni nella lingua non gli leuano uantaggio. Sa legere, et scriuere nell' istessa lingua, et gia ha letto molti libri delle sue historie, et mandato a memoria le cose principali della sua legge, et molti uersi de i loro piu famosi, et rominati poeti, de quali essi fanno gran' conto. Impero ancora molte cansonette, le quali canta con tanta () et gratia, che causa a ciaschedun' che l' ascolta, ugual admiratione, et piacere. Va adesso studiādo il guesedano, che è il latino de Brameni, et gia legge, et parla ragioneuolm^{te}. Piglia comunem^{te} occasione delle loro historie, p li confodere, et prouar che no possono esser molti Dei, ma un' solo, il quale è spirito, et non tien' corpo. gli ragiona a cosa della breuità della uita, della certezza della morte, delle pene dell' inferno, come fece particularm^{te}. a uno de 4.^o gouernatori del Naiche, il qual

succesce nello stato al suo frèllo maggior, che pochi di nuan-
ti era morto, et fu quel che dono al Padre il piano per fabri-
car la nuoua casa, doue adesso dimora. Fu qsto signor
gentile a uisitar il Padre p l' amicitia che co lui teneua, et fu
mezano, accio il suo frello gli desce quel piano. Il Padre
comincio il ragionam^{to}, con gli domidar che era fatto del
suo frello tanto nobili, et ricco, et da tutti stimato, et
honorato, il quale per non hauer conosciuto la legge, et uia
della salute, staua gia penādo nell' inferno et gli parlo di
questa materia, con tanto seruor, et sp(iritu,) che il
giouan non potendo r g mesce il sentimento, et uolendo
ritener le lagrime, prompe in un' singulto, c(on) tanta copia
di lagrime che tutta la sua gente resto stupita et marauig-
liata, et maggiorm^{te} il P Rub ueggendo (la) compuntione,
et sentimento in un petto gentileasco et la fede, et credito
che daua alle cose, che gli diceua. Si parti il gioua(ne)
desideroso di udir altre molte le predicho del Padre, et
pigliare il sentiero della salute, et promissi di farli dipoi di
concludero alcuni negoti di importanza, perche va cercādo
settanta mila scuti per dar al Naiche per l' inuestitura dell
stato, del suo frèllo al quale il Naiche accrebbe altre terre, et
ua essādo ogni giorno piu fauorito del Naiche, p esser gia
uani di belle parti et anco di tante forze, che alza con li
mani () molto grande, et a fin di non le perdere tiene
una sola moglera, il che li fara il negotio della sua conuer-
sione molto piu ageuole

Procuro ancora il Padre, che arruase la notitia del
euang^{lio} alle signori di altre terre, et a qsto effetto mando il
suo interprete per nome Giorgio, a un signore di Bara-
posano che è una Prouincia lontana da Maduré () per
la te(rra) dentro, al quale scrissi una lettera in che gli
diceua, che quei solam^{te} saluar si possono, iquali cognoscono
il vero Dio U(iuo) et esseruano la sua santa legge, et come
egli staua apparecchiato per gli mostrat la uia che guida a la
salute eterna. La risposta del gentile. La risposta del
gentile miglie si entendera per la copia della medesima sua
lettera che cosi dica. Fissādo gl' occhi per qlla parte
doue stanno li piedi de V S il suo schiavo Ciarnavioualēm
facēdo riuerenza sruue, Ja tutto qlo che V (S) comanda sto
pronto per seruirla sempre. He receuuto una sua con grāde
piacere, et festa in che me scriueua che des(idera)ua venir
nelle mie terre, per m insegnare il diuino secreto et qsto fu
il principal negotio che V S m scrisse ma per si ritrouar
al presenti qsta terra con molte guerre, non puol essere ma
come si acquite subito mandare (a) nuoua alli santi piedi de

V. S., ei all' hora sia ella seruita di venire. Signor non riceua la sua uoluntà alcun disgusto, per gli dir, che tardi un poco in uenire, per star la terra in guerre, et morte Jo non so per qual () sorte sia accaduto, uoler V. S. venir qua di tutto il successo gli mandaro de poi ragguglo con lettera.

Nella stessa forma mando una ill P. Rub^{co}. al Ré di Nana madura per inuitarlo, et ueder si uolesse udir le cose pertenecenti a sua salu(atione) come haueua auanti mostrato. L' interprete fu dal Re molto ben riceuuto, et tratto con lui delle cose di Dio, mostrand(o) gran' desiderio de ueder, et udir il Padre. In risposta della lrã disse, che haueua da uenir a Madurè per uisitare il Naiche, et all' hora commodam^{te} trattarebbe col Padre, et così lo fece, perche uenne il primo di Agosto, et tratto con i(1) Padre per mezano, et lo mando a uisitare per un sue Bramene con molti complimenti, et segni di amicitia mostrad(o) ogni di Maggior desiderio di egli stesso ir' a parlar col Padre sopra il negotio di sua salute, ma per causa di una infirmità che gli sopravvenne si no a hora non l'ha potute fare. Era qsto Re anticom^{te} molto potète, ma hora il Naiche gli preso molto terre. E di buon ingegno, et molto desidera de si saluare. il che da grãde sperãze della sua conversione.

Fra gli xpiani che il Padre fece, un si chiama Alessio Hatebe, come habbiamo gia ditto. Soleua la madre di qsto giouan(e) et suoi paretì en certo tempo far' alcune offerte all' Idoli, et essèdo gia uenuto il tpo vennroe i Brameni a dima(n)darle, ma come la mdre gia staua piu affettionata alle cose di Dio, che del Dem^o. gli mando in buona o mal' h(ora) et non gli diede cosa lacuna, del che non solam i Brameni si lamentarono, ma ancora aminaciarono, che n() piglie ubbero buona uendetta, et non passarono molti giorni, che senti la donna darli un gran' colpo nell coll(o) senza ueder alcuna persona, et subito si ammalo si grauem^{te} che la tenniano per morta, et gia non parlaua, ne(n) faceua alcun' mouim^{to}. Il figliolo maggiore, che ancora era gentile, corsi con molta fretta a chie dera i medio al Padre, il qual gli mando il suo reliquiario per Alessio xpiaño, et ponendolo sopra il petto dell' infirma subit(o) torno en si, et lomãdo, che cosa era quella, che l' haueua touata, et finalm^{te}, ricebe perfetta sanità dando gratie al Signore, che la libero dalla potestà del Dem^o, et perche ancora l' anima restasse libera, determino di far(si) xpiaña, et a desso va imparãdo il cathismo, Ne fu minore il mouim^{to}. che fece qsto miracolo nel figlio maggiore, perche subito comincio a impara la dot-

trina et il giorno dell Assunzione della B Vergine, si bath(eo, et) ua auanti con molto seruiore, udindo messa ogni giorno et recitando due o tre rosarii, il che so potra uedere dal caso seguenti auanti del qual contero un altro, che prima occorsi Andaua questo giouane in mala conuersione con una donna dalla qual decideraua la madre di staccarlo et non potèdo per nesun modo fece uoto alla Vergina Maria, della qual gia haueua alcuna notizia, che gl infiorerla la sua cappella con rose si il figlio lasciasse qlla mala occasione Fatto il uoto di tal maniera si moto il cuore del giouane, che gia mai non puose udir nominar qlla donna, il che rigognosendo la madre per beneficio della Madonna, mando le rose alla chiesa, et gli fu qto grande motiue per si conuertire. Il caso doque del giouanne, che poco fa diceua, fu qsto

Alle 23 di Settèbre, giornie consecrate a un Idolo per nome Anadà costumaua Casturu Naiche è qsti un Signor principal in corte del qual staua il giouane del qual parliamo, et si chiama Visuada digiunar, et pigliar un cordone di seta da i Brameni il qual tutto l anno portaua legato al braccio, sin che gli desseri un altro Fu Visuada al Palazzo conforme all oblige che teneua, et gli domādarono gli Brameni si digiunaua, al che rispose che no ma c. si gli feceuano forza dicèdo, gia che Casturu digiuna, et è deuoto de Visnu, uoi ancora lo douete essere ancorche cento di uoi altri mi predichino, non mi faranno gia mai far cosa contra il douersi al Naiche nelle cose che toccano al corpo gli seruiro io di molto buona uoglia, ma nelle cose che apartengone all anima, non e egli mio signore ei si mi comāda cose alcuna contra qlla non l ho da far ber niun caso. Dissero all hora i Brameni al Naiche che non era ragione che Visuada stesse in sua casa ne uedesse mai la sua faccia, perche rinnegaua gli Dei dicèdo di piu () che era molto graue peccato i mirar nella faccia di Visuada al che eghi rispose anzi a mi parce che è grande peccato i mirar ne la uostra, che di certo hauete d andar a casa del Dem Ignorano che non sapete niente Occorsero molte altre particolarita nelle quali si prouo la constanza di qsto giouane, et principalmente coi nom uoler riceuere in neuna maniera il nuouo cordon di Visnu, che Casturu gli daua anzi dicèdogli il Naiche che era di qllo dell anno passato rispose che l haueua fatto in pezzi. et gitato per terra.

Il mese di Gluglio di 608 stādo nel principio della notte un Mahomettano con altra gente tra quali era il xpiano chiamato Alberto apparece al ditto mahomattano il Dem in figura humana, et il timor, con che resto ispantado ben

mostro qual qual fusse la uisione, et dicendole al christiano che iui staua, egli li fece nella fronte il segno della S^a. croce, il che fatto il Dem° con molta colera gli disse, con esta arma che ti diede quell' huomo tiua bie, d'altra maniera io pigliaua hora vendetta di se domandogli il Mahomettano, di chi era quell' arma, al che rispose il Dem° che era arma di Dio onnipotente, dal qual era stato creato, et il Mahomatt° et egli medesimo, et cio ditto disparece.

Nell' istesse tempo entro il Dem° in un gentile in psêza di molti, et arriuãdo la Alberto, in cui tutti riconosceuano poter contra il Dem° lo pregauano che gli fecesse alcune interrogationi. La prima cosa che gli domando fu sì qlllo che il P. Rub° insegnaua era uerità, et sì era uero maestro. Rispose il Dem° che il Padre era huomo di grande autorità et che qlllo che insegnaua tutto era uerità. Demãdo di piu il xpiaño sì qlllo che il Padre hauu cominciato anfaria uanti al che rispose, che nel principio farebbe poco ma che dipoi di tre anni farebbe molto, et che l' impsa che haueua comincia-(to) anderebbe in grande aumento del che tutti retarono marauigliati, et bem puol' essere, che il padre de la mentiyrà dicesse il uero del progresso di qsta missione, come p forza lo disse della uerità, et bontà della dottrina del Padre.

In Agosto de 608. uenne un' gentile per sì catechizare di bel giuditio, et tal sì mostro subito nelle cose della nra santa Fede dandogli tanto credito, che non, che non uolse mai piu por cenice nella fronte, ne conuentir che tre figlioli suoi se la ponessero, facêdo grand' istanza al Padre che lo battizasse subito. Ma il Padre per far proua della sua costanza gli prolango il tempo. Continuo il gentile con le prediche del Padre, della quali si seruua poi per disputar con li gentili. Cadde qsto huomo infermo, et con i figli insieme, et uenêdo i Brameni con cenice per far le sue superstitioni, li butto il buon catecumeno fuori di casa et mando achiedere alcun' remedio al Padre, dicêdogli che qsto era inuentione del Dem° ma che egli staua de(ter)minato, di piu tosto morir, che far cosa che fusse () alla legge del uero Dio. Il Padre mando la Aless(o) con l' acqua benedetta, ei con l' euãg° di S Jiou° scritto, con la qual medicina se gli fu la febre, et restaron(o) tutti sani, et certificati della uerità della nra S^a. Fede.

In una lrã, che il P. Rub° mi scrisse alli 25 d' Ottobre di 608. diceua. Un Raggiu molto nobile, il quale mostra essere di 40. anni, uenne molte notte alla porta della mia casa con

grando sentimento, et parlādo con il patron di quel piano, gli disse che già era uechio, et che la sua morte era uicina, p cio lo pgaua con grūnde istanza che lo uolesse far parlar con il mio interprete, accio l introducessa a parlar meco per poter esser mio discepo(lo) e sūdo che molti gli diceuano in qsta citta, che io insegnaua la legge dell' eterna salute Finalm^e io lo se-entrar et egli gittandosse alli miei piedi con molta deuotione mi scoperse li suoi desideri, iqual i erano di essere incamin(ato) per il uero sentero della salute. Parlai con questo uechio molto tempo parendome di buon ingegno, et pruden(za) et la conclusione fu, che udisse il Catechismo, et promise, de così lo farebbe, et insieme procurerebbe che molti (al)tri Rgia, che stanno sotto di lui fussero suoi discepoli.

Un altro Balāla maestro con extraordinario feruor mi venne a pregaro che lo insegnasse. Credo che senza dubbio n(on) hauerebbe V R. potuto ritener le lagrime, ueggendo con quanta deuotione qsto gentile le spargeua, quando stādo prostrate aali miei piedi caldam^e mi pregauache lo saluasse. Al psēte ua udindo il catechismo, et forma buon conco(tto) delle cose di Dio N S

Hora daro conto di qual che successe a Badamurti signor di qsto piano nel qual io habito il qual già era catecume n(o). Alli 23 d Ottobre di 60^a doppo pranso pesse in tutto la parola. Fui io a sua casa et lo ritrouai che staua in agon(ia) de morte. Subito lo battizai, et di li a poco tempo si leuo in piedi, et abbraciando li miei piedi con molte de(uo)tionne disse che a Dio et a me deuea la uita. Et aggiunse che stauano iui alcuni huomini, che serian(o) Demonii de quali uno lo uoleua strāgolare, et non gli lasciua formar parola, un altro gli rompeua le gamb(e) un altro gli dīoeua che la finisse presto per lo poter leuar uia. Staua il pouerello in qsto traua glo et contras(te) quando lo giunse ma con la uirtu del S^m legno che gli posì al collo, et dell acqua benedetta, subito li Demon(ii) fuggirono. Resto egli molto debole, et fiacco con la gola tanto indebolita, che non poteua dir parola, et facēd(o) mi di cio cenno gli feci il segno della s^m croce sopra la gola et subit ocomincio parlar, et io gli dissi (che) già l hauena battizzato al che ripose che molto ben lo sapuea, et che qlla era la sua uolontà. Torno hier l altr(i) di nuouo a star male fui a dir messa p lui et quādo la cominciua mi dissero, che staua spirādo et finindo lo la messa mi diedero nuoua, che già staua bene, come hora sta senza febre, et hoggi venne à udir messa. Ha posta nelle mie mani tutta la sua famiglia accio li dia il s^m battesimo, nella qual stanno piu di

uen(te) persone. Egli è huomo di tanto credito, et stima, che speriamo p suo mezo si conuertino molti a Dio N. S., Sino aq la del P. Rub° Dipoi della quale mi scrisse dell' altre, dandomi ragguaglio di qllo che Dio N. S. fu oprando, et pche p le sue ist() si intēdera piu chiara, et distintam^{te}. il tutto, li porro q disteram^e nella maniera che stanno.

Copia di una Lettera del P. Ruberto Nobili al P. Prou^e.
del Malauare de 24. di Decēbre 1608.

Sono obligato a dar sempre conto a V. R di qllo che Dio N. S. uao prādo in qsta nuoua missione Gia scrissi, come dipoi (la) partita di V. R. di qsta città nel fin di settembre haueua battizzato quatro persone, cio è Badamurti che è il signor di qsto piano, doue sta la mia casa, al qual trio diede la sanità miracolosam^e Christinada, che è un, maestro statuario, che faceua Idoli, et altri lauori, molto eccelle(n)te nella sua arte, et dal Naiche, et da tutti i signori di Madu(rei) molto stimato. Il 3° fu il nro giouane Golor frēllo del portinaio maggior del Naiche. Il 4° fu un huomo nobile che V. R. non lo conosce, per non l' hauer uisto nel tempo, che quiui stette. Adesso nel giorno dell' Apto S. Tomaso battizai noue, cioe li tre frēlli di Badamurti, et due suoi figlioli. Il Calistu che uenne a udir una pdica del Catechismo, quādo qui staua V. R., il quale mostraua molto feruore, et con lui battezar' il padre, et due suoi figlioli, un' picciole di cinque, o 6. anni, et un' altro maggiore. Il Calistu, et suo padre, essēdo ancora gentili erano molto deuoti dell' Idoli, et sue ceremonie, et tanto che dicendo Calistu, à suo padre, che haueua parlato un esso meco, et che io insegnaua una legge spiritual, la qual gli parecia la uera, disseglì il uecchio, che non sapeua cosa alcuna, et che egli parlerebbe con esso meco, et mi conuincerebbe, et mi farebbe () Venne il buon uecchio accompagnato dal suo figliolo, et ancorche nel principio uolse argumētare, et disputare, resto non () così appagato delle ragioni, che io gli diedi della legge di Dio, che mi apportò grandissima consolatione il ueder qnto concorre Dio N. S. con qsta gente. et così fu continuādo egli con il suo figliolo in udir le prediche con tanto feruor, et formarino sì buon concetto delle cose di Dio, che mi obligarono a non gli differir il S^o battesimo. Il uecchio essēdo getile teneua una casa solam^e palbergar' li pellegrini, nella qual teneua un Pādara, accio lesse acqua a tutti li pasag-gieri...

XXV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA*(Cochin, December 16th, 1610)*

No Collegio de S Thomé em Meliapor foy estes anos Reitor o P Nicolao Leuão co satisfação, e era may accepto à qlle Prelado, q se mostra nosso amigo e a el rey de Bisnagá e a toda aquila corte e teue sempre muy bom cuidado de conseruar aquilas Residecias de Vellur, e Chandrigri Agora o P Visit^m fez Reitor da qlle Collegio ao P Simão de Sà, o qual nhum talento te p isso e bem o (tô demos)tado Entendo ha de padecer n^m a qlle Collegio t^m tudo, e na disciplina religiosa, e ainda na amizade co a Bpo, por não gostar do modo do Prê, q não he p isso e por este respeito no ano passado lhe tiramos o cuidado da casa de Negapatão

Cochim, 6 de Decubro de 610

D V P

Minimo f t Chro

+

ALBERTO LAERCIO

XXVI

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERÆ ANNUÆ OF THE
PROVINCE OF MALABAR 1609*(1610)*

Quod ad D Thomae Collegium spectat scimus Reverendissimum Meliaporenses ducemque et Senatum Civitatis a Patre Collegii Rectore quem apud Regem Bisnagarum gratio sum esse sciunt multis precibus contendisse ut eundem Regem adiret, et ab eo impetraret litteras ad Ginnianum Dynastam quibus ageretur de Olādēnsibus ex sua dictione rejiciendis illos enim amice exceperat et portum quo appellerent, locumque in quo arcem aedificarent illis concesserat qui quidem minime segnes arcem extruere jam incipiebant Quae res si processisset, grāde certo malum Lusitanis et Xnia. omnibus pervenire potuisset. Non potuit Pater nec debuit tam officiosum laborem recusare Regem adit litteras impetrat, eas ad ipsummet Dynastam defert benigne atque

honorifice ab eo excipitur, de postulatis serio cum ipso agit, res difficilis videbatur, propter non modicum lucrum quod ex novorum hospitem commercio ille se percepturum sperabat, proinde Patrem bene sperare jubendo, responsionem differbat. Interim Rex cum videret Patrem diutius in ea quasi legatione immorari, causam morae suspicatus, suo ingenio impulsus alias litteras, non sine increpatione ingeminat, Dynastae imperat ut Patris postulata faciat, et omnino Lusitanorum hostem a se repellat, si portum quem illis dederat frequentari vellet, eum traderet Lusitanis, quos utiliores amicos quam Olandenses esset habiturus, His ille acceptis litteris, Patrem accersit, velle se dicit Regis voluntati satisfacere, quaeque postulabantur concedere. Illico ad Episcopum, ducem et Senatum D. Thomae dat litteras, ad quos etiam cum patre legatos mittit, ut cum illis de adeunda Portus illius possessione ac frequentatione agant conditionem apponit ut Pater Rector cum Lusitanis ad ejus portus traditionem revertatur Ita fit. Designatur qui futurus sit dux inceptae ab Olandensibus arcis, illis alio amandatis. Qui ducem comitarentur milites conscripti sunt, dona que ad Dynastam deferrentur praeparata. Denique res solemmniter acta est. Jacta erant arcis fundamenta et parietes ad aliquatulam undequaque altitudinem excreverant. Erat ingens calcis, laterumque copia, nam ex lateribus arcem extruebant. Unus illis sacerdos ex Nostris remansit, quae una est ex Residentibus quibus in principio diximus auctam hoc anno fuisse Proviciam Locus Tavanapatnam appellatur, unde copiosum Deo volente fructum speramus.

XXXI

SOME EXTRACTS OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO
LAERZIO TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, 8th, 1611.)

*(A quotation from a Letter of Fr. Roberto de
Nobili, dated Madura, December, 12th, 1610.)*

Iddio p sua misericordia uá ogni giorno agiuntando
noue pecorelle al suo ovile, distrugendo il culto del Demonio
como diceua un Pandara d'autorità ad un xpãno, che la
uenuta del Re di Bisnagá a Madure era distruttione del
Naiche, et il star mio in questa terra era destruttione de
Pandarij.....

*(A quotation from another letter of Fr de Nobis
dated Malnra, November 22nd 1610)*

In questa Città di Maduro ha Molti Studj ne quali uanno piu di dieci mille studentj Bramanj, diuisi p uarij maestrj a chi ducenti et a chi trecenti et p migliore studiare et darse in tutto alle scientia Il Ro di Bisnaga, et Il Naicho della Città hanno fondatj uarij collegij con molte buone rendite, p sustentam(uto) dei Maestrj et studentj mentre studiano n̄ (solo) del uitto m̄ anco de uestire pse, et loro case se cho mentre studiano no anno hanno altre pensiero che le sue biuo ma in tutto il necessario son prouedutj dalle rendite di Collegij Quel che legone et Insegnano sono cose molto uarie p che hanno molte dottrine Primieram^e fanno alcune questionj proemialj como de Argum̄tatione de Scientia, de Euid et fide et copia queste quatro cose se stende la lore filosofia, percio che in questo modo simo trattamo piu diffusam̄te diuidendo la filosofia che esti chiamano chinta manj che uol dire agiuntamete o coc () de pensieri et arg^u intra Capⁱ nel P^o de Euidetia et qui riducono questo questionj De Inuocatione seu Adoratione Vtrum sit initio operis aliquis Deus Inuocandus, De Certitudine De bona seu pfecta certitudine, De Certitudine qua habemus p generationē productione de nouo De formalitate certitudinis De speciebus Objector, De Vnione locali, seu p contiguitatē et De Vnionibus diuersis Id est formali accidentali et aliā quādā quā no percipio, quia no est ex subst et natura. De Praedicato et Subjecto p negationē De objecto uisibili seu visus De indiuisibilitate uolutatis. De Splendore Aurⁱ. De Actus reflexione quo quisq se cognoscit et intelligit. Queste sono le questionj che nel P^o Capo de Euid trattano há alcune altre ma p la strettella del tēpo no le posso p se()an^e uedero Nel 2^o Capo che é de Scientia trattano le sequenti questionj. De Signis Illationis De Sequella tātū, De Inductione. De fallentia. De Semine fallentiae seu de modo impugnandi fallentiā. De subiecto, De discursu De Signo causatiuo. De omnimoda fallentia. De Coniunctione secudu quid De Priuatione De effectū p causā. De omni moda coniunctione De Vlti Certitudine seu consequentia. De causa, De euidetj probatione De certitudine a Simili De errore. De dubitatione. De Variatione suppositionis. Ex uero Antecedente de falsa conclusione. De Deo Ruden De Multiplicitate causar De Naturali vi et virtute de sup addita de nouo Virtute Nel 3^o capo che é de Auctoritate seu auditu trattano queste questionj cio é De Correspondentia Verbor De Conueniētia in Communj De Vnione affectionis

De Desiderio. De Corruptione Sonj. De Corruptione totius mundi De Merito Legis. Quod no est utru possit affirmari. De Nouitate. De Annihilatione. De Propria impositione, et Deniq, quo modo debeat esse signu. Queste sono le questionj du una dottrina sola che loro insegnano, la qle finiscono in 4. e 5. anni Di piu hanno altre cinque molto piu diffuse altre la Scienza che chiamano Vedãdam oue trattano de Deo, et eius Vnitate...

(Another quotation of a letter of Fr. Antonio Vico companion of Fr. de Nobili, relating the fruit of the latter's life and preaching. Fr. Vico's letter is dated Madura, December 24th, 1610 It runs as follows)

Haura già due mesi che uenne qui un Regolo tributario del Naiche grande p Nome Vttapa Naiche di buonissima natura et desideroso di saluarse , Questo in arriuando all aposento dell' Aier si prostro con la faccia in terra nẽ se leuo dali insinche due, e tre uolte il Padre no gli lo dicesse. Ragiono depoi col Padre dalle miserie di Questa uita, et certeza della morte, et nel fine prego con molta instanza il Padre uolese venire alle sue terre, p che in ogni modo uoleua riceuere la sua dottrina .

XXXII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611.)

A missão de Bisnagá tem a sua conta o P. Antº. Rubino depois da morte do bom Pº. Belchior Coutinho, e agora lhe dey por compº. o P Antº. Diaz. Esperamos uenha cá o P. Visitadº. pá lhe applicaremos outros dous Pº. e buscaremos todos os modos pá se colher desta missão o fruto q' se deseja, o qual este anno foy mº. menos, por el Rey for ja muito velho, e doente, e ter intregue o gouerno á huã das molheres, e a seu Irmão della, os quaes nuca se mostrarão amigos dos Prês e mº. menos dos Portugueses, a mas agora fizerão guerra a Cidade de Melapor tendoa de cerco alguns meses, de modo q' foy necessº. recolherẽse os nossos Pº. e moços ao Collº. de S. Thomé até se faserem os concertos e as amizades. Quando foy uisitar Ceilão em Junho passado achey o P Antº Rubino em Columbo, onde pgara as sextas feiras de Coresma co mº. satisfação da quella Cidade, onde tinha ydo á requerimento do seu Rey de Bisnagá (que lhe não puderão negar) co seus embaixadores, q̃ elle mandou ao Gouernº. D. Jero-

nimo pã lhe uender alguns elefantes, como o P Leuanto in formara a V P, mas como nada se affectuou, o P não tinha ja aly que fazer, e torney leuar comigo até S Thomé, onde o deixey no mez de Agosto, pera q tãto q̃ el Rey concluísse os concertos e amizados co a Cidade q̃ se esperaua seria cedo, se tornasse a Vellur co o P Ant Díaz continuar a sua missão

Cochy 25 de Nouembro 1611

D V P

Ind f em x

+

ALBERTO LAERZIO

XXXIII

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin November 25th, 1611)

A cerca do q̃ escreuerão da compra dos Elefãtes del Rey de Bisnagã mostrey o capitulo da carta do V P ao P Leuanto q̃ está agora aqui descãcando neste Collegio e elle responderã, e enformara de tudo o q̃ nisso o ue Pore nhuã cousa ovue nisso menos decente, mas antes tudo se fez co muita edificação e são meos muy neces^m e q̃ a Comp^t custão pouco, pera estes Reys gentios se affeçoare a nossas couzas, e permitirẽ co facilidade, q̃ em suas terras se prẽgue a ley de De

Cochim, 25 de Nouembro, de 611

D V P

Ind f em x.

+

ALBERTO LAERZIO

XXXIV

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ALBERTO LAERZIO
TO Fr CLAUDIO AQUAVIVA

(Cochin, November 25th, 1611)

Questo anno andando a uisitare la Prouincia el mese di Maggio, arrivando sino a Meliapor che hé longè daquesta Città ducente leghe, e raccogliendomy en aquesto Collegio a 22,

de 7bré non potei passar per Madurej, e consolar-me com aquelli Pdrj e cristianj, como haueua determinado, impedido dalla guerra che haueua frá il Naiche di Madure, et il di Nagapatano...

di Cocino a 25 di 9bré 1611.

D. V. P.

Ind°. f°. in x°

+
ALBERTO LAERZIO.

XXXV

AN EXTRACT OF THE LITTERAE ANNUAE OF THE
PROVINCE OF MALABAR, 1611

(1612.)

Velluranae et Chandragirinensis Residentiae vacant in praesentiarum. Quo enim tempore Patres in Collegio convenerant ut spiritum renovarent, et mutuis colloquiis se ad divinum servitium magis accenderent, Badagae bellum Lusitanis intulerunt, et D. Thomae urbem obsidione premere coeperunt, Causa fuit cupiditas pecuniarum. Dum enim Rex jam nimium senex stupet, qui regnum administrant quidquid libet licere sibi arbitrantur. Regis nomine ingentem pecuniarum summam a D. Thomae civibus postulavere, recusarunt illi tam insolitam exactionem, recusantes armis aggrediuntur. Illi contra armis se defendunt, in armis sunt utrique, illi urbem oppugnant ut eam depraedentur, isti propugnant ut suas res tueantur, Hostium jam permulti, ex Lusitanis etiam nonnulli sunt occisi. P. Rubinus Rⁱ. Episcopi et Magistratum rogatu cum duobus civibus ad tyrannum missus est ut de pace ageret. Sed quia postulas pecunias secum non deportarunt, comprehensi sunt et in vinculis tenentur. Quem finem res habitura sit ignoramus.

XXXVI

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF Fr ANTONIO RUBINO
TO Fr. JOAO ALVARES

(*St. Thomé, November 29th, 1617.*)

Ouve por bẽ a Sãta obed^a. depois de 4. anos de tirarme a carrega q̃ tinha deste Coll^o. do q̃ diu particulares graças ao Senhor. As guerras deste Reino de Bisnagã uão tomãdo bom

termo, porq o menino legitimo successor da coroa uai cada dia mais alcunando maiores uictorias, e os messes passados cortou a cabeça a Jagaralu seu cotrario aleuñtouse e seu lugar hu Ir seu por nome Etirali mas no pode resistir ao poder de menino por onde se cre, q̃ e breue sara coroado, e a nossa missao se tornara a renouar

Do S Thome os 29 de 9bro de 1617

D V R

Minimo Seruo e o Senbor

ANT^o RUBINO

XXXVII

MEMORIAL AGAINST THE JESUITS OF VIJAYANAGARA AND SPFCIALLY AGAINST THOSE OF CHANDRAGIRI

Que em Chandegri Corte D Elrey de Bísnaça reside hum religioso da Comp^a e dous em Velur, que he outro lugar onde este Rey custuma estar m^o p^o do tempo que nestas duas p^{tes} nao ha conuersão nem Christãos, mais que tres ou quatro moços, que seruem a estes religiosos, e que o fim principal que tem nq^{ta} duas terras hê adquirir rendas pera sy como ya tem em Meliapor mais de cinco mil pardaos cada anno sendo os religiosos que aly residem tres sacerdotes, e dous yrmãos que servem mais estes religiosos na Corte daquella Rey de atrauessarem tudo quanto ha até as pelles pera as botas e canas de palanquins, que até nestas mende zas poem estanque Que seruem em lugar de pregação euangelica de andar falando a Vontade dos Bramenes, e Jogues que sam os Sacerdotes, e penitentes entre aquelles gentios. E de por seu meo adquirirem o que pretendem, porque todos os religiosos da comp^a que andão por aq^{ta} costa aprendem a lengoa não pera pregarẽ a ley Euangelica (que o não fazem) se não pera por este meo, com mais segredo se communicarem com aquelles gentios e adquirirem rendas para sy e não pera pregarẽ a fẽ E conuerterem almas porque o não fazem e se a Magestade tem outra informação he erriada, que tem chegado a tanto dasaforo da ley Christam que em Velur, onde ficaua, El Rey de Bísnaça, tem hum Irmão Italiano que se chama Fuente buena o qual hê pintor de profissam e se ocupa em pintar ao Rey gentio suas molheres nuas abraçadas com elle em tanques de agoa, e em actos deshonestos, pintalle mais os seus idolos fazendo retratos desta calidade somente por enganarẽ ao Rey, elhe ganharẽ a vontade com estas pinturas pera que lhes dê rendas como

singa, e fazem que sua Mag^a he escreua cartas de agra-
decim^{to} por dar boa colheita a estes Religiosos em suas
terras, e fauorecelhos no ministerio da conuersão, e então
tresladão a carta de S Mag^a em suas ollas e lingua da terra
como querem acrecentando lho e diminuindo o que faz a seu
proposito e dão a El Rey a olla em sua lingua e a carta de S
Mag^a e a dos Visoreys ficalhes no escritorio, e assy metem
ao Rey na cabeça mil torres de Vento e da mesma maneyra
escreuen a S Mag^a o que conuem a seu proposito e firmão a
carta com a chipa do Rey porque por hum real que dem ao
seu criado que tem a chipa, e firma d El Rey lha deyxara
abrir trinta uezes quanto mais assynar cartas em tudo o que
se diz se fala a uerdade a S Mag^a porque h^e obrigação de o
desenganar e a seus minystros, das mentiras e embusda
yndia pedindo se lhe com toda a ynstancia mande acodir a
estes religiosos com reformação muy estreita, e mande que
se recolhão as cidades, e lugares pouoados de Portugueses,
porque affrontão com seu modo de negoçar o nome
xpão

Do que passa na Costa da Pescaria se podera saber por
Via do Bispo de Cochim, q^{ue} anda conquistando estes Religio-
sos ha dous annos, e o que fazem na China polla do Bispo
de Macão e o mais se diz dos outros. O Bispo de Melapor
sofre q^{ue} pode porque não aya dar entender a estes xpos rezem
baptizados e a os infieis que há diuisão na ig^{reja} de Deos por
estes Religiosos buscão com suas conservatorias occasioes
cada dia de noua schysma e tem posto todo aquelle estado
até a China em grande balanço.

Deue S Mag^a supplicar ao s^{eu} P mande reuogar todos
os Breues, e Bullas, que as Religioes mendicantes e os da
Comp^{anhia} tem pera tomarem Conseruadores e que elles e suas
causas fiquem sogeitas aos ordinarios nos termos do d^{eu} com
mum porque se assy se não fizer se há de perder a Christan-
dade da yndia, e hão de crescer muy depressa mais schysmas,
que em Hollanda, e em Inglaterra S Mag^a porque he deue
mandar acodir a reformar estes Religiosos, e prouer neste seu
modo de proceder se não ser lhe ha necessario m^{uito} cedo
mandar a yndia cabedal pera conquistar os Religiosos da
Camp^{anha} e não se sabe se bastara porq^{ue} tem mais d^{eu} que S.
Mag^a e nele estribão

Tambem se lembra a S. Mag^a que conuem m^{uito} a seu
serviço e tanto como não auer olandeses na yndia mandar
que de Cochim até Maluco em toda a Costa, e terra firme
não aya Religiosos da Comp^{anhia} estrangeiros e os que ouuer

seyam Portugueses, Castelhanos, e Gallegos, e nenhua outra nação p̃que não conuẽ ao serviço de Deos, e de S. Mag^{dc}. auer esta gente por aquellas p^{tes}. e terras, se hẽ seruido que se não p(erez)ca aq^{ta}. Christandade e o estado da yndia.

Dos mais Religiosos não hà queixa de que se auize a S. Mag^c. mais q̃ de serem todos m^{to}. pobres e que fazem o que deuẽ som^{ta}. se descuidão em aprender a lingua da terra, porẽ se ouuer de ser p^a. se aproueitarem della como os da Comp^a. milhor será que a não saibão.

Antonio Viles decima.

APPENDIX D

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE
R. C. DIOCESE OF MYLAPORE (MADRAS)

I

NOTICIA DESTE BISPADO DE MAILAPUR

Nao podendo o Snr Bispo de Cochim D Fr Andres & visitar por si todo o seu Bispado por ser muito extenso requereo a seu soberano sobre este ponto Este era então o Snr D Filipe 3 Rey de Hespanha e de Portugal postulou ao Papa Paulo 5 erecção do Bispado de Mailapur desmembrando-o do de Cochim O Papa conhecendo a justiça da postulação no dia 9 de Janr de 1606 erigiu a Igreja de S Thome de Mailapur em Cathedral em ms dia creou para Bispo da ms a D Fr Sebastião de S Pedro da Ordem dos Eremitas de S Ag porque o d—Snr Rey assim lho pedia. Tudo isto e mais consta da Acta Congregationis Consistorialis habitae die 9 Januarii an 1605 coram Paulo 5 cuja copia authentica se conserva nesta Camara Ecclesiastica.

Pacificamt o Snr D Fr Sebastião de S Pedro depois desta dismembracao tomou posse e governou este Bispado (em tpo bem critico para os dominios de Portugal por estarem debaixo do captiveiro de Hespanha neste tropelle se mostrou Portuguez, pois conquistando os Hollandezes que se rebelaram contra Hespanha, muitos dominios Portuguezes na India por serem então sujeitos a Hespanha, não conquistarão Sadras, e S Thome, porque o d S Bispo a sua custa fez tropas, e as defendeo dos Hollandezes Deixo o mais que posso dizer deste Snr Bispo q pela Religiao e pelo seu Rey obrou.

Roll bearing the following heading "*Correspondencias e requerimentos dos Capuchinhos a Madras e questao sobre o fundo da Igreja Etc desde o anno de 1794 ate 1821 e resumidos no Cathalogo geral pelos seguintes N No 5109*"

II

COPIA DO MAIS ESENCIAL DA BULLA DA ERECCAO DO
BISPO DE S THOME

Determinacao da Audiencia do SSm P^o Papa Paulo 5 e seus Emminentissimos Cardeaes no dia 9 de Janr 1606 pela qual separa da Diocese de Cochim toda a Costa de Coromandel (Nota —nesta se inclui Madras) Reynos de Bengalla, Oriza, e Pegu erigindosse em Cathedral a Igreja de S Thome de Maylapur a Instancia do Rey de Portugal

Hoje o Sm^o. em Christo P^o., e Snr nosso Paulo por Divina Providencia Papa 5. na Sua Audiencia Secreta, como he costume, attendendo a representação, do Eminentissimo Eduardo Cardeal Fernessee por parte do Serenissimo Rey Catholico de Portugal, e dos Algarves Philippe 2. conheceo ser m^{ta}. interessãte instituir huma Igreja Cathedral, e Diocese na Costa Maritima de Coromandel na India Oriental, Reynos de Bengalla, Orisa, e Pegu & o mesmo Sm^o. P^o. com pio affecto, e concelho dos Eminentissimos Cardeaes de Apostolica authoridade annuindo benignamente á humilde supplica do supraditto Rey de Portugal, e p^a. gloria do Omnipotente Deos, e da Gloriosissima Sempre Virgem Maria, e do Benaventurado Apostolo S. Thome, a pa a Gloria de toda a Igreja Triunfante, e exaltação de Fè, na lembrança de q^{ue} o Corpo do Apostolo S. Thome se depositou na Cidade de Maylapur, instituio com a invocação do Apostolo S. Thome em Cathedral a Igreja da mesma Cidade de Maylapur . . . S. Santidade perpetuamente concedeo, e assignou, como tambem ao sobred^o Rey concedeo o Direito de Padroado de ditta Diocese, e aos seos futuros successores, como Administradores da Ordem de Christo no espiritual, e temporal com poder de apresentar a Sua Santidade, e aos Romanos Pontifices Seos Successores pessoas idoneas para a Dignidade Episcopal, e Governo da Diocese de S. Thome de Maylapur . . .

Dada em Roma nas Casas da Costumada Residencia do Sm^o. P^o. Paulo 5. do Anno do Senhor 1606 aos 9 dias do mes de Janeiro do pr^o anno do Seo Pontificado.

Roll bearing the following heading "*Cartas e correspondencias officiaes do Sr Arcebispo D' Amorim Pessoa com o Vigario Geral de Meliapor P^o. B. F. Amarante sobre a administracao dessa diocesa e algumas correspondencias dos P^{os}. capucinhos da Madrasta sobre jurisdiccao etc, de 1813-a 1866 e resumidos em Cathalogo geral do N-3738-a 3799 F. D*", No 8749.

INDEX

- Abag-devi-Ciantru, 189.
 Abheville (Sr Sanson D'), 313.
 Abdenegan *See* Ahmadnagar
 Abdullah, Prince of Bijapur, 73, 92
 n, 92 n. 3, 93, 94, 95 n.
 Abdul Wahab, 337 n. 1.
 Abdur Razzak, 2.
 Abhirama Ativirarama Pandya,
 347
 Abiramı, 107
 Abu Turab, 88.
 Abyssinian, 82, 160
 Acharayya, 514.
 Achcharapakham, 106
 Achchar. *See* Akbar
 Achyuta Deva Raya, XIV, 1, 1 n.
 1, 1 n. 2, 2, 2 n. 3, 3 n 1, 3 n
 6, 4, 4 n, 4 n 3, 4 n 6, 7 n 5,
 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, 30, 40, 51 n.
 16, 55, 99, 108, 113, 115, 116, 117,
 118, 124 n 3, 125, 125 n, 126,
 127, 127 n, 128, 130, 131, 131
 n 1, 132, 168, 169, 172, 173, 177,
 183, 191, 219, 224, 226, 311, 524,
 532, 541.
 Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore,
 280, 286, 287, 288, 289, 327, 391,
 393, 400, 401, 416, 522, 527.
 Achyutappa Nayakar Aryan, 398
 Achyutarayabhyudayan, 3, 15,
 117
 Adalpalam, 289, 321, 523
 Adavanı *See* Adoni.
 Adelraya, 317, 320
 Adicario, 429
 Adil Khan *See* Adil Shah
 Adil Khan Bungy, 334
 Adil Shah, 25, 59 n 4, 62, 63, 73,
 76, 79 n 2, 85, 188 n, 197, 198,
 207, 207 n 5, 209, 213 n. 7, 297,
 322, 334, 338, 417, 419
 Adishesha, 302, 308
 Adivarsha Perumal temple, 289
 Adoni, 9, 33, 74, 75, 240, 241,
 fortress of, 243
 Afzul Khan, 329
 Agaresva Udaiyar, 324.
 Agastyappa Nayaka of Vellore,
 289.
 Agastyesvara of Chadıpirala, 323.
 Agra, 322
 Ahavarama, 114 n 7.
 Ahmadnagar, XVIII, XIX, 73, 75,
 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87,
 88, 88 n 1, 89, 90, 90 n 1, 91,
 91 n 1, 92 n 1, 92 n. 3, 93, 94,
 95, 194, 195 n 1, 196, 197, 214,
 214 n. 3, 217, 231, 232, 236, 257,
 322, 336, 337, 338, 416, army of,
 206 n 2, 212, Queen Mother of,
 257, Muhammadans of, 214, 214
 n 3, Sultans of, XVIII, 33, 203 n.,
 208, 209, 209 n 1, 212, 213, 257,
 418.
 Ahobala Narasimba, 42.
 Ahobala Rayasa, 517.
 Ahobaladı, 261.
 Ahobalam, 273, 546
 Ahobalam (Lower), 498, 543.
 Ahobalam temple, 246 n 1, 272,
 326, 515
 Ahobalesvara, 498
 Ahobilam, 47, 234, 264, 277, 279
 Ainana Malukka *See* Ain-ul-Mulk.
 Ain-ul-Mulk, 34, 87, 90, 95, 212
 Aiyakarai Vairappa, 117, 118.
 Aiyangars, 533 n
 Aiyer *See* Nobili.
 Ajda Khan, 329.
 Akalanakajayya, 412.
 Akbar, XX, 197 n 5, 326, 337, 338,
 338 n, 339, 340, 433, 434, 445,
 471, 511
 Akbar, by Mr V A Smith, XX.
 Akim Hasan Beg, 213 n 7
 Alagesuvara Pillaiyar, 172.
 Alagiarama Perumal, 548
 Alagiyingar, 323, 498.
 Alai-ud-din, 101
 Alamakhanundu, 331.
 Alamelamma, 420
 Alamelumanga, 421.
 Alam Khan Pathan, 331
 Alampundi plate of Virupaksha,
 107, 547 n 2
 Alankata, 523
 Ala-ud-din Khilji, 100
 Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, 105.

644 THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

- Albert, de Nobilis disciple, 363
381 390
Albuquerque (Alfonso De) 53 57
58 59 186 *Commentarios de*
38
Albuquerque (Mathias de) 419
Aldworth (Mr Tho) 239
Alexandria, 71
Alexis Nayaka, 381 384 390
Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur 87 87
n 2, 83 90 91 94 96 194 195
197 199 205 210 215 215 n 5
225 231 232 236 240 257 258
268 269 270 271 275 295
Ali Barid 77 79 88 90 96 168
205
Ali ibn Aziz 85 88 n 1 119 195
209 211 213 214 215 217 226
229
Ali Khan Lur 275
Aliya Ramarajayan. *See* Rama
Raya.
Almeida (Viceroy Dom Francisco
d') 57 186
Almeida (Dom Luiz de) 189
Aloyalus of Gonzaga (St.) 365
Alvarez (Fr J) 313 442
Alur 182.
Amarinayan Vengala Nayan in
garu 36, 42-43
Ambar Khan 82.
Ambasamudram 139 143 n 359
Ambrose (St.) 370.
Aminabad inscription 274 280
331 322 n. 1
Amin Malka. *See* Amin ul-Mulk
Amin-ul Mulk, 274 326, 331 332,
332 n 1 333 333 n. 1
Amir Barid Shah of Bidar 75
Amritanidhan 208 n. 4
Amir Jumla. *See* Amin ul-Mulk.
Amir Shah Mir 274
Anal Kantika 527
Analkhoodi 103
Anaji Jagalur 426
Anakula, 317
Ananda Namaivaya Pandaram
321 518, 519
Ananta Kon 175
Ananta Raja, 327
Anantacharya 38
Anantapur District, 26 48 237
265 546
Anantapuram, 277
Anantarama 309 324 524
Anantarangakalva, 48
Anantarama Odeiyaru 237
Anangharagava 517
Anantasiyanam 142, 271
Anantasiyacharya, 545
Ancola. *See* Ankola.
Andrade (Freire de) 63 64
Anegundi 22 184 224 226 236,
242 n 2 343 *Raja of* 22 n 2,
301 n
Anga 55 122
Angamale 393
Anglican 146 n.
Anjaneya 261
Anjatha perumal 103
Anjediva Island 186
Ankola, 61 63 190.
Annamalai Venba 518
Annam Bhatha, 528
Annavaram 524
Anriquez. *See* Henriquez.
Apa kondaja, 458 459
Apocondala. *See* Apa Kondaja
Appalya Dikshita, 289 316 321
322, 523 532 544 553
Appalamba, 21 22 23
Appaya, 44
Appayakapola Chetpetika, 522.
Aprama 527
Aquaviva (Fr Claudio) 165 371
474 489
Ara Jain Tirthankara 550
Arab horses 62, 72, 200 n. 1
Arabia 2, 59 72.
Arabian sea, 185 255
Araga, 56
Arakata-venula Agraharam 43
Arambarithi 192.
Aramboly *See* Aruvaymoli.
Aranganasa. *See* Ranganatha.
Aravidu Dynasty VI VII XIII
XIV XV 13 17 18 24 n. 1 27
32, 35 99 114 219, 221 223
242, 246 248 251 263 290 324
325 n. 510 511 513 514 517
533 543 546 548
Aravidi Bukka, 19.
Aravidi-pura, 19 253
Arcot, 111 North, 112 n. 1 139
191 288 289 n 1 317 398 518
523 South 126 325
Ardinga 332.
Arikasari Parakrama Pandya, 108-
109 542.
Arivillimangalam plates of Ranga
I 253 266 267 278 525
Arivillimangalam village, 287 552

- Ariya Nayaka Mudaliar, 139.
 Ariyanatha Mudaliyar, 129, 131,
 136, 139, 167, 169, 199, 199 n. 1,
 341, 344, 345, 346, 357
 Ariya Perumal, 352, 353.
 Arjuna, 40, 207, 321.
 Armesine, 72
 Arrakerra, 415.
 Arsappa Nayaka, 275, 417, 418.
 Arunasila, 115
 Aruppukottai, 284.
 Aruvaymoli Pass, 142.
 Asad Khan, 8, 9 n. 1, 74, 75, 78, 79,
 92, 92 n. 3, 93
 Asamavayi, 527.
 Asia, 57 n. 1.
 Asiddha, 527.
 Asirgarh, V, 337, 339.
 Astapanaichus. *See* Achyutappa
 Nayaka
 Atayde (Don Luiz de), 190, 240,
 290, 294, 296, 298, 388
 Ativirarama Pandya, 138, 392.
 Ativiraramapura, 348.
 Atmakur, 301.
 Atougia (Fr Pedro da), 66 n. 2.
 Atri, 18, 510
 Attmachan, 239.
 Aubalaraja, 44
 Aubalarajayya, 43.
 Aurangam, 170
 Aurangzeb, 218, 340
 Avahaluraya, 253, 267, 308.
 Avanangiri, 19.
 Avati, 182
 Avubhaladeva Maharaja of Nan-
 dyala, 16
 Ayalu Bhaseara, 521.
 Ayyakarappa, 347
 Ayyavaru, 545.
 Ayalur-Nainar, (Palaiyams of), 133.
 Azevedo (Dom Jeronymo d'), 396,
 425, 437, 439, 447, 449, 450, 451,
 453, 463, 470, 472, 481, 482, 501,
 507.
 Bacanor, 113.
 Bachihalli-Pamappa Nayaka, 412.
 Badagas (Telugus), 25, 143, 146 n.,
 148, 150, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158,
 158 n. 2, 364, 381, 382, 528, 529.
 Badaguas *See* Badagas.
 Badami, 35, 48, 49, 185.
 Badavi *See* Badami.
 Badme Maluka-Odeya, 32.
 Bagiratha, 37, 220.
 Bagnagar *See* Vijayanagara.
 Bagrakot, 199
 Bagur, 52, 185
Bahulasvacharitam, 310, 318,
 322
 Baichappa, 539.
 Baippa Nayaka, 184
 Bairayaganda, 44
 Bakapur *See* Bankapur
Balabhadragavatamu, 524
 Balam family, 298.
 Balambika, 19.
 Balbi (Gasparo), 428, 429, 430
 Balil Khan, 275, 416, 417.
 Ballala III (Vira), 99, 102, 103 n. 5.
 Ballalaraya, 317.
 Ballapura, 182
 Balla Row, 331
 Ballerayandu, 331
 Bahmani capital, 85.
 Banda, 63
 Bangalore, XXI, 172, 183, 543
 Bangalore Museum, 132.
 Bangher, 298, 425, 426, King of,
 290, 298, 414.
 Banguel *See* Bangher
 Bankapur, 179, 252, 258, 259, n. 1,
 276, 417, 418
 Bankapura *See* Bankapur.
 Bannum, 30, 415, 423
 Baptist (Saint John the), 430.
 Barace, 190,
 Baratha, 37, 220.
 Barakura Raja. *See* Barkur.
 Baramahal, 272, Sudra Chief of,
 271.
 Barampur. *See* Burhampur.
 Barcelor *See* Basrur
 Bardez, 61, 61 n. 2, 93.
 Barid Shah, 10 n
 Barkur, 35, 113, 178, 179.
 Barma *See* Brahma.
 Baronius, 366
 Barradas (Fr Manoel de), 3, 7,
 122, 347, 495, 496, 498, 502, 503,
 506, 507, 508, 512
 Barretto (Dom Francisco), 94
 Bartacella *See* Bhaktal
 Barthema (Luigi), 57 n. 1, 428, 452,
 Bartoli (Fr N.), 141
 Bartolomeo (Fra Paolino de Sao),
 530
Basatin-us-Salatın, 20, 194, 198,
 210, 228, 233 n. 1
 Basava or Basavappa, 177,

- Basavabhupala, 56
 Basavanna Nayaka, 154
 Basavaraja, 199 236.
 Basrur 59 62, 190 263 290 296
 297 416 Rani of 263
 Bassein 145 n
 Basvapatna chief 427
 Batocala. *See* Bhatkal
 Batocala. *See* Bhatkal
 Battalanka, 521
 Battapadu 50 234
 Battikala. *See* Bhatkal
 Battupalli 515
 Bayamma (Queen) *See* Venkat
 amba.
 Bayapur 203 n 1
 Bayyambika. *See* Venkatamba.
 Bayyappa Nayaka, 239
 Beadala. *See* Vedala.
 Beakul 179
 Bedandakota, 322.
 Bednall (John) 239
 Bedues, 223
 Belgaum, 78 92, 418
 Belgola. *See* Sravana Belgola
 Belgula. *See* Sravana Belgola.
 Bellamkonda, 273 274
 Bellary District, 98
 Bellarmino (Cardinal Roberto)
 365 366 373 374
 Bellur 98 172, 237 298 411 426
 family of 52 237 290
 Belingula. *See* Sravano-Belgola.
 Bembar. *See* Pedambur
 Benares, 121 214 n. 3 533, 533 n.
 1
 Bengal 2, 68, 70, 389 397 434
 439 gulf of, 307
 Bengala. *See* Bengal.
 Bengapur 113
 Bengalura. *See* Bangalore.
 Berghen (Warner Van) 460
 Berar 54 n 4 90 198 257
 Bergles, 337
 Bertrand (Fr.) XX
 Besse (Fr.) 384
 Betebumar. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Betebumao. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Beterbomal. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Betermeal. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Betermemal. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Beternumal. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Bettimunal. *See* Vitthala (Rama
 Raya)
 Bettad Wodeyar 292.
 Bevinahalli grant of Sadasiva 1 n
 1 15 28 3., 36 46 212, 422,
 423 430
 Bezeneger. *See* Vijayanagara.
 Bhadra, 177
 Bhadra Bahu 536
 Bhadrachalam 321
 Bhadrappa Nayaka, 180
 Bhadri 49
Bhagrat Gita 534
 Bhagvat temple 354
 Bhaira Devi of Gersoppa, 129
 293
 Bhairava Nayaka, 177
 Bhairava II 550
 Bhairava temple 14
 Bhairavavara temple 16.
 Bhaktapala Venugopala Krishna
 temple 546.
 Bhaktas (Vaishnavas) 535
 Bhamaia, 517
 Bhar Devi 268
 Bharata Ithasa Sanshodhaka
 Mandala, Poona, XVIII XIX
 197 n 5
 Bharroja, 49 50.
 Bhaskaracharya, 325 n 2.
 Bhasbhakara, 534
 Bhasyakata, 555
 Bhatkal 14 113 172 186 307
 Queen of VII 186 187 419 423
 Bhattakalanka 517
 Bhattu Murti 12, 250 513 515
 516
Bhavanapurushottama 283 522.
 Bhaybalandar 333
 Bhayirarama Vodeya, 419
 Bhima, 78 163 519
 Bhire, 32, 41
 Bhire Deva pagoda 183
 Bhire Devan 543
 Bhisesvara, 551.
 Bhogapur 203 n 1
 Bhogavati 291
 Bhog Mul Nalg. 200.
 Bhoj Tirmal Ray 4 n. 4 *See*
Salakam Timma Raju.
 Bhoja Raja 54 54 n. 4 262, 278
 514 516, 517
 Bhoja (Mihira) of Kanauj, 54 n. 4
 Bhoja Paramara of Malwa, 54 n. 4,

- Bhoja tribe in Berar, 54 n 4.
 Bhoja II of Kanauj, 54 n 4
 Bhojanapullah, 193
 Bhojas, 279, 510
 Bhojesvara, 42
 Bhol Tirmal Ray, 11 *See* Salakam
 Timma Raju
 Bhujabalin, 536, 550
 Bhupati (Vira), 283
 Bhutala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda
 Varma, 114
 Bhutala Vira, 149
 Bhutala Vira Rama Varma, 116.
 Bhutanatha Brahma-jyoyisalu, 16.
 Bibi Konzah Humayun *See*
 Konzah Humayun.
 Bidar, 73, 75, 76, 79, 81, 88, 90,
 194, 198, 208, 322, Sultans of,
 207
 Bijanagar *See* Vijayanagara
 Bijapur 6, 8, 8 n 4, 9 n 1, 10 n.,
 57, 59, 60 n, 61 n. 2, 62,
 64, 73, 74, 75, 76 n 2, 77,
 78, 79 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 87 n 2,
 88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 95 n, 194,
 197, 199, 200, 211, 212, 228, 231,
 232, 233 n 1, 236, 238, 257,
 264, 269, 270, 272, 275, 276, 279,
 291, 326, 336, 340, 417, 418, 511,
 Museum of, 214 n 3, Sultans of,
 30, 33, 57, 58, 59, 59 n 4, 60
 n, 63, 186, 206 n. 1, 207 n. 5,
 207 n 8, 208, 212, 215, 215 n
 5, 240, 269, 270, 310, 336, 337
 n 1 416, 418
 Bhjjalendra, 18
 Bijly Khan, 33
 Bijwara, 95
 Bilchodu sima, 185
 Bir, 81.
 Birar, 231
 Birlas Khan, 332, 333, 333 n 1
 Bisalaja Narck, 204 n 2
 Bisnaga *See* Vijayanagara
 Bisnagar *See* Vijayanagara.
 Bisnaga *See* Vijayanagara,
 Bitter (Captain Jacob de), 410
 n 3
 Black Town, 429-430.
 Bollavaram, 21, 45.
 Bollavaram petta, 46
 Bomma of Vellore, 317
 Bomma Reddi, 112
 Bommavaram, 51.
 Bommi Reddi, 321,
 Bondalakunta, 51, 193.
 Boncompagno (Marquese D. Gre-
 gorio), 367.
 Boncompagno (Prince), 374
 Borromeo (St Charles), 366
 Botelho (Antonio), 297.
 Botelho (Simao), 71 n 1
 Bracelor. *See* Basrur
 Braga (Primate of), 370
 Braganca (Dom Constantino de),
 165
 Brahathesavaraswami temple, 287.
 Brahma, 388, 426, 527, 532, 532
 n. 1, 550
 Brahmans, 27, 30, 36, 40, 44, 45,
 46, 47, 49, 67, 82, 128, 138, 142,
 148, 212, 261, 274, 301, 315,
 322, 323, 348, 349, 357, 359, 364,
 370, 377, 378, 380, 384, 386, 387,
 388, 389, 392, 394, 400, 423, 430,
 479, 480, 491, 553, 546
 Brahman chronicles, 143
 Brahmanism, 532
 Brahmanapalli, 48
 Briggs, 330 n. 2
 Bripadamba temple, 139
 Bristol, 432
 British Museum, 101 n. 2.
 British Museum plates of Sadasiva,
 1 n 1, 15, 35, 74, 514, 526
 British ships, 434
 British traders, 432, 433, 458.
 Britto (Bl John de), 370, 371 n. 1.
 Brokedon (Thomas), 460
 Brown (Mr Robert), 455, 457
 Brula, 94
 Buccerio (Fr. M) 384
 Buddha, 18, 37
 Buddhist (Pre) temple), 532 n 1.
 Buddhist kingdoms, 54 n 3.
 Budihal, 278, 299
 Budihala copper-plates, 249
 Bukka or Bukkaraya I of Vijaya-
 nagara, 105, 172, 237, 532, 534,
 538, 539
 Bukka, Prince of Vijayanagara,
 103, 103 n 4
 Bukkadevi Chautar of Ullal, 172,
 189, 190, 298, 424
 Bukkapatnam, 270
 Bukkasagaram, 277
 Bukkasamudram, 270
 Bunkpur, 243
 Burgess (Mr James), 243 n 5
 Burhad Imad Shah of Berar, 193

- Burbampur XIX 239
Burhan i Alaasir 38 194 195
 n 1 197 199 209 210 220
 Burhan Imad Shah of Berar 90
 Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmad
 nagar 75 76, 77 78 79 80 80
 n. 1 84 93 94 336.
 Burnell (Mr A C) 883
 Buswunt Raj 22
 Buswunt Row 200
 Butterworth (Mr A) 334 n 3
 313 n 1 335 n 4
- Cabecate 153
 Cabral (Fr Joao) 493
 Cacella (Fr Stefano) 493
 Cachorlacota 273
 Calma Naicken Patti 120 144 n 1
 Caland (Prof) 389
 Calastri 112.
 Calcutam See kalkulam
 Calcare 160 161
 Calcut See Calicut.
 Calcutra. 69
 Calicoet See Calicut.
 Calicut 58 113 119 159 187
 337 n 3 King of 189 Muham
 madans of 131
 Calistri (?) 384
 Calmette 389
 Camara, (Ruy Goncalves da) 297
 Cambay 64 n. 1 92
 Cambaya. See Cambay
 Cambolm See Gangolly
 Cammum. See Cumbum.
 Cananor 93 240
 Canara 39 56.
 Canaripatan 501
 Canniambaddi 415
 Capuchins 430
 Carugalli 181 Chief of 293.
 Carvalho (Gil Fernandez de) 160.
 Carvalho (Fr F) XXI
 Carur (Ray of) 275
 Casmira. See Kashmir
 Castets (Fr J) XX 371 n 1 387
 Castro (Dom Joao de) 61 63 64
 Catuir 110 n 1 112
 Ceylon 35 54 56 57 57 n. 1 57
 n 4 65 107 114 154 156 169
 170 198 278 281 354 400 480
 Chadaluvada 46
 Chadipirala, 323
 Chakrap-Mimanas 522.
- Chakravaritins 354 372
 Chalabi Rumi Khan 205 211 213
 Chale (Antonio Fernandes de)
 295
 Chalukya, 18
 Chalukya kingdom 55 n 1
 Chalukyas 18 252.
 Chaluvarya, 422.
 Chama Raja Wodeyar of Mysore
 181 290 422.
 Chamalur 46
 Chamunda 550
 Chamundaraja 536
 Chanagiri 49
 Chanda 177 178 n. 1
 Chand Bibi 197 275 337
 Chandegri See Chandragiri
 Chandergherri See Chandragiri.
 Chandeswari temple 22.
 Chandigri See Chandragiri
 Chandrabhanu Charitram 306
 521
 Chandragiri XXI 7 n. 5 39 115
 142 176 179 216 213 223
 233 242 246 256 253 263
 265 266 269 271 280 285
 300 303 304 307 311 313
 314 315 316 319 320 336 336
 n 1 338 340 414 420 434
 435 438 465 467 468 470
 471 472 473 475 476 479
 480 482 483 484 486 487
 488 490 493 496 498 499 500
 503 514 518 529 535 544
 Chandragupta Maurya, 18 536
 n 2
 Chandragutti 56 178 268
 Chandra Kola 135
 Chanda Sekhara Pandya of Madura,
 99 108 124 125 128 129 130,
 132, 135 n 173
 Chendra Sekhara Wodeyar 334
 Chandrikodabrita Nyaya Vivarana,
 522.
 Chandrasala 201 n 4
 Chanocs (Gaspar) 59
 Channa Basavaraja Deva 550
 Channadevi or Channamadevi
 249
 Channa Venkatapadi 19
 Chanparaya 104
 Charamandel. See Coromandel.
 Charnataka See Karnataka.
 Charuohendrodayam 267 306,
 309

- Charukirti, 550
 Chaurasi durga, 267, 308
 Chavarcovardin. *See* Chakravartins
 Chavudesvari, 277
 Chenna, 318 n 1 320
 Chennakesava, 46, 193, 265, 323, 324
 Chennakesava pagoda, 43
 Chennakesava Perumal, 43
 Chennakesava temple, 44, 45
 Chennakesavaraya, 277, 335
 Chennakesavasvamin temple, 7, 34
 Chennamaraju, 519
 Chenna Nayaka, 318, 320
 Chennapa Nayadu, 236, 260
 Chennapatna, 272, 277
 Chennasagaram, 404
 Chennur, 309
 Chengi *See* Jinji
 Chera, 112
 Chera Maha Devi, 114
 Chera Udaya Marthanda Varma of Travancore, 114
 Chernuri sima, 42
 Cherukuru, 516, 517
 Chevva *See* Siva
 Chhokkanatha, 350, 381
 Chica Raj *See* Chikka Raya
 Chichanada *See* Chhokkanatha
 Chidamnarakavi, 525
 Chidambaram, 121, 323, 400, 404, 518, 519, 532, 537, 544, 551, 553
 Chidambara venba, 518
 Chidambaresvara, 323
 Chikadevaraya, 194
 Chikkabeta, 550
 Chikkadeva Raya, 271, 293
 Chikkadevaraya Vamsavalu, 27, 215, 221, 223, 235, 236 254, 277, 291, 291 n, 342, 411, 419
 Chikka Sankanna Nayaka, 180, 291, 423
 Chikkaya, 324
 Chikkaraya, 3
 Chikka Raya (Ranga II), 503, 504, 507
 Chikka Udaiyar, 3
 Chiknayakanhalli, 271
 Chilao *See* Ceylon
 Chima Ragion (Ranga), 504
 China, 57 n. 4, 65 n, 72, 397 n 1, 439, silks of, 63
 Chingleput District, 142, 305, 310 n 3, 320, 320 n 6, 452, 498.
 Chinna Aubalaraja, 43
 Chinna Avubalesvara deva Maharaju, 16, 44
 Chinna Bomma Nayaka of Vellore, 40, 139, 192, 234, 280, 288, 289, 316, 321, 523
 Chinna Devi, wife of Krishna Deva Raya, 5, 24
 Chinna Dorai, 344
 Chinna Kesava, 45
 Chinna Kesava Nayaka, 170
 Chinna Konetu Tiruvengalanathayagam, 47
 Chinna Mudiam, 51, 193
 Chinnapa Naidu, 96
 Chinnapanayangaru, 235
 Chinna Singaraja, 51 n 3
 Chinna Singarasu Choda Maharaju *See* Chinna Singaraja
 Chinnasunga *See* Chinna Singaraja
 Chinna Timmarajayadeva Maharaja, 44, 46, 114, 141, 142 n. 2, 524
 Chinna Timmaraja Kondayadeva Maharaja, 46
 Chinna Timmanayadu, 43.
 Chinna Venkata, 23
 Chinna Venkatadri, 3 *See* Venkata I
 Chinna Virappa Nayaka, 192
 Chintakommadine, 192
 Chintalapalli, 343
 Chitaldroog District, 50, 52, 122, 185, 411, 426, 427
 Chitaldroog Nayak, 185
 Chitra Kuta (Chidambaram), 544.
 Chittoor, 112, 112 n
 Chivvakkaluri Bayacha Rajayya, 30
 Chola (country, kings, kingdom etc.), XVIII, 30, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 124, 125, 125 n, 125 n 1, 128, 130, 144 n 1, 155, 172, 252, 256, 286, 308, 354, 532, 544
 Cholgana *See* Solaga
 Christapatanna *See* Krishnapatan
 Christianity, 119 n 1, 364, 394, 396, 514
 Christian doctrine, 386, 529, 531, 531 n 2
 Christian faith, 119, 363, 530.

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

- Christians 67 94 99 119 120
 120 n 120 n. 1 143 148 150
 n 1 151 152 348 351 364 369
 378 383 384 390
 Christian Sannyasi 393 395
 Christnada 383
 Chandraguti (Raja of) 243
 Chandragiri See Chandragiri
 Cidoca. See Sadasiva Raya
 Cintacora river 63
 Cipriano (Fr) 66 n 2
 Cirangan See Srirangam
 Cirangapatão See Seringapatam
 Cobban 102 102 n 2
 Cochin See Cochin.
 Cochim. See Cochin.
 Cochin 71 n 1 119 145 n 151
 156, 158 n. 2 160 210 313 n.
 7 347 361 366 374 387 390
 393 394 434 n 3 439 439 n
 1 442, 472 493 531 531 n 2.
 Coelho (Francisco) 147
 Coelho (Lourenço) 160 161
 Colmatore 13 154 214
 Colerun 112 407
 Colombo 480
 Comorin (Cape) 60 n 3 132 142,
 143 n. 148 151 152 158 n 2,
 159 163 307 352 354 385
 Comory See Comorin
 Company of Jesus & Society of
 Jesus.
 Compagnie (De Algemene Geestro-
 yerde Oest Indische) 431
 Companhia do Comercio 431
 Companhia Portuguesa das Indias
 Orientaes 431
 Conda Ma 456 457
 Condapilli 89, 95
 Condogor 437 472.
 Condoquor See Condogor
 Concan. See Konkani.
 Congu Deas Rajakal Khyeyut
 420 n. 4
 Connanalche 320
 Coromandel Coast 64 n 3 70,
 110 131 142 145 n. 149 153
 154 155 156 159 160 162, 163
 307 363 439, 456
 Correa (Gaspar) 4 4 n 4 4 n. 6
 7 7 n 5 8 10 11 14 25 30 61
 156 223 247
 Correa (João Fernandes) 156.
 Cornall 187
 Costa (Fr João da) 467
- Cotamaluc. See Qutb Shah.
 Cotubla See Qutb Shah
 Conha 239
 Couens (Mr H) 228
 Coutinho (Fr Belchior) 305 306,
 316 319 320 337 338 358 378
 393 397 400 401 402 408 409
 412 413 414 421 435 440 441
 452 467 4 0 471 472, 474
 476 477 478 479 484 489 490
 491 500 501 503 505 509 510
 530.
 Coutinho (Captain Manoel Rodri-
 gues) 159 160 161 164 165.
 Couto (Diogo) 4 n. 6 11 13 14
 20 25 29 31 68 69 n. 1 117
 122 123 125 140 159 194 195
 197 198 200 213 216 242 370
 Cresus 71
 Criminali (Fr Antonio) 131 157
 1-5 n 2.
 Crisnarao. See Krishna Deva Raya.
 Cruz (João da) 119
 Cuddalore 410 531 n 2 551
 Cuddapah District 21 22, 24 43
 44 46 50 93 140, 192 234 235
 265 580.
 Cumberland 433
 Cumbum Lake 273 331
 Cunha (Dom Nuno da) 60 n.
 120 188
 Cunha (Manoel de) 354
 Cuttack 309 522
 Cypriani (Fr Alphonso) 156 n. 3
- Dabris 213 n 7
 Dabul 198 n 3
 Dadamurti 383
 Dahmen (Fr) 365 369
 Dakshinamurti 516
 Dalavay 139 317 318 520 497
 499
 Dalavay Agraharam Plates of
 Venkata II, 55 234 260 302
 308 315 328 335 341 494 509
 517 528
 Dalavay Setupati Kattadeva 356.
 Dalpat Ray 213
 Damagaila, 30
 Danayak, 225 227
 Dandoy (Fr G) 318
 Danish traders V XIII
 Danlyal (Prince) 337

Dantikanti Lingappana, 290.
 Danvers, 482 n
 Daraporan. *See* Dharapuram.
 Dasandoddi, 32
 Dasappa Nayadu, 48.
 Dasyunayakas, 56.
 Daulatabad, 88 n. 1
 Daulatabadi paper, XVII.
 Davalu Papa, 322
 David (King), 373.
 Deccan, V, XVIII, 60 n , 97, 224 ,
 Kings of, 203 n. 1, kingdoms, of
 339
 Deccani Muhammadans, VII, XIII,
 73, 81, 97, 185, 276
 Deccani Sultans, 209, 219, 346
 Dekanese, 229
 Deleuai. *See* Dalavay.
 Delavay *See* Dalavay,
 Delhi, 100 195 n 1, 322
 Desantari Narasingadeva, 43
 Devachintamani Trivegal, 201 n. 4,
 Devalpupa Nayadu, 309, 310.
 Devanaballi, 182,
 Devanapatnam, 397, 410, 428, 432,
 443, 444, 451
 Devappa Gowda, 530
 Devaraya II of Vijayanagara, 107,
 172, 539..
 Devarayadurga, 37.
 Devathas, 426
 Devikapuram, 139, 289
 Dewurconda, 22, 95.
 Dew Naig, 200
 Dharwar, 243, 258.
 Dharapuram, 392
 Dialcan *See* Adil Shah.
 Diaz (Fr. Antonio), 479
 Diguva Tirupadi, 324, 498, 548
 Dikshitar Ariyam, 398.
 Dilawar Khan, 275, 276.
 Dindigul Taluq, 134
 Divan Barid, 213.
 Divakara Nayaka, 177
 Divodasa (King), 533.
 Dodda Chama Raja Wodeyar of
 Mysore, 292.
 Dodda Sankanna Nayaka, 180
 D'Orsey (Rev), 389
 Dosuri Koueru-kavi, 524
 Drinkwater (Captain), 460.
 Drona, 535
 Dudeia Prabnu, 413.
 Dudley (Sir Robert), 432.
 Dupatisima, 324.
 Durga, 130, 167,

Durga pagoda, 42.
 Durga Puja, 316
 Duria Imadul Mulk, 91.
 Dutch East India Company, 452,
 456.
 Dutch traders, V, VII, XIII, 65 n.
 4, 397, 410, 410 n. 3, 428, 432,
 433, 434, 440, 442, 446, 447, 450,
 452, 453, 455, 459, 461, 462, 463,
 482, 511.
 East India Company, 239, 455, 459,
 501, 502 n. 1, 508.
 East Indies, 431, 433.
 Edessa, 65 n. 4.
 Egypt, 553 n.
 Ekambara Mudahar, 139.
 Elamanchi, 270.
 Elamur, 471.
 Elizabeth (Queen), 433.
 Ellappa Nayaka, 192.
 Ellis (Mr), 389.
 Ellore, 96
 Elvanasur, 278.
 Embana Udeiyar, 106.
 Enaku Tamburan, 141 n 2.
 Enamdala, 16.
 England, 433.
 English (merchants, traders, ves-
 sels), V, VII, XIII, 239, 428,
 429, 433, 434, 455, 459, 511.
 Enura *See* Venur.
 Era Krishnappa Nayaka, 52, 96,
 184, 185, 427.
 Erode, 132, 342.
 Erramadhavarya, 521.
 Essington (Thomas), 456.
 Esteveao (Fr Gaspar), 467,
 Etgir, 78, 199.
 Etibar Khan, 331.
 Ettayapuram, 284 n 2
 Ettur, 540, 541 n
 Ettur Tataiya, 304.
 Emberumanaru, 542.
 Europe, XX, 67
 Europeans, V, 369, 433, 501, 502,
 509.
 European Club, Cuddalore, 410.
 European power V,
 Euticio (Fr Petro), 467.
 Ezur-Veda, 389 n.

Fak-l Khan 270.
 Falah Bibi Hadya Sultana, 197,

- Faria (Fr Joao de) 531
 Faria y Sousa (Manuel de) 39 58
 59 n. 4 60 60 n. 3 61 65 69 n.
 1 113 n 4 197 200 210 222,
 225 242, 294
 Farnese (Cardinal Eduardo) 439
 Feira (Conde da) 442, 443
 Ferishta, 4 n 6 7 9 10 10 n
 11 17 19 20, 35 56 59 n 4
 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 80 n. 1
 83 84 87 88 n 2 90 n 1 91
 91 n, 92 n. 2, 100 183 194
 195 197 198 n. 1 199 200 210
 211 213 215 216 217 219 220
 224 226, 228 231 236 239 242
 243 252 258 268 275 303 331
 n. 1 332 n. 1 333 n. 1 334 n
 1 336 416 417 418
 Fernandez (Gil) 161
 Fernandez (Fr Goncalo) 363 364
 365 367 368 371 378 389 528
 Figueredo (Christovao de) 59
 Figueroa 377 383 357
 Finch (William) 66
 Firenze 70,
 Fishery Coast XIV 99 118 119
 120 n. 131 148 n 2, 150 152, 157
 157 n 158 159 162 163 164
 354 363 472 529 530
 Flemish States 431
 Florence 58
 Floris (Peter Williamson) 239 454
 n 455 456 n 2, 458 459 460
 495 502, 502 n 2 507 508 512,
Flos Sanctorum 531
 Fontebona (Bro Bartolomeo) 476
 477 478 479 480, 483 489 490
 491 492, 493 500 509
 France 247
 Francis 141 n 2,
 Francis of Assisi (St.), 175
 Francis (Church of Saint) 430
 Franciscans 66 n 2 67 441 n. 1
 Franko 369
 Frederick (Caesar) 14 31 32 37
 52 66 69 71 163 168 175 186
 190 194 198 211 216 222 224
 225 228 229 230 233 235 236
 237 238 245 246 252,
 Freire (Fernando Martins) 94
 French traders V XIII
 Frey (Bro Alexander) 470 472,
 487 488
 Frias (Manoel de) 448
 Friars of St. Paul (Churches of
 the), 163
 Froes (Fr) 66 n 2
 Gadigarello 42
 Gadhwal 10
 Gaga Raja, 181
 Gajapati 279
 Gama (Dom Francisco da), 444
 Gama (Vasco da) 187
 Ganadhipati 545 557
 Ganapati 545
 Ganaripatao 409
 Gandala 545
 Gandikota 9 16 96 324 329 513
 Gandikota durga 43 193
 Gandikota pagoda, 57
 Gandikota-sima 193
 Ganesa, 37 224 226 227 543 546
 551
 Gangadeva Ramesvara 276
 Ganga Devi 104
 Gangadhara Chola maharaya, 323 -
 Gangakonda-sima 323
 Ganga Nayak 417 418
 Ganga kings, 536
 Gangaperuru 44
 Gangappa Nayaka 324
 Ganga Varapatti 341
 Gangayya Raja, 44
 Ganges 356 539
 Gangolly 190 296 297
 Ganpura, 95 96
 Garcia (Dom) 92,
 Garuda, 7 208
Garudapurana 523
 Gasopa. See Gersoppa.
 Gatty 419
 Gaviapur, 183
 Geldria (Castle) 462,
 Gene Nayadu 191
 George 433
 Gersoppa 113 Queen of 190 290,
 293 297
 Ghandikota 44
 Ghandikota sima 50 51
 Ghanagiri (Penukonda) 422,
 Ghail Kachala (Sholighur) 544
 Ghats 63
 Ghlath-ud-din 101 102,
 Ghuzunpur Beg 333
 Gidangil, 277 289,
 Gingi See Jinji
 Gingier See Jinji
 Girkanyaka, 515
 Girola, See Jinji,
Gita Bhagyanam, 534
Gita Govinda 516 545
 Giuliano d Medici, 187

- Globeto, 457.
 Goa, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 59 n. 4, 61, 61 n. 2, 62, 63, 64, 66 n. 2, 68, 70, 71, 72, 92, 93, 94, 120, 190, 230, 238, 240, 297, 316 n. 3, 337 n. 3, 339, 366, 414, 421, 432, 434, 435 n. 1, 436, 437, 439 n. 1, 439 n. 4, 467, 472, 489, 530, Archbishop of, 430, Governor of, XIX, 188, Kingdom of, 307, Province of, 316 n. 3, Viceroy of, XIX, 413, 427, 445, 446
 Goans, 93
 Gobburi Obarajayyadeva Maharaja, 307, 496, 497, 498
 Gobburi Zimmalal Nayakkar, 281.
 Goes (Bro Bento de), 338 n. 1.
 Gobraj Timma, 327.
 Golkonda, 14, 19, 22, 22 n. 6, 24 n. 4, 25, 27, 33, 34, 55, 56, 73, 76, 77, 77 n. 4, 78, 81, 82, 82 n. 2, 83 n. 2, 84, 85, 86, 87 n. 88 n. 1, 89, 90, 91 n. 92 n. 3, 94, 95, 96, 97, 194, 197 n. 1, 198, 199, 200, 218, 219, 229, 231, 232, 259 n. 1, 264, 269, 270, 274, 275, 277, 279, 280, 303, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330 n. 1, 331, 331 n. 1, 332, 334, 336, 340, 416, 546, Sultans of, 207, 208, 212 n. 1, 233 n. 1, 240, 269, 270, 272, 273, 327, 329, 331, 334, 334 n. 3, 511
 Golor, 383.
 Gonsalves (Giovanni), 530
 Gopal Darwaza, 337 n. 1
 Gopalakrishna Deva, 41, 43
 Gopala Raja, 337 n. 1
 Gopalaraya, 105, 105 n. 2.
 Gopinatha, 276
 Gopinatha Rao, (T. A.), 117 n. 5, 126 n. 3, 244 n. 3
 Gopinatha temple, 46.
 Goripalayam, 283
 Gottakunte, 44.
 Gourney (John), 459, 508
 Gouvea (Frey Antonio de), 348 n. 3.
 Gouvea (Thomas de), 145 n.
 Govada, 542
 Govinda Dikshita, 40, 288, 399, 400, 522
 Govindaraj, 33 *See* Venhatadri
 Govinda Raja, 532, 537, 544, 553.
 Govinda Raja Perumal, 324
 Govinda Vamapuram, 46.
 Greek, 365.
 Guarcopa. *See* Gersoppa.
 Guarim, 152.
 Gudur, 34, 49.
 Guerrero *See* Guerreiro.
 Guerreiro, (Fr. Ferdinando), 339 n. 2, 364, 372, 377, 378, 428, 469, 505
 Guharanya, 552
 Guhasura, 551
 Gujarat, 92
 Gulang Setti, 329
 Gulbarga, 2, 78, 84, 85, 88.
 Gullyapa Nayaka, 234.
 Gulrang Setti, 327.
 Gundlaunta, 50
 Gundlupet Taluk, 421.
 Gundur District, 191.
 Gundurti Papayya, 44.
 Gundurti Tirumalarajayya *See* Tirumala Raya, of Vijayanagara.
 Guntur, 276, 542.
 Gupta, 533.
 Guram, 273.
 Guruvaraja, 51.
 Gurzala, 251.
 Gusmao (Antonio Franco de), 160.
 Gutti, 5, 9, 13, 15, 19, 34
 Guzman (Fr. Luis de), 145 n
 Hagen (Steven van der), 431,
 Hakery river, 202 n. 4
 Hardar-ul-mulk, 273, 274.
 Hardar Khan, 81
 Hardar Ali, XIII, XXI, 31 n. 2, 218.
 Haider Ali Khan *See* Hardar Ali.
 Hardarabad, 251, 331, 332.
 Hale Kanada, 299 541.
 Hamid Khan, 82, 83
 Hampi, 22, 29, 227, 251, 312,
 Hampi Hastinavati. *See* Hampi and Vijayanagara
 Hande, 273, 543.
 Hande Anantapuram (*Annals of*), 5, 10, 10 n. 11, 20, 270.
 Hande Hanumappa Nayudu, 10, 76, 77, 270
 Handiatum Nair, 337.
 Hanuman, 548, 557
 Hara, 545, 551, 557. *See* Siva
 Har Devi, 268,
 Hari, 260, 261, 544, 551. *See* Vishnu
 Harihara (God), 185, 551, 547 n. 2, 552.

- Haribara II of Vijaynagara, 99,
 106 107 539
 Harischandra Malopakhya, 516
Harivamsasaracharitam 522.
 Harwali 309
 Hassan 13 185
 Hassan See Hussain Nizam Shah
 Hattiyangudi 299
 Hawkins (Captain) 433
 Hebrahe. See Burhad Imad Shah.
 Hemachandra 517
 Hemingway (Mr) 103 n 4
 Henjera 324
 Henriquer (Fr Henrique) 262,
 529 531
 Henry VIII of England 432
 Heri Chamraj 292.
 Himadri 54
 Himalayas 180 510
 Hindu army 206 207 208 209
 213 215
 Hindu camp 212 212 n 1
 Hindu chronicles 20
 Hindu cult, 27 41
 Hindu Empire 57 219
 Hindu government 240
 Hinduism, V VI, 333 336 394
 Hindu King 59 203 210 219 340
 Hindu Parnassus 532.
 Hindus 38 67 73 74 76 79 80
 80 n. 1 81 83 83 n. 4 87 n. 2,
 91 94 97 101 105 146 n 152
 190 203 210 211 216 236 273
 274 322 327 328 357 364 369
 379 380 381 389 419 437 438
 440 497 509 514 528 529 532
 n 1
 Hindupur Taluk 42.
 Hindu Sects, VIII
 Hindustan 17
 Hippon (Captain Anthony) 455
 457 458 501 502.
 Hirekerur 49
 Holalkere 221 234 426 546
 Holland, 457 459 460.
 Hollanders. See Dutch
 Hollahala Linganna 412.
 Hommoja 49 50.
 Honavar 62, 63 172 185 186
 186 n. 190 290 294 297 307
 King of 185 186
 Honnavalli 271
 Honore. See Honavar
 Hoskote 182.
 Hoyasas, 102 103 103 n. 5 218
 Hugli 493.
- Hukumi 322
 Hultzsch (Dr) 516
 Hull (Fr E) 389 n
 Humayun Shah See Konrah
 Humayun.
 Hummaliraja (Vira) 543
 Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmad
 nagar XVIII XIX 84 85 86
 87 88 88 n 1 90 91 194 195
 n 1 196 197 198 203 205 206
 n. 2, 207 208 209 210 n 1 211
 213 213 n 5 214 214 n 5 215
 216 227 231
 Huvinakere 4 4
- Ibharan. See Ibrahim Qutb Shah
 Ibrahim Adil Shah I of Bijapur
 6 8 9 9 n. 1 9 n 5 61 n 2, 73
 74 75 77 78 79 80 81 84 86
 87 92, 94 95 194 n 1 197 212
 Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur
 275 326 336 310 416, 417 418
 Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda,
 33 73 77 n. 4 82 82 n 1 83 83
 n. 4 84 85 86 86 n 1 88 89 90
 93 96 97 197 205 207 210 211
 218 219 232, 241 269 272 273
 274 275 328 329 336 546
 Ibrahim Rauza, 228
 Ibn Batuta 101 102.
 Idalco See Adil Shah
 Idakra. See Adil Shah
 Idamadaka, 46.
 Ignatius (St.) 120 153 n 2
 Ikeri 80 177 180 423 523 524
 549 Nayaks of VI VII 33
 181 290 291 410 411 423 424
 Ikhlas Khan, 204 n 4 209
 Iluppur 133
 Imans 205
 Immadi Basavanayadu 45
 Immadi Dharmavachary 545
 Immadi Kempe Gowda II of Yela
 banka, 426
 Immadi Narasimha, 237
 Immadi Rama Raja Nayaka 550
 Immadi Rangappa Nayaka, 509
 Immadi Sadasiva Nayaka 180
 Inanconda, 273
 India, V VII XIII 25 54 n. 3 55
 n. 4 57 60 n 3 62 63 66 66 n.
 99 116 119 218 240 321
 340 350 366 433 434 435 442,
 525 530 532, 570. Central, IV

- 218, South of, V, XIII, 218, 935,
State of, 240
Indian, 100
Indian Antiquary, V.
Indian Empire, V
Indian History (South), VI
Indian Maps, VI.
Indian rulers, 119 n 1.
Indian scholars, XX
Indies, 66
Indra, 7, 260
Indraconda, 22, 90.
Indragiri, 536
Indranatha temple, 51.
Ingahgi, 203 n 1
Inquisition of Goa. 370
Iragi archers, 209,
Irapali (-Ali), 159, 160, 164
Irugappa, 539.
Ishtakamesvara, 191
Islam, 206 n 2, 211, 258, 275,
278, 514
Islamism *See* Islam
Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, 57.
Isvara Narasimha Raya, 14, 16
Italians, 70, 71 n 1, 187, 216, 374,
395
Italy, 365.
Izamalucó. *See* Nizam Shah.
- Jagadeva, 272 n. 1.
Jagadeva Raya, 90, 95, 96, 184,
264, 271, 272, 277, 327, 336 n 1,
415
Jaga Raya, 458, 459, 496, 512
Jagdeo Rao *See* Jagadeva Raya
Jagdeo Row *See* Jagadeva Raya
Jagganatharaya, 518
Jahangir Khan, 91
Jains, 532, 538, 539, 540, 549, 550
Jainism, XIV, 536, 539.
Jakanachary, 426
Jakhaganada, 43
Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah, 101
Jalihalu, 179
Jamba, 177 n.
Jambulamadaka *See* Jammalamadu-
dugu
Jammalamadugu Talul, 42, 309
Jammana Odeyar, 106
Jamshid Qutb Shah of Golkonda,
77, 78, 81, 83
Janakamma, 23
Janamejaya, 546.
- Janema Devi, 237
Jangama, 180, 544
Jangama Kalainyana, 215, 544.
Jangama priest, 215
Jangamayya, 29, 43.
Japan, 157
Japp (Dr Alex H), 389 n
Jarric (Fr du), 144 n. 2, 148 n 2,
153, 302, 303, 307, 308, 312, 313,
314 n 1, 322, 336, 336 n 2, 339
n 2, 349, 364, 398, 399, 400, 406,
428, 466, 482, 486, 487, 496, 497
n 1, 498, 499, 504, 508 n., 531
Jaya Gowda, 182 n
Jerreh, 417, Rajas of, 243
Jesuits, VI, VII, VIII, XXI, 66 n.
2, 67, 92, 145 n 2, 147, 150 n 1,
151 n, 158, 162, 319, 322, 338 n.,
340, 352, 353, 358, 360, 361, 370,
378, 389, 393, 414, 436, 438, 440,
441 n. 1, 447, 449, 452, 453, 464,
465, 467, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473,
474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480,
481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487,
488, 489, 490, 492, 493, 496, 497,
498, 500, 501, 502, 503, 506, 511,
513, 529, 530, 531
Jesuit letters, XX, XXI, 315, 367,
410, 411, 413, 428, 512
Jesuits influence, V, 414
Jesuit mission, 414
Jesuit province of Malabar, 313
Jesus Christ, 65 n 4, 115 n, 162,
309, 364, 370, 381, 386, 530,
Gospel of, XIV.
Jeswunt Row, 200
Jillala, 16
Jillella family, 21
Jillella Krishna Raju, 495
Jillelamuduku, 262
Jillella Rangapurajayadeva
Maharaja, 35, 13
Jillella Rangaraja, 195, 546
Jinalayas, 539
Jinji, V, 105, 111, 112, 172, 280,
288, 317, 397, 403, 408, 409 410,
410 n 3, 432, 446, 500, 522, 532,
533, 553, Navels of, VI, VII.
177, 317, 403, 404, 407, 402, 432.
Jiyangaru, 542
John III of Portugal, 64, 145 n
John, 239
John (Church of St), 430.
Johnvaran 51
Jorge (Dr. Marcos), 531
Jotumraj, 22, 55

Jalina III 365
 Junar 88
 Juvenio (Fr) 363, 371 371 n 381
 395
 Jvarakandesvara 192 234
 Jvarkandavara shrine 289

Kadalimalai 281
 Kadaladi plates of Achyuta Raya
 1 n. 1
 Kadaliyam Krishnapuram 282.
 Kada|| 185
 Kadrinaga Perumal 343
 Kadir District 268 269
 Kagallu 42.
 Kakni 78
Kaksthavijayam 521
 Kalachuria, 18
 Kalahasti 115 318 401 403
 Kalahastiyappa Mudalliar 138
 Kalaiyarcovil 284
 kalakadu 154
 Kalakanteswara temple 289 523
 kalamella, 30 45 51 193
 Kalamba, 322
Kalapurnodayamu 521
 Kalasa Karkala. See Karkala.
 kalgur. See karnul
 Kali 107
 Kalinga 55 122 278
 Kalungas 510
 Kaliyanti 26 73 76 79 80 81 84
 88 90 91 93 178
 Kaliyar Somanar 108
 Kalkulam 17 n 1 145 162
 Kallakural grant of Ranga III 21
 206 278 317
 Kallar tribes 268
 Kalyan Mahal 176.
 Kalyandrug, 26.
 Kama 6
 Kamagetti Hasturi Medakeri Naya
 ka 334 546
 Kamal-ud din Hussain 200
 kamakoti 525
 Kambaduru 45
 Kambala (Chief of) 293
 Kamban Gudalur Rajas 134
 Kamboja, 54 278
 Kambojas 510
 Kamestri, 135 n 1
 Kameswari 361.
 Kampana Odeyar. See Kumara
 Kampana Odeyar

Kampanuduaver See Kumara Kam
 pana Odeyar
 Kanna|| 82.
 Kanakshaba 261
 Kanalla, 30
 Kanara, 113 n 2, 177 n 3 186 264
 268 269 275 290 292, 293 298
 411 415 419 423 426 427 53
 (North) 417 551 (South) 179
 292
 Kanarese books 45 185
 Kanarese country XIII 21 336
 411 412 414 Rajas of the 416
 Kanarese inscription 299 See
 Hale Kannada
 Kanarese Rajas, 418
 Kanarese soldiers 60 n
 Kanarese Viceroy 411
 Kanarese Viceroyalty VII 248
 90 411-427 550,
 Kanna|| 54 n 4
 Kanchi 115 261 See Kanchivaram
 Kanchi Paparaja 289
 Kanchivaram 2 n 3 103 n 6 104
 107 116 117 121 n 3 182, 279
 306 307 399 429 465 469 474
 531 533 538 539
 Kandaqada Guruvayya, 322.
 Kandabar 75
 Kandakuru 234
 Kandanavolu. See karnul.
 Kandanol. See karnul
 Kanchir 95 273 274 326 329 331
 333 334 Raja of 95
 Kandl, 169 281 Kings of 131
 281
 Kandkere 271
 Kandir 329
 Kandi Timana 273
 Kandanvol. See karnul.
 Kandukur 335
 Kanchivaram District 139
 Kankadutta Vinayak temple 398
 Kannanur Koppam 102 n. 2.
 Kanchirava 181
 Kanuma grant of Sadasiva Raya,
 28 46
 Kapury Timraj 274
 Karahata 55 278
 Karikala Chola of Tanjore 534
 Karkala, 243 412, 550
 Karnams of Nindujuvvi 51
 Karnata 12, 28 36 104 107 260
 278 288 310 336, 510 Emper-
 or of 336, 401

- Karnataka country, 50, 111, 112, 158, 172, 177, 177n, 177n 3, 185, 188, 355, 536, 537.
Karnataka Lords (Description of the), 128
Karnataka Governors (History of), 122, 123, 127, 127 n, 133, 167, 238, 345, 351
Karnataka Princes (Royal Line of the), 139
 Karnatic or Karnatik, 17, 54, 56, 100 111, 112 n 1, 185, 258
 Karnul District, 9, 10, 19, 20 22 30, 34, 234 277, 279, 291, 300 n., 324, 337 n 1, 542, 545.
 Karpa, 329
 Kartarkal, 355
 Kartik Virappa Naik, 204 n. 2.
 Karugalli, 415.
 Karupuram, 348
 Karur, 268, Raja of, 243.
 Kasappudaya, 19.
 Kasargod, 178
 Kashmir, 122
 Kasimkota, 332, 333, Raja of, 326, 332
 Kasi Rav, 95, 96,
 Kasturi Ranga, 273.
 Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka of Madura, 341, 344, 345, 351, 384, 426
 Kasyappa gotra, 121 n. 2, 281, 498,
 Kattalur, 133
 Kavalkudaru, 398
 Kaveri river, 109, 110, 112, 116, 129, 244, 255, 288, 359.
 Kayal, 140 n 1
 Kayattattur, 126
 Kayattattur 136.
 Keladi, 56, 142, 177, 179, 180
Keladi Arasu Vamsavali, 177, 178 n., 291
 Keladi Chandappa Nayaka, 178
 Keladi-Ikeri, 172, 168. *See* Ikeri
 Kelady family, 56, 291
Keladi Raya Paditti, 177
 Keladi Venkatappa Nayaka, 549
 Kembala, 415.
 Kempambudhi, 183.
 Kempanacheya Gowda, 182, 183
 Kempaya Gowda, 183
 Kempe Gowda I of Yelahanka, 172, 182, 183, 185, 543
 Kempe Gowda II of Yelahanka, 411, 426
 Kempe Gowda chiefs, 184, 426.
 Keralas, 142.
 Kesara, 415.
 Kesava Misra, 528,
 Kesavappa Nayaka, 129
 Kesavaswami, 277 -
 Ketchila Ettapa Nayacker Aiyar, 284 n 2
 Khairuvale, 234, 545.
 Khana (Khan), 259,
 Khandesh, 339
 Khanakhana *See* Khan Khanan.
 Khan Khanan 331, 337.
 Khurasani archers, 204.
 Khurasani army, 204 n 4
 Kielhorn (Prof F), 21, 542.
 King (Captain Samuel), 460.
 Kinniga Bhupala, 550.
 Kiranur, 138
 Kishwar Khan Lary. 88, 195, 211, 229, 231, 236
 Kobilingam, 175
 Kochcharlakota-sima, 34,
 Kodanda, 224.
 Kodanda Rama, 22 n 2
 Kodanda Rama *See* Rama Raya,
 Kodandaramaswami temple, 42
 Kodur, 44, 193
 Koduru, 42,
 Koiladi, 153.
 Kolagala, 256
 Kolahala, 515
 Kolavu Bari, 315
 Koli Row, 200
 Komara Timma Nayanangaru (Queen of), 191
 Komara Venkatadri. *See* Venkata I
 Komarunipalli, 235.
 Komaddi, 518.
 Kona, 20
 Konamamba, 24.
 Kona Vallabharaya, 322
 Konda, 22, 23
 Kondadeva Maharaja, 335.
 Kondakai, 166.
 Kondambika, 495, 496, 500.
 Kondama Nayaka, 323
 Kondamma, 21, 22, 184.
 Kondapalli, 95
 Kondaraja, 35, 41, 46, 165
 Kondaraju Tirumalaraju, 273
 Kondaraju Venkatadri, 309
 Kondaraju Venkataraju, 273.
 Kondaraju Karanur, 138
 Kondavidu, 31, 40, 255, 274
 Kondoja, 48, 49, 50

Kondubhatta, 516
 Konduru-Chennapalli 261
 kondyala grant of Venkata III 21,
 206 265 335
 Koneru Raya, 272.
 Koneti Kondarajadeva. See Kon
 daraja
 Konetiraja 109
 Kongu 268
 Kongudesa 154
 Konkan 92 193
 Konkanl 530
 Konrah Humayun (Bibi) XVIII
 XIIA 232, 236 257
 Koppam 102 n 2.
 Koppala 193
 Korumangala, 183
 Kusanepalle 42
 Kotanahalli 29
 Kotate. See Kottar
 Kote Kolahala, 179
 Kottirirtha, 357
 Kottapalli 239
 Kottar 144 144 n 1 145
 Kottlare Metropolis 144 n 1
 Kottam Nagama Nayadu 167
 Koviladi 155
 Kowlananda 329 331
 Koyambatur 134
 Krimikantha (Kulottunga II) 5 44
 Krishna (Sri) 224 226 232, 361
 Krishna District 251
 Krishna river 57 59 n. 4 194 198
 202, 202 n 3 202 n 4 203 208
 232, 273 274 327 329 332, 334
 517
 Krishnacota 241
 Krishna Das 347 548.
 Krishna Deva Raya, 1 1 n. 1 2 n.
 3 3 n 6 4 n. 5 5 n. 3 11 13
 14 16, 19 20 20 n 6 21 22 n
 2, 24 25 26 38 40 41 54 55
 58 59 60 60 n 1 98 99 110
 111 112, 112 n 1 113 115 122
 124 n 3 125 n. 176 178 181
 183 191 215 216 219 224 236
 241 262 302 311 515 519 532
 541 546 551.
 Krishnakavi 525
 Krishnama of Nandyal, 309
 Krishnama, wife of Venkatadri 24
 Krishnamachariu (Mr C R) 547
 Krishnamatha, 424
 Krishnamba 265 494 495
 Krishnapa, 21 23

Krishnapapati, 244 See Krish
 nappa Nayaka I of Madura.
 Krishnappa Nayaka 323
 Krishnappa Nayaka 325
 Krishnappa Nayaka of Bellur 298
 555
 Krishnappa Nayaka of Jinji 233
 397 403 406 403 409 410 443
 444 500, 532, 553 554
 Krishnappa Nayaka I of Madura,
 56 131 139 154 165 166 169
 169 193 214 230 231 232, 283
 285 509 54 543 545
 Krishnappa Nayaka II of Madura,
 341 343 n 1 344 344 n. 3 345
 346 348 349 350 351 361
 Krishnapatam 397 406,
 Krishnapura 52, 185 232.
 Krishnapuram, 23., 235 542, 543
 Krishnapuram temples, 42.
 Krishnapuram plates of Sadasiya
 Raya, 6, 101 107 117 121 132,
 141 216 216 220, 221 233 234
 242, 243 244 251 516
 Krishnarajapet Taluk 38 47
 Krishnaraya, 21
 Krishna Sastri (Mr H) 2 n 235
 n 7 243 n. 5 245 267 336 n 1
 Krishnasarma 517.
 Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Dr S.) 77
 n. 4 100 n 6 102, 102 n 2, 103
 n 5 105 109 n 1 140 n. 1 154
 316 3 2, 343 420 423 n 2, 496
 Krishnakirti Wodeyar 237
 Kshatriyas, 26
 Kuber 232 510
 Kudal Alagar 154
 Kudalur 551
 Kulam. See Kalkulam
 Kulasekharadeva, 135
 Kulattur 135
 Kulbarga. See Gulbarga.
 Kuli Qutb Shah See Qutb Shah
 Kullur tank, 324
 Kulluru 324
 Kulottunga Chola I of Tanjore
 534 537
 Kulottunga Chola II of Tanjore
 538.
 Kulottunga Cholan nla 537
 Kulugumalai, 284 n 2.
 Kumara Etsappa Nayacker 284 n.2.
 Kumara Hampana Odoyar 99 103
 103 n. 4 104 105 106 107 123,
 174.

- Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka. *See*
 Krishnappa Nayaka I and II of
 Madura
 Kumara Krishnappa Nayaka of
 Vellore, 192
 Kumara Muttu Naicher of Madura,
 359.
 Kumara Timma Nayadu, 321, 324
 Kumbhakonam, 288, 300, 342, 518,
 522, 531, 552.
 Kuna Pandya 283
 Kundapur, 190.
 Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, 55,
 121, 123, 220, 248, 254, 260, 264,
 278, 282, 290, 421, 509
 Kunrattur, 281.
 Kuntala, 38
 Kuran, 92.
 Kurattalvan, 535, 537
 Kutapusahı *See* Qutb Shah
 Kutupusahı *See* Qutb Shah
 Kutupusahu *See* Qutb Shah
 Kuvalaya Vilasa, 517
 Kuvalyananda, 523
 Kuvam Tyagasamudranallur, 498.
 Kwajajahan, 77
- Laerzio (Fr Alberto), 313, 313 n.
 7, 354, 361, 367, 370, 371, 374,
 382, 387, 391, 393, 394, 434, 434
 n 3, 442, 443, 448, 473, 474, 475,
 476, 479, 483, 484 485, 488, 489,
 491, 493, 501, 506, 509, 530.
 Lakkana, 99, 107, 108.
 Lakkamamba, 25.
 Lakkambika, 19
 Lakkanayadu, 235.
 Lakshmana, 545
 Lakshamamma, 22, 23, 166.
 Lakshmana, 24, 206,
 Lakshmanasuri, 516.
 Lakshmidhara, 516
 Lakshmiivilasam 267, 273, 517.
 Lakshmikumara Tatacharya *See*
 Tatacharya
 Lakshmyambika, 166
 Lalitakirti, 550
 Lancaster (Captain), 433.
 Lock (Thomas), 239
 London, 432, 433
 Latin, 365, 497 n 1.
 Le Gobien (Fr), 144 n 1
 Letao (Fr. Manoel), 363, 394
 Levanto (Fr Nicolas), 364, 441,
 443, 444, 446, 474.
- Levi (Fr. Alexander), 406.
 Light (our Lady of), 430
 Lingala, 51, 193
 Lingama Nayaka of Vellore, 300,
 317, 317 n 1, 318, 319, 320, 407,
 549
 Lingappa Nayaker, 192.
 Lingapura, 191
 Lingapurana, 519
 Linschoten (John Huighen Van),
 431
 Lisbon, 94, 240
 Literature (Southern Indian), 513.
 Livy, 144 n 2
 Lucas (Antheunis), 456
 Luiz, 529
 Luiz (Frey), 58.
 Lunar race, 18
 Luz (Nossa Senhora da), 66 n 2.
- Ma'abar, *See* Malabar
 Macha Nayaka of Vellore, 321.
 Macherla, 191
 Mackenzie MSS 135, 141 n. 2,
 146 n, 195 n 1, 167, 420 n 1
 Mackenzie Collection, 45, 185, 242
 n 2, 253, 260 291, 544
 Macleod (Col William), 111
 Madaganı Basavareddı Kumarudu,
 323
 Madana, 107, 108
 Madanagopal, 358
 Madanagopalaswamin, 251.
 Madarasa, 179, 429, 430, 511 *See*
 Madras
 Madavaswami, 246
 Madraju Nagappadeva Maharaju,
 36
 Madras, 43, 304, 315 n 4, 324,
 440, 475, 531 n 2
 Madhva, 514, 518, 521, 522, 531.
 577,
 Madhvacharya, 522
 Madhva Guru, 287.
 Madre de Deus, 531, 531 n 2
 Madura, VI, XIII, 56, 99, 100,
 101, 102, 103, 103 n 5, 106, 108,
 109, 110, 116, 118, 121, 123,
 125, 125 n, 127, 128, 129, 130,
 131, 132, 133, 134, 135 n. 3, 136,
 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 142 n 8,
 146 n, 150 n 1, 151 n, 152, 153,
 154, 155, 159, 163, 165, 166, 167,
 170, 198, 244, 251, 280, 281, 283,
 284, 285, 285 n 6, 286, 309, 343,

- 343 n 1 345 346 347 348 350
 353 3 4 355 356 358 359 360
 361 365 367 368 378 383 389
 392, 393 394 395 396, 410 411
 415 509 525 526 528 542, 543
 548 *History of the Nayaks of*
XX, Nayaks of VI 117 118
 120 n 121 151 n, 158 162 163
 153 342 344 345 35 354 365
 392 393 411 *Nayakship of* 341
Sultan of 103 *University of*
 513 *Viceroy of* 117, 118 119
Madura Manual (The) XX
Madura Mission XIV XV
Maduraiyalaravalaru 123
Madure (La Mission du) XX
Maertsz (Arent) 454 454
Magadhas, 278 279 510
Magliabecchina (Biblioteca) 58
Mahadans 285
Mahadeva Deva 43
Mahalingaravamin 155
Mahamandasahu See *Muham*
koli Qutb Shah
Maharanso 153 n 3
Mahavallipuram 234 n 1
Mahs (Fr J) 142 n. 8
Mahidevas 317
Mahipati Yerrammanayaka, 34
Mahish Asur 182.
Mahismati 322.
Mahmud Shah 329
Mahur 322.
Mallapura 64 64 n 3 65 65 n 4
 67 430, 439 See *Mylapore*.
Malsour See *Mysore*
Majjhula Khan 291
Makkha, 322.
Makkigati 200.
Makund Raj 332.
Malabar XIII 2, 100 n 6 101
 103 142, 275 319 n 1 319 n. 2,
 313 315 n 2 320 n 2 339 347
 395 434 434 n 4 436 n 1 437
 n 1 438 n. 3 441 n 1 472 473
 488 489 *Kingdom of* 307
Jesuit Province of 315 n. 2,
 319 n 1 319 n. 2, 320 n 2, 340
 367 370
Malabar (Kanara) 416 417 418
Malabarica (Lingua) 531
Malabars, 528
Malaca, 67 70 93 145 n *97 439
 n. 1
Malai-nadu 268
Malavar 531 n 2,

- Malayalam country* 17 n 1 101
 133 142, 159
Malayalams 16..
Malayara 315
Malayappatu 317 n 1
Maleapor See *Mylapore*
Malikibharama. See *Ibrahim Qutb*
Shah
Malicktosuer 239
Malik Hafur 100.
Malik Ibrahim See *Ibrahim Qutb*
Shah
Malik Rahiman Khan 241
Malli 550
Mallikarjuna of Vijayanagara, 109
 323 324
Mallikarjuna deva, 45
Mallikarjuna temple 42, 291 300
 n
Malwa 54 n 4
Mamkidipundi grant of Sadasiva
Raya 33 246 514
Manabusha 103
Manakavacha, 109
Mana Mohini Nijawarapi 201 n 4
Manal 170
Manamathurai 234
Manapadu 143 151 152, 352, 353.
Manapar See *Manapadu*
Manar 165 353
Manore See *Manar*
Manava Durga, 109
Mandanagopala 43
Mandelslo (John Albert de) 64 n
 3 66 n.
Manduva, 322.
Mandara mountain 282.
Mangalampad grant of Venkata II
 12 24 74 259 n 2 261 n. 1 264
 278 308 329 334 n. 3 309 510
 517 518 525 547
Mangala Timmoja Kondojugaru
 32 36 48 See *Kondoja*.
Mangalore 56 189 190 293 411
 424 435
Mangalura 178 See *Mangalore*
Mangu (Saluva) 105.
Manigapura 552.
Manimal Palaiyam 134
Mannagapura 184
Manjun Khan 411 417 418
Manoel (Dom) of Portugal, 186
Manstihna (Bro Francisco) 145
 147 148 152, 153.
Mantha Ananta. See *Matla Ananta*.
Manu 220 282.

- Manucci (Niccolò), 36, 37, 39, 220
 Manupraj, 327, 329,
 Marakampi Nayanangaru, 335
 Maranapalli, 24 n 7
 Maratha account, 214 n 3
 Marathas, XIII, 80, 531
 Marava, 103, 109, 110, 156, 268,
 354, 355, Chieftains of, 161
 Marcellus II, 365
 Maredapalli grant of Ranga I, 19,
 253, 265, 267, 278, 546
 Margaly, 498
 Markandeya, 551
 Markapur, 7, 10, 34, 41, 233, 542.
 Marini (Fr Philippo), 381 n.
 Marthanda Varma of Travancore,
 115, 116
 Martin (Fr P), 120 n , 144 n 1
 Marudangudi, 348
 Mary (Bl Virgin), 65 n 4
 Mascarenhas (Dom Francisco de),
 189.
 Mascarenhas (Dom Giles Yanez),
 297
 Mascarenhas (Dom Jeronimo),
 298.
 Mascarenhas (Dom Pedro), 93, 94.
 Mascarenhas (Captain Pero), 59
 Masulipatam, 95, 239, 428, 431,
 432, 442, 457, 458, 460, 508.
 Mathurai-mandalam, 110.
 Matribhatesvara, 361
 Matla Ananta, 306, 309, 336, 349,
 360, 548.
 Matla chief, 48
 Matla Tiruvengala, 324
 Maudit, (Fr), 321
 Maulana Inayatullah, 90, 91, 197,
 229
 Maurice (Prince), 454 n
 Mavalipuram, 284, 285
 Mavali Vanada Rayar Chieftains,
 123, 284
 Mayakonda, 426
 Mayavaram, 288
 Meale Khan, 92 n 2 *See* Abdullah
 Adil Shah
 Medici (Giuliano d'), 187
 Medici (Lorend'), *oz* 187
 Megoti Timma Nayadu, 267.
 Melapor *See* Mylapore.
 Mello (Gaspar de), 94.
 Mello (Luis de), 394, 398 n 3
 Mello (Ruy de), 59 n 4
 Melpadi, 106
 Melrao, 164.
 Mendez (Luis), 159
 Menezes (Archbishop Dom Frey
 Aleixo de), 295 n , 347, 348, 370,
 442, 447, 501
 Menezes (Dom Duarte de), 164,
 297
 Menezes (Dom Jorge de), 294
 Merovingian kings, 247.
 Meru (Mount) 314.
 Mesopotamia, 533 n.
 Mesquita (Fr Joao de), 164.
 Micale, 64 n 1 *See* Abdullah
 Adil Shah
 Middleton (Henry), 433.
 Mihira Bhoja, 54 n 4
 Mildenhall (John), 433
 Mikar Tima, 275, 277
 Milyunjaya, 137 n 1.
 Minakshi (Sri), 123, 285, temple of,
 128, 129,
 Minnal, 318.
 Miranda (Martin Affonso de), 94.
 Mir Jumla, 83
 Mirza Ibrahim Zabiri, 11, 199,
 227, 229
 Mir Zain-ul-Abidin, 332.
 Mogalluru, 277
 Molakolmuru Taluk, 48
 Monroy (Dom Fernando de), 94.
 Montepulciano, 365
 Moores *See* Moors
 Moors *See* Muhammadans.
 Mopur, 16
 Moura (Jorge de), 294.
Mrtiunjaya MSS, 121, 122, 134,
 139, 165, 194, 199 n 1, 200, 281,
 345, 346, 350.
 Mudaliyar, 360
 Muddayyadeva Maharaja, 335.
 Muddaviramahipalasamudra, 359
 Mudgal, 84, 142, 199, 203, 229
 Mudiyaappa Nayaka, 324.
 Mudkal *See* Mudgal.
 Mudua Chinna, 273
 Mudugal *See* Mudgal.
 Mugel, 160
 Mughal Deccan, XIX.
 Mughal Emperor *See* Akbar
 Mughal Empire, XX.
 Mughals, XIII, 274, 433
 Muhammadans, VII, XV, 9, 47, 56
 n 1, 59, 67, 74, 75, 76, 79, 79 n.
 2, 89 n 2, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99,
 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 105
 n 2, 106 n 6, 109, 118, 119, 120,
 120 n , 145 n. 1, 187, 191, 206,

- 210 211 212, 215 216 218 236
 238 243 248 273 274 275 276
 279 281 283 326, 327 328 369
 384 390 391 418 419 445 446
 496 546
 Muhammadan chronicler of Gol-
 konda 22, 55
 Muhammadan frontier 29
 Muhammadan governor 238
 Muhammadan invasion 221 411
 Muhammadan possessions, 236
 Muhammadan powers, V
 Muhammadans of Madura 172.
 Muhammadan Sultans 224
 Muhammad Kuli Qutb Shah 275
 326 327 329 331 332
 Muhammad Shah Nughal Em-
 peror XVIII XIX.
 Muhammad Sharif Hanafi 350
 Muhammad Tuglak 100 101
 Mujahid Khan, 95
 Mullamakudam Mullaperoji 168
 Muller (Max) 359.
 Mulha Pheroze, 168
 Munnelli 34
 Munisuvrata 550
 Munnali 318
 Murad (Prince) 337
 Murari 179 543
 Murasas 310.
 Murtaza Khan 329
 Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmad-
 nagar XIX 217 231 252.
 Murtimambal 173
 Murti Sattiyar 350
 Murtiza Khan, 272.
 Murtyamba 288
 Musalpatam. See Masulipatam.
 Muslims. See Muhammadans.
 Musalapatan (Golkonda) 338 See
 Masulipatam
 Musalman. See Muhammadans.
 Musliman realms 216
 Mustafa Khan 83 84 89 96 97
 197 200 229 259 263 269 337
 Muttara-satiru mali mavili v a n a
 thi rayer 108
 Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka of
 Madura 341 351 353 354
 355 356 358 359 364 365
 526
 Muttu Virappa Nayaka of Madura,
 341 354 359 360 361 377 384
 391
 Muvaraya, 357
 Muvarakondram, 348.
 Mysore 64 n 3 65 307 315 n
 3 322, 429 437 439 439 n 1
 440 441 470 475 500 528
 Bishop of 448 449 461 Dio-
 cese of XVI 4, 3
 Mysore 31 n 2, 56 105 172 218
 271 272, 414 415 418 423 424
 53, 536, 537 538 548 549
 conquest of 411 Rajas of VI
 XV 72 415 4, 1 Royal Palace
 of XVI
 Mysore District 412.
 Mysore Royal Family (*Annals of*
the) 420
 Mythic Society Bangalore XVI
 Nadal (Fr. A.) 478 491
 Nadu nadu 108
 Nagala 1 n 1 14
 Nagam Aiyar 142 143 n 150 n
 Nagama, Sadasiva Raya s Guru
 152.
 Nagama Nayadu 139
 Nagama Nayaka 99 103 117 118
 121 123 n, 6, 1 4 n 2, 125 126
 126 n, 1 126 n 3 127 127 n
 128 139 313 n 1 347
 Nagamaladine 50
 Nagapatam See Negapatam.
 Nagappa, 117
 Naga Reddi 323
 Nagari 531
 Nagara Jayya, 44
 Nagara Jayyadeya Maharaya 24
 51
 Nagenalloru 359
 Naga Nayaka, 44
 Naggar Irtia, 420.
 Nagircoll 144 n, 1
 Nagiri legend 548
 Nabusha, 251
 Naidu 321
 Nalgwarla 73 95 96 97 33...
 Nala 251
 Naldrug 275
 Nallacheruvupalle 41
 Nallapalli 51 193.
 Namala Dinnah 140
 Nanda, 18
 Nandalur 44
 Nandapadu 44 193
 Nandela, 309
 Nandi 224
 Nadikkudi, 348
 Nandinagari 513 531,

- Nandirayi, 335
 Nandyala, 16, 22, 51, 299
 Nandyala Abubalaraju 44, 193,
 Nandyala Krishnaraya, 523
 Nandyala Tumayyadeva Mara-
 raju, 44, 193, 523.
 Nanja Raja Odeyar 550
 Narapativijaya, 20
Narapativijayamu, 21 n 6, 270,
 273
 Narakampi Nayaningaru, 321
 Narasa Nayaka, 99, 108, 109, 110,
 118, 191, 237
 Narasa Pillai, 118
 Narasaraya, 516
Narasabupaliyamu, 10, 11, 12,
 20, 25, 515, 516
 Narasammangaru, 498
 Narasimha, 25
 Narasimha (Vira), 324, 548
 Narasimha Raya (Saluva) of
 Vijayanagara, 1 n 1, 4 n 3, 19,
 105, 108, 109 n 1, 121, 225, 226,
 311, 321, 551
 Narasimha II, of the Ganga
 Dynasty 536.
 Narasimhapuram, 323
 Narasimah, 182 n
 Narasinga, 313. *See* Vijayanagara.
 Narasinga, (God) 323
 Narasinga Udiyar, 175-176.
 Narasingama, 23, 256, 291
 Narasingapuram, 142, 497.
 Narasingayadeva Maharaya, 16
 Narayana, 193
 Narayanvaram, 535
 Naraven, 111, 112, 112 n
 Naredapalli, 528
 Narmalli, 415
 Narsinga, 37, 55 n 4, 58, 64 n
 3, 113 n 4, 187, 240, 337 n 3,
 423, 454 n, 457, 459 *See* Nara-
 simha Raya, *and* Vijayanagara
 Narsingua *See* Narsinga
 Naru Khan, 272
 Nassau (Mauritius de), 453.
 Nasir ud-din, 102
 Nataraja, 519
 Navapashana, 170
 Nayak Dynasty of Madura, 123.
 Nayanappa, 96
 Nayaningaru, 324
 Nayinappa Nayaka, 324
 Negalapuram, 278.
 Negapatam, 67, 161, 174, 397, 398
 n, 3, 571.
 Negapatam Nayak, 361. *See* Tan-
 jore Nayak
 Negoti Timma Nayadu, 276.
 Nellala 193
 Nellaturu, 317
 Nelliappa, 149
 Nelliappar temple, 282
 Nellore District, 22, 28, 112, 245,
 266, 271, 276, 301, 335
 Nelson, (Mr. G H), XX, 118,
 131 n, 1
 Nemazi (Mr Mohamed Kazem),
 XIX.
 Nepala, 122 n 2
 Netherlands, 431, 433, 447, 452.
 Nickel (Fr Goswin), 360,
 Nidambaram, 281
 Nidujuvvi, 22
 Nieuhoff (John), 65 n 4, 66 n,
 119 n 1, 120 152 n 2, 165.
 Nilgiris, 151 n
 Nizam Shah, 10 n, 21, 62, 93 197,
 198, 207, 209, 210, 213 n 7, 215,
 216, 256, 322
 Nizamalucco, *See* Nizam Shah
 Nizam Sultans, 77.
 Nobili (Cardinal Roberto de), 365.
 Nobili (Fr Roberto de), VII, XIV,
 363, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 376,
 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 384,
 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391,
 392, 393, 394, 395, 525, 526, 528,
 529
 Nocera, 366
 Noronha (Dom Antao de), 94, 189,
 190
 Noronha (Dom Bernardo de), 451,
 463
 Nruga, 251
 Nrsimbacharya, 540 n 1
Nrsimbhastava, 515
 Nuniz, Portuguese Chronicler, 1
 n 1, 1 n 2, 2 n, 4 n, 7 n 5, 26,
 103 n 4, 110, 111, 112 n 1, 113,
 113 n 2, 114, 122 n, 215, 237
 Nur Khan, 33
 Nursing Raj, 24 n 3
 Nyamrita Vyakhya 522
 Obala, 267
 Obalaraju, 498
 Obambika *or* Obambikadevi, 1 n.
 1, 14
 Obamma 23, 502, *See* Pedoba-
 mamba,

Obana Nayaka, 185 426.
 Oba Raja, 5 307 320 465 466
 467 496 497 498 500 503 508
 Obari 352.
 Obasamudram 51
 Oblama, 458 500, 502 n 2 *See*
Pedobamamba.
 Objama. *See* Oblama.
 Obo Raya, *See* Oba Raja
 Obratas *See* Oba Raja.
 Obyama *See* Oblama.
 Oddiya *See* Orissa.
 Olala. *See* Ullal.
 Oman 100
 Ommama Udaiyar 106
 Ongola, 47
 Onor *See* Honavar
 Orissa, 15 55 110 122, 241 253
 307 334 n 3 339 439
 Oriza *See* Orissa.
 Orlandini (Fr N) 366
 Orme (Robert) 238 319 n. 1
 Ormuz 59 72 Captain of 451

Padaividurajya 289.
 Padmaneri grant of Venkata II
 81 123 235 283 n 8 315 329
 n. 3 335 n 3 345 347 495 505
 547 547 n 3 550
 Paes Portuguese Chronicler 113
 Paithan 68
 Paju (Pasu) 379
 Paksa 527
 Palagiri 323
 Palaiyakarans 133 134 136 154
 166 169 280 281 284 352, 363
 391 392.
 Palaiyams 131 132, 133 134
 Palancotta, 282.
 Paleacatte *See* Pulicat.
 Paleucatte *See* Pulicat.
 Paleucatte *See* Pulicat
 Palembangotta. *See* Palembang.
 Palembang, 310
 Palestine 65 n 4 533 n
 Pallava Princes 533 n
 Pallencatten *See* Pulicat
 Palnaru 335
 Pamba, 357
 Pampapatil temple 224 226 539
 Panchakaladipika, 515
 Panchamata bhajanam Tatacharya
 304
Panchamatabhajanam 514
 Panchapandya, 360 *See* Madura.

Panchar Tiruvadi, 347
 Pandavas (Pancha) 126
 Pandaras 361 381 382.
 Pandilapalli 47
 Pandharpur 519
 Panduranga, 519
Pandurangamahatmya 519
 Pandya 256 *See* Madurakingdom
 Pandya Capital 364 *See* Madura.
 Pandya country 129 284 316 354
See Madurakingdom.
 Pandyaka (Queen) 550.
 Pandya kingdom 117 100 355
See Madurakingdom
Pandyakulashtapana charya
 23.
 Pandyamandala, *See* Pandya coun-
 try
Pandiyam 132.
Pandyan Chronicle 107 114
 117 118 123 350 351 511 n 1
 Pandya race 135
Pandya rajyasthapanacharya
 117
 Pandyas. of Madura, XIII 2 n
 99 101 103 104 105 106 107
 108 109 110 112, 113 114 114
 n 7 116 117 118 123 124 124
 n 3 125 125 n 126, 127 128
 130 131 131, 134 135 n. 3
 137 138 149 152, 172, 230 280,
 285 303 341 344 347 355 392,
 393 525 54 550
 Panegorde *See* Penukonda.
 Pangal District, 86
 Pangal fort 95 96.
 Pangul 83
 Pangim Archives, XIX 396 425
 445 447
 Paolino de Sao Bartolomeo (Fr)
 530, 531
 Papanasam 143 n
 Paparagi (Papa Raya) 322.
 Papa Timmayyadeva Maharaja,
 21 45
 Papatimmaraja, 46.
 Pappa Samywar 327
 Pappan Nayaka, 289
 Paracrama Pandyondeva 100
Paramarahasyamalai 518.
 Paramaras 54 n 4
 Paramara, 527
Paramayogi Vilasam 24
Paramayogi Vilasam 517
 Paramesvara, 246,
 Paramesvara Alayar 141 n. 2,

- Parankusan Lakshmanaiya, 234
 Parankusan Van-Sathagopa Jiyamgaru, 246 n 1, 542, 543
 Parasikas, 74
 Parasnis (Rao Bahadur D B), XXI
 Parava caste, 118
 Paravas of the Fishery Coast, 99, 118, 119, 119 n 1, 120 n, 121, 140, 149, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 160, 163, 165, 351, 352, 353, 363, 368, 385
 Pariahs, 280, 372
 Parthasarathiswamin temple, 43
 Parvatavardhani, 356
 Parvati, 426
 Pastor (Count L), 365,
 Pataliputra, 18
 Patengatis, 119
 Patrao (Fr Antonio), 485 n
 Pattar, 128
 Patwardhan (Mr Pandurang Narasingha), XIX.
 Paul V, 439
 Paul (St) 92, 371, 430
 Paul (Fathers of St) See Society of Jesus
 Pavia Chetti (Papaya Chetti), 327
 Pedakondappa Nayadu, 191
 Peda Kondaraja, 35
 Pedambur, 119.
 Peda Timmaraja, 21.
 Peddamallepalli 48
 Peddamudiyam, 45,
 Peddandi Raju, 21
 Peddappa, 347
 Peddappanayaksamudram, 348
 Pedda Timma, 23,
 Pedda Venkata, 23
 Pedda Yachama Nayadu, 322
 Peddvenkata, 22 n 2
 Pedobamamba, 494, 495, 502.
 Pegu, 70, 397, 439
 Pehugundi, See Penukonda
 Pellacata, See Pulicat
 Pemmasani Nayadu, 43
 Pemmasani Pedda Timmaraja 266, 307
 Pemmasani Timma, 519
 Penagonda, See Penukonda
 Penda 93
 Pendlimarri, 51
 Penegonde See Penukonda
 Pennahobalam, 190
 Pennar, 328
 Pentapur, 241,
 Penuguluru grant of Tirumala Raya, 242, 251, 259 n 2, 260, 261, 262, 524, 544, 545
 Penoconda See Penukonda
 Penugonda See Penukonda
 Penukonda, VII. 5, 9, 19, 19 n 3, 31, 38, 38 n 2, 40, 51, 54, 140, 218, 222, 233 n 1, 235, 236, 237, 237 n 4, 238, 240, 242, 242 n 2, 248, 251, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269, 270, 271, 273 n 3, 277, 279, 289, 300 303, 310, 313, 326, 327, 328, 329, 336, 336 n, 1, 398, 503, 524, 545
 Pereira (Antao), 190.
 Perez (Fr. F.), 162.
 Perimal See Perumal
 Periya Errama Nayaka of Punnarrur, 321, 518
 Periya Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura, 283 n 5, 344 n 4
 Peryakulam, 129 n 1, 138
 Periya Virappa Nayaka of Madura, See Virappa Nayaka.
 Permadu, 322
 Permattur (Sri), 533
 Perron (Anquetil du), 31, 37, 60 n, 177, 194, 198, 212, 216, 229, 235, 238, 245, 246, 253, 303, 308, 310, 317 n 2, 339 n 1 342, 343 n 1, 398, 399, 400, 402, 403, 408, 428, 435, 504, 508
 Persia, 2, 71, 72, 240
 Persian horses, 62
 Persians, 274
 Perumal, 192, 288
 Perumal (God), 153, 315, 316, 360, 553
 Perumal of Ceylon, 65 n
 Perumal Parakrama Pandyaadeva of Madura, 135, 138
 Perunkondapura See Penukonda
 Peschwahs See Peshwas
 Peshwas, 31 n 2
 Petasamudra, 288,
 Pettapoly, 457, 458, 460
 Pharaohs, 533 n
 Phelippe (Don), See Philip III
 Philip III of Spain and Portugal, 396, 428, 436, 436 n 2, 437 n 5, 439, 439 n 1, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447, 448, 449, 451, 453, 470, 480, 481, 483, 501, 504, 506
 Pillai, 429
 Pimenta (Fr Nicolao), 165, 302, 312, 316, 316 n 3, 319 n 1, 339

- n 1 346 347 349 350 397 398
 399 401 403 404 406 413 433
 437 437 n 4 438 n 2 464 465
 467 471 48 457 529 533 554
 Pinavobanamba 491 495
 Pingali Surana 5 3
 Pinheiro (Fr Manoel) 338 n 1
 Pinnama 19
 Pirammalai 341
 Pirmal See Perumal
 Piruppattur 341
 Planchard (Fr J) \X
 Pochiraju family 21 25 493
 Podili 23 51 266
 Pola festival, 330 n 2.
 Polanco (Fr J) 366.
 Polichchalar 3 4
 Polegar See Palaliyakarans.
 Polusani 324
 Ponda, 298
 Pondichery 359
 Poona See Poona.
 Ponnmbala, Dharmasivacharya
 545.
 Poona, XVII XIX 31 n 1 91 2,
 197 n 3
 Porkasa 106
 Porto Novo, 444
 Portugal 57 58 61 61 n 2, 6
 63 69 70 71 n 1 72 93 94
 119 189 306 433 435 466 480
 King of XX \XI 119 n. 1
 145 n 163 240 365 366 423
 424, 465 Kings of XIX
 Portuguese, V VI VII XV 2 n
 54 57 58 59 60 60 n 60 n 3
 61 64 64 n. 3 65 n 5 66, 66 n
 67 68 69 71 72, 92 92 n 2,
 93 94 95 n. 99 113 n 2,
 119 n 1 120 n. 143 147 149
 151 152 n 155 158 163 165
 172 185 186 188 190 218 22..
 223 360 366 368 382, 402 410
 n. 3 419 424 433 434 435
 438 439 440 441 442 454 455
 460 461 462 472 477 480
 482 500 501 511 531
 Portuguese Captain 119
 Portuguese commerce VII XIII
 240
 Portuguese chronicles 185 293
 Portuguese fleet, 57
 Portuguese Governor 57 183
 Portuguese Government (Archives
 of the) 396
 Portuguese historians, 59 n. 4
 Portuguese India (State of) 425
 Portuguese interests 411
 Portuguese merchants 6., 63
 Portuguese nation 119
 Portuguese possessions 57
 Portuguese soldiers 59 183
 Portuguese sources 416
 Portuguese trade 240
 Portuguese Viceroy 60 340 424
 See Goa (Viceroy of)
 Pota Bhupala 177
 Pottadurti 44 193
 Pottappi 45 51
 Pottapinadu 4
 P P P (Poona Persian Poem)
 200 n 1 207 n 213 214 219
 Pradbanl 139
 Prakasa 106.
 Prakrit 517
 Prangals 368 369 335 337 See
 Portuguese
 Prapannamrtan 38 532, 540 n
 544 547
 Prapattiprayoga 515
 Prataparudriya 516.
 Pratishthana 515
 Proddatur 44
 Proenza (Fr A.) 360
 Protestants 395
 Ptolomy 144 n 1 190
 Pudukkottai 117 133 199 214
 285 286 343 344
 Pudukkottai plates of Srivallabha
 and Varatungarama Pandya
 235 286.
 Padur 41
 Pugalur 355
 Pulaputram 42.
 Poley or Pillal 429
 Pullicat 25 425 431 451 452,
 453 454 n 455 455 459 460
 461 462 463 482 501 502, 502
 n 1 511 512 Queen of 459
 Pulliyangulam 42
 Pulla-dessa, 178
 Punhati Perumal 348 n. 3
 Punjab 54 n. 3
 Panjallike 550
 Panharrur 321 518
 Pannay Kayal 131 151 152 153,
 159 160 161 164 165 531
 Pantakoti Aliyan, 305
 Pannas 518
 Puranic heroes 18
 Purushtamam temple, 546
 Purchas, (Samuel) 399 471

there is any uncertainty about the exact time at which the jemadar was present at that meeting there is no uncertainty of the fact of his presence. He was both seen and heard. The sentry Gunness Pandey, saw him, and Sepoy Adhar Sing heard his voice.

But if even he were not present he would be equally culpable under this charge. The fact of the meeting having taken place is unquestionable and it is impossible to suppose that twenty or twenty-five persons should assemble at the jemadar's hut without his connivance.

What the subject discussed at that meeting was has to a certain extent been shown, and that the assembly was held for illegal purposes is beyond a shadow of a doubt, if not for such purpose how is it that none of those have come forward who were present at the assembly although a pardon was offered by the Major General commanding the Division to any one who would speak the truth, and, if not why should the jemadar have threatened and persuaded the sentry Gunness Pandey to deny there had been a meeting? There can be no other conclusion than that the meeting was of an illegal nature and the evidence itself in some measure explains its nature. Sepoy Adhar Sing has sworn that he heard the jemadar say— What I have done has been exposed, and now what shall I do? What had the jemadar done? Is it not shown that he had on the 5th of March used seditious language about the cartridges and the huts? Here was something to be exposed and did not the jemadar know that his conduct had been exposed? The answer to this is clear. The evidence shows that my orderly had at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 8th of March informed Hyat Bux Khan, Pay Havildar the constant companion of the jemadar on that evening as shown both by the evidences for the prosecution and the defence that Madho Sing had reported the jemadar's misconduct to me and that an enquiry had that day been made by me. It is impossible to conceive that Hyat Bux Khan did not tell that to the jemadar so that the meaning of the words heard to be spoken—"What I have done has been exposed and now what shall I do?"—is clear and is in itself sufficient to show the unlawful character of the meeting.

Having now disposed of the charges I will proceed to remark upon the style of defence adopted by the prisoner Jemadar Salickram Sing. He evidently wishes the Court to think him an ill treated man and that there is a strong party feeling against him in the regiment for he talks of his enemies in the corps, and lays great stress upon the names of the subadar major and drill havildar of the regiment, whom he implies

Ramarajiyamu 10 21 22 n 3 24
 26 30 40 163 194 207 216
 234 278 290 291 307 309 320
 326 328 334 495 495 502
Rama Raja. See *Rama Raja*, Vice
 roy of Seringapatam
Rama Raya. Bukka's son, 19
Rama Raya of Vijayanagara VI
 VII XIV 1 5 5 n 9 10 10 n
 11 11 n 7 12 13 15 16 17 19
 19 n. 3 20 21 2. 2. n 2 22 n
 3 23 24 24 n. 1 24 n 4 24 n.
 7 25 26 27 28 30 31 32
 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 n 2,
 39 39 n 1 40 41 4 47 48
 49 50 50 n. 12, 51 5. 54 55
 56 56 n 1 57 61 63 64 66 n
 2 67 68 69 69 n 1 73 74 75
 76 77 78 79 79 n 2 80, 80 n.
 1 81 82, 83 83 n. 2 84 85 86
 87 87 n. 2 88 n 89 91
 94 94 n 2, 95 96 97 140
 142, 149 150 161 163 163 178
 180 182 192 193 194 195 195
 n. 1 197 198 199 199 n 3 201
 202, 20 n. 1 204 205 206 206
 n. 2, 208 209 210 211 17 213
 213 n. 2, 13 n 3 213 n 7 214
 214 n. 3 215 215 n. 5 217 218
 219 220 221 224 231 23. 233
 236 237 n 4 242 243 246 n. 1
 248 255 257 258 262 274 291
 302 337 n 1 316 512, 513 514
 515 516 517 543 544 546
Rama Rayallu See *Rama Raya*.
Ramaraya Nayaka 180 256
Rama Varma 162
Rama Vishvakseta, 547
Ramayamatya, 40
Ramayana 541 n
Rameswaram 107 109 110 132
 156 158 180 354 355 357 401
Rameseram. See *Rameswaram*.
Ramappa Nayak, 154
Ramayamatya Todarmalla 39
Rambhikshara Khanu (kshahwar
 Khan?) 236.
Rang Samudrit 415
Rancinotto (Lulgi) 55 n. 4
Ranga, father of *Rama Raya*, 35
Ranga, father of *Sadasiva Raya*,
 4 n 4 7 13 14
Ranga I of Vijayanagara VII
 XV 19 19 n. 3 23 34 38 n. 2
 175 233 246, 254 256 259 260
 264 265 266 267 268 269 270

271 272, 272 n 1 274 275 276
 277 278 279 280 285 287 288
 289 290 291 293 299 300 301
 301 306 307 326 336 n. 1 412
 415 421 n 424 426 499 503
 506 506 n 507 511 512 513
 517 518 522, 5. 532 546.
Ranga II of Vijayanagara 280
 505 n 7
Ranga III of Vijayanagara 21
 2 55 206 239 249 278 509
 511
Ranga IV (old) See *Ranga III*
Ranga Kabitindra See *Ranga*
Raya father of *Sadasiva Raya*.
Ranga (Prince Sri) 276 497 499
 501
Ranga Mantapam 43
Ranga temple 29
Rangachari (Mr V) 106 n 2
 114 n 7 140 142 n. 2 149 166
 246 n 1 262, 267 289 n 335
 n. 9 344 345 363 403 420
 n 1 482 n.
Rangacharya See *Rangachari*
Ranganatha (God) 47 105 105
 n. 2, 155 167 214 343 347
Rangama 24 420.
Ranganatha, 42.
Ranganathaswamia, 553
Rangappa 24
Rangappa Rajayyadeva, 46
Rangapati 246.
Ranga Mahatmya (Sri) 537
Rapur 335
Ratnagiri, 155
Ratna Kuta, 39
Ratnakheta Srinivasa Dikshita,
 177
Ratna 178 510.
Ravella Velikonda Venkatadri
 309
Ravi Varman Kulasekhara of
Travancore 100 n. 6
Rayachoti 43
Rayakuvira 550
Rayasam 267
Rayasam Venkatapati 517
Rayanamantri Bhaskarayya 323
Raya Rao 274
Rebello (Pero Lopes) 296
Recherla gotra 191
Reddi chief 112 n 1
Reddis 289
Remati (Venkatayya) 291.
Retelim Cherin (Chetti) 59

- Retta Mattam*, 521.
 Rice (Mr L.), 272 n. 1 421, 505 n. 7, 606 n
 Richards (Mr), 343 n. 1
 Riccio (Fr Francesco), 319 n 1, 320, 435, 435 n 3, 465, 466 467, 468, 470, 472, 473, 474, 475, 479, 482, 483, 486, 487, 488, 499, 517, 529, 530
 Rifet Khan, 241.
Rig-Veda, 262
 Rohini, 150
 Roiz (Fr M), 438, 438 n. 3, 441, n 1, 470, 483,
 Rovilconda, 95
 Rome, XX, 313, 315, 367, 368, 371, n 1.
 Roman Brahman *See* Nobili
 Ros (Mgr Francisco), Archbishop of Cranganor, 370, 372, 378, 389, 390, 393, 395.
 Rosti Khan, 298
 Rubino (Fr Antonio), 368, 449, 470, 475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 482, 484, 485, 492
 Ruden. *See* Rudra.
 Rudhiroddgar, 166
 Rudra *See* Siva.
 Rudrappa, 324.
 Rukmini Parinaya, 173
 Rumes *See* Turks
 Rumi Khan, 204, 213, 213 n. 3
 Rustom Khan, 330.
 Rutru. *See* Siva.

 Sa (Garcia de), 61 n 2, 188.
 Sa (Sebastiao de), 94
 Sa (Fr Simao), 314, 315, 315 n 3, 322, 421, 434, 435, 438, 465, 466, 467, 484, 487, 499
 Sabaji Maratha, 331.
 Sabayo, 186 *See* Adil Shah.
Sabdanusasana, 521.
 Sabhapati, 524, 525.
 Sachchidananda, 41
 Sadasiva Raya of Vijayanagara, VI, XV, 2, 3 n 6, 4 n 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 39 n. 1, 41, 42, 45, 45 n 5, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62 63, 69, 74, 82, 86, 97, 98, 108, 109, 117, 121 n 7, 132, 141, 142, 153, 168, 171, 176, 177, 182, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193, 212, 213, 214, 216 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 228, 233, 234, 235, 237 n 4, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 261, 262, 263, 267, 281, 283, 287, 288, 292, 308, 317, 322, 337 n 1, 426, 427, 430, 485 n. 3, 511, 513, 514, 515, 424, 532, 542, 543, Regent of, 67, 68, 69, 76, 77, 221, 276, 337 n 1.
 Sadasiva Raya, 204 n 5, *See* Rama Raya of Vijayanagara
 Sadasiva or Sadasivaraya Nayaka of Ikeri, 35, 56, 80, 81, 88, 142, 172, 180, 187, 291.
 Sadupperi, 192,
 Sagar, 78
 Sahastao (Dom), of Portugal, 486
Sahityaratnakara, 397, 399, 407.
 Saif Khan Ain-ul mulk, 83
 Saiva, 314, 519, 532, 535, 536, 542, 544, 550, 551, 552, 553.
 Saiva-Advaita, 523
 Saiva temple, 282
 Saivism, XIV, 532, 540, 554.
 Saivites, 546
 Salabat Khan, 84.
 Salakaraja Chinna Tirumalayya-deva Maharaja, 115, 116
 Salakam Timma Raju, 1, 4, 4 n. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 9 n. 1, 9 n. 5, 10, 11, 11 n, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 54, 74, 219.
 Saldanha (Viceroy Ayres de), 352, 428, 432, 434, 436 n 2
 Salem District, 134, 154.
 Sal Nayaka, 271
 Salsette, 60, 60 n., 61, 61 n. 2, 93, 432, 530
 Saluva Dynasty, 121, 237, 243.
 Saluva Narasimha *See* Narasimha Raya
 Sama, 24
 Samanguinellur, 192.
 Sambhu, 551
 Sam Carnao Botto (?), 416, 417, 427.
 Sampanginallur, 289.
 Samusaru mosque, 173.
 Sangala 423.
 Sangam 29
 Sangams, 525
Sangithasuthanthi, 522.
 Sanguicer (Nayak of), 290, 297.
 Sanjur Khan, 329.
 Sankanna Nayaka, 523
 Sankaracharya, 533, 534 n,

- Sankara Nayaka Lingamayaka 142.
 Sanskrit 369 375 383 516 517
 5... 530
 Santabiksha 545
 Santa lore (Comtesa de) 367
 Santanika 340 n 1
 Santi (see Zanone di) 58
 Sao Carnao Botto See Sam
 Carnao Botto
 Sao Pedro (Frey Sebastiao de)
 Bishop of Mylapore 439 448
 461 463
 Sao Thome de Melapore 54 66
 n 2 67 68 69 70 307 428
 439 See St. Thome
 Sagada 19 73 See Qutb Shah.
 Sarandip 2.
 Sarangadhara 546
 Sara traya 517
 Saraswati Mahal Library Tanjore
 XXI 516
 Sarfoji (Maharaja) of Tanjore
 XXI 516
 Sartorius, 531 531 n 2
 Sarvagna 250
 Sarvajina 215
 Sarvajna, 544
 Saseetil (Phillippo) 70 238 240
 Sistras 39 522
 Satara 31 n 2; Raja of 214 n 3
 Satara Museum, XXI
 Sathakandavijayamu 5.3
 Sathyabhamahal 201 n 4
 Sathyanatha Aiyar (Prof.) XX
 100 n 6 103 n 5 109 n 1 122
 n 124 n 3 126 n 3 133 166
 199 n 1 342 342 n 5 345 363
 Satrusaptangaharana 179
 Satsampradayamuktavali 246 n.
 1
 Sattakeri 348
 Sattuvachcheri, 192 289
 Sattvikabrahmavidyavilasa 519
 Satyabhodarayalakavami 256
 Satyaparinayam 271
 Satyasraya family 251
 Saude (Nossa Senhora da) 67
 Schandegri See Chandragiri
 Seythian 533
 Sebastiao (Sao) 190
 Sellappa, 113 114 115 116
 Semblyam 280
 Sente Bennur 426
 Seringapatam, 110 115 181 255
 263 290 292, 301 343 n 1 411
 412 413 414 419 420 421 422
 423 435 504 508 524 532 537
 548 549 Viceroy of 300 411
 412, 413 414 415 416 417 418
 419 420 421
 Seringapattana matha 412
 Sermadevi 285 350
 Serra, 425
 Seshachala 761
 Sethu See Setu
 Setu (Rameswaram) 54 251 355
 356 357 510
 Setupatis of Ramanad 95 156,
 241 284 n 2 341 354 356
 357
 Sevaji See Sivaji.
 Seven Pagodas 284 n 1 333 n 3.
 Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore 125
 n. 172, 173 174 230 236 521
 522 523
 Sevvappaneri 174
 Sewell (Mr Robert) V 1 n 2 2 n
 2 n 2 26 59 n. 4 62 n 1 103
 n 4 112 n 1 118 122 n 225
 229 242 245 272 n 1 272
 n 3 291 301 n. 303 4.4
 Sforza (Cardinal) 363
 Shabunder 455 456, 459 460.
 Shadbashachandrika 517
 Shah Abou Turab Shirazy 195.
 Shah Jafar 80.
 Shah Mir 274
 Shah Muhammad Anju 269
 Shah Tahir 77
 Shabrada Murara, 197
 Shankar Nayak 263 276
 Shankar Raj 333
 Shashta Parankusa 515
 Shepherd Dynasty of Jajaji 175.
 Shettikere 271
 Shimoga District 49 52 56 251
 263 269
 Shinaji 218
 Shira 322.
 Sholapur 78 84 197 199
 Shrideva Raya 300 n. 1 301
 Shrinivasa, 704
 Shrinivasaachari (Prof C.S) 176
 Shrinivasa Dikshita, 522.
 Siam 57 n 1
 Sida Raya Timapa, 95
 Siddhantamanidipam 515
 Siddhappa Nnyaka 423
 Siddhesvara 42.
 Siddhiraja Timma Raju 24 40
 Siddhout Inscription, 306 309
 328 336 349 521

- Sidraj Timapa, 33.
 Silva e Menezes (Pero), 296
 Silveyra (Dom Alvaro), 189.
 Sindhu Govinda, 184
 Singama Nayadu, 309.
 Singanamala, 34
 Singarayadeva, 193
 Singavaram, 105
Singala dvipa Catha, 170
 Sinhalese, 170
 Singottai inscription, 135
 Siringam See Srirangam
 Siripur, 493
 Sita, 545
 Siva, 40, 104, 215, 234, 250, 314,
 317, 357, 388, 401, 422, 426, 527,
 532, 533, 534 n, 535, 540, 541,
 543, 544, 545, 546, 549, 550, 551,
 554.
 Sivaditya, 528
 Sivadityamanidipika, 523
 Sivaganga, 133, 174, 182, 183
 Sivaji, 31 n 2, 218
 Sivakamasundari-Ammal, 323
 Sivala-vel, 138
 Siva Nayak of Jerreh, 268.
 Sivaratreya Deva, 550.
 Sivasamudram, 181.
 Sivasuryakavi, 525
Sivatattvaratnakara, 56, 142, 291
 Siyyada, 34
 Smith (Mr Vincent A), XX.
 Smith (Sir Thomas), 239
 Society of Jesus, 145 n, 157 n 2,
 365, 377, 395, 430, 444, 445,
 Archives of, XX, General of,
 XX
 Solaga 155, 406, 408.
 Somappa, 106.
 Soma Sekhara Pandya of Madura,
 106.
 Somarasayya of Chandragiri, 312.
 Somesvara, 426
 Somesvara Channigarayaswami
 temples, 183
 Somesvara temple, 45
 Somideva, 18
 Sonnalapuram, 10, 76.
 Sokkanatasvami, 360,
 Soramanadalam, 307.
 Soria, 71
 Sornikavur, 547 n. 2.
 Sosilla, 415.
 Sousa (Dom Martim Affonso de),
 60, 60 n 3, 92, 187, 188
 Sousa e Tavora (Fernao de), 187,
 Sousa (Manoel de), 427
 Souza (Fr Francisco), 64 n 4, 66,
 119, 141, 142, 142 n 8, 143, 144
 n. 2, 144 n. 3, 153, 162, 531.
 Sowadaridinne, 325
 Spain, 433, 439, King of, XXI,
 461, 462
 Spanish crown, 433
 Sravana-Belgola, 536, 538, 539,
 550.
 Sririgiri-mandala, 324
 Srimad Tallapaka Tirumalayan-
 garu, 47, 514
 Srimushnam, 277, 289.
 Srinivas, 315
 Srinivasa, 39,
 Srinivasa Aiyangar, (Mr. M.), 513,
 514,
 Srinivasacharya, 262,
 Srinivasa temple, 315.
 Sriranga. See Ranga I
 Sriranga See Srirangam.
 Sriranga, father of Rama Raya of
 Vijayanagara, 19, 20.
 Srirangacharya, 540
 Srirangam, 40, 102 n. 2, 105, 106,
 106 n 2, 109, 116, 167, 218, 233,
 243, 261, 399, 400, 410, 533, 534,
 538, 553
Srirangam-Koyil olugu, 167.
 Sriranganatha 44.
 Sriranga Raya, 22
 Srirangaraya. See Ranga I and
 Ranga II
 Srirangayapuram, 276
 Srisailem, 291, 300 n, 324.
 Srisailepurna, 541 n
 Srivallabha Pandya of Madura,
 114, 114 n 7, 117, 199, 218, 285.
 286, 343, 344 363, 392,
 Srivengallappa Naik, 204 n. 2.
 Srivilliputtur, 42
Srutiranjani, 516.
 Stephens (Fr Thomas), 432.
 Straits Settlements, 452
 Strozzi (Giambatista), 70
 St George (Fort), 429, 553
 St Mary's High School, Madura,
 142 n 8.
 St Thome, 60 n 3, 64, 65, 65 n 4,
 96 n, 67, 69, 314, 320 n. 3, 364,
 402, 404, 428 429, 430, 431, 437,
 381, 438 n 3, 439, 439 n 1, 440,
 441, 441 n 1. 447, 448, 449, 450,
 451, 455, 458, 461, 463, 464, 465,
 467, 470, 471, 472, 475, 476, 482,

484 487 492 492, 492 500 503,
 511 523 529 College of 314
 561 465 469 480 n 3 Siege of
 428 See Sao Thome
 Suamyanathasvamin temple 44
 Subhan kull 83
 Subramania Sarma (Pardit) 118
 Subramania Pantulu (Mr) 570 n 1,
 523
 Suchindram 116 149 150
 Sudhindra, 518
 Sujata Khan 27...
 Sukracharya, 250
 Sumatindra matha, 5 1
 Sumera 251
 Sundara Nayaka, 346
 Sundara Pandya of Madura, 100
 Sundararajaperumal temple 2 n
 Sutara tora marili vnuathi rayer
 103
 Sundarattoludaiyan Mavalivanda
 rayan 109
 Sundareswara temple 179
 234 343
 Supplementary MISS 351
 Suragiri (Penukonda) 34 303
 Surappa Nayaka, 139 177 238 403
 522
 Surasamudra, 38
 Surat, 239 433
 Suratrappa 253
 Surendra Tirtha 515 521
 Suria Rao 96 97
 Svaramelakalamdhi 5 10 14
 39 517
 Svayambhu 524 5...
 Swami pagoda (Three) 545
 Syad Shah Tacki 274
 Sybil (Indian) 65 n.
 Syncretist School of Hindu Philo-
 sophy 528
 Syria, 65 n. 4
 Syud Hye 82 83

 Tabard (Fr A M) XXI
 Tadpatri 34 43
 Tagdiji 203.
 Taido Inferno (Pero de) 68 69
 Taj Bauri 214 n. 3.
 Talakkad 419 420 421 Raja of
 415
 Talasayana Perumal, 81
 Talcaud, See Talakkad.
 Talemanare 165
 Talichankattu 519

Talikota XIV 35 38 97 191 n 1
 199 20...
 Tallamarapuram 0
 Tallapaka Tiruvengalanatha 517
 Tammayaganda 44
 Tammaya Mantri 306 309
 Tamil and Tamilians XVII 101
 110 113 118 139 248 280 303
 315 3 2 34... 364 374 392 415
 513 522, 523 529 530 531 531
 n 2 533
 Tamil Catechism 378
 Tamil chiefs 131
 Tamil country XIII
 Tamil Grantha 13...
 Tamil inscription 54
 Tamil legend 132.
 Tamil people 117
 Tamil tyrants 135 n 3
 Tamil Viceroyalty VII 308
 Tamraparni 116.
 Tangada 274
 Tang or See Tanjore
 Tanjaturu Indhra Rajula
 Charitra 122, 124 n. 3 125 n
 127 127 n. 130 173.
 Tanjore, VIII XXI 35 109 121
 125 125 n 129 155 172, 173
 230 236, 287 327 341 397 399
 410 429 513 516 518 521 522
 531 Nayaks of VI VII 358
 361 393 402, 429 449 463 470
 Tapatisamvaranam 235 n 1
 Tarigoppula Mallana, 306 521
 Tarigoppula Datta Mantri 306
 521
 Tarkabhasa 528
 Tarpalli 95
 Tartuffe 306
 Tatchara. See Tatcharya.
 Tatcharya (Guru) 39 300, 301
 304 305 306 478 479 514 519
 520 n 1 544 552.
 Tataya. See Tatcharya.
 Tatyarya. See Tatcharya.
 Tatta Pinnama, 18
 Tattavabodhaka Swami 373
 Tavana Patan (Devanapatnam)
 446.
 Tavora (Ruy Lourenco de) 481
 506
 Tegenampatna 410 n 3 See
 Devanapatnam.
 Teixeira (Fr A.) XXI
 Teligas, 25 See Telugus.
 Tellingana, 86

- Telugu and Telugus, 99, 118, 134, 138, 150, 151 n, 157, 158, 162, 163, 185, 235, 275 280, 326, 331, 332, 334, 335, 375 378, 383, 496, 514, 516, 517, 519, 520, 529, 530, 542.
- Telugu army, 131, 143.
- Telugu country, 15, 25, 248.
- Telugu Emperors, 172
- Telugu Empire, XIII, 238.
- Telugu general, 148.
- Telugu invasion in the Tamil country, VI
- Telugu Nayaks, XIII *See* Madura and Tanjore (Nayaks of)
- Telugu poem, 233 n. 1
- Telugu Viceroyalty, VII.
- Temaragio *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Temiragio *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Tenali, 519
- Tenali Ramakrishna, 519
- Tenali Ramalinga, 519.
- Tenkasi, 135 n 3, 138, 392 542, Pandya of, 135
- Terunarayanapur, 535.
- Terunarayana, 535.
- Tevai, 357
- Theology (Catholic), 366.
- Thevenot (Mons de), 60 n. 3,
- Thomas (St), the Apostle, 64, 64 n 3, 64 n 4, 65 n 4, 66 n , 69 n 1, 383, 385, 430, 438, 439, 479, City of, 429.
- Thorne (Robert), 432.
- Tibet, 493.
- Timaragio *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Tima Raja, chief of the Mysore territory, 415.
- Tima Raja, noble of Vijayanagara, 453 n 3, 459
- Timma, brother of Rama Raya, 20.
- Timma, brother of Viceroy Vitthala, 155
- Timma, of the Pochiraju family, 21.
- Timma, son of Rama Raya, governor of Raichur, 22.
- Timma, son of the Raja of Venkatagiri, 96.
- Timma *or* Tirumala, nephew of Ranga III, 239.
- Timma *or* Tirumala, uncle of Rama Raya, 19.
- Tima Ranga, 43
- Timmamba *See* Tirumala Devi, wife of Ranga I.
- Timmamba, mother of Sadasiva Raya, 14.
- Timmana Nayaka, ancestor of the Chutaldroog Nayaks, 185.
- Timma Nayadu, 190.
- Timma Nayaka, father of Tirumalai Raja, a Madura officer, 343
- Timma *or* Trimmapa, father of Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore, 173.
- Timma Pochama, 23.
- Timmappa Nayaka, agent of Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, 166.
- Timmappa Nayaka, Officer of Viceroy Vitthala, 154.
- Timmappa Nayakkar, of the Chalurtha gotra, 287
- Timmaraja *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Timma Raja, son of the King of Orissa, 55.
- Timmarasayya, 312
- Timmaraya, chief of Punjalike, 550.
- Timmaraya *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Timmasamudra, 42
- Timmayadeva Maharaja of Nandayala, 16, 51
- Timmaya Mantri, 267
- Timmoja, barber, 49, 50
- Timoja Commandant of the Vijayanagara fleet, 57.
- Timoja, governor of Honavar, 186
- Timoja Kondoja *See* Kondoja.
- Timraj *See* Tirumala Raya.
- Timraj *See* Ranga I
- Tindisuramudaya-Nayinar, 277
- Tindivanam, 142, 268, 277, 278, 289, 323.
- Tinnevelly, 2 n , 114, 134, 137, 149, 150, 154, 157, 167, 168, 244, 282, 285, 342, 346, 359, 360.
- Tintrinisvara temple, 289.
- Tippajidevi, 14,
- Tipu Sultan, XXI.
- Tirthankaras, 550, 551.
- Tirtha prabhanda*, 522.
- Tiruchchirrambala Bhattan, 142.
- Tirukkachchur, 121.
- Tirukkurungudi, 154, 245, 342.
- Tirumala (Hill of), 222, 223, 302. *See* Tirupati
- Tirumaladeva Raya, supposed brother of Venkata II, 300 n. 1, 301 n.

- Tirumala Devi mother of Rama
 Raya's wife, 21
 Tirumala Devi wife of Ranga I
 265 265 n. 2
 Tirumala-devi Queen of Krishna
 Deva Raya, 5
 Tirumalai See Tirupati
 Tirumalairaja officer of Madura
 Nayaka 343 344
 Tirumalai Udaiyar Setupati of
 Ramnad, 341 355 357
 Tirumalamba an authoress 3
 Tirumalamba daughter-in law of
 Rama Raya, 23
 Tirumalamba, wife of Achyuta
 Deva Raya, 173
 Tirumalamba, wife of Rama Raya
 21
 Tirumalambapuram 315 345
 Tirumalambika, mother of Rama
 Raya 20
 Tirumalambika, wife of Rama
 Raya, 20 23
 Tirumalambika wife of Virappa
 Nayaka of Madura, 233
 Tirumala Nayaka, 235 See Tiru
 malairaja.
 Tirumala Nayaka, governor of
 Madura 118
 Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, 133
 169 359 380 Choultrie of 233
 n. 5 351
 Tirumala Nayanagaru 280
 Tirumalapuram, 524
 Tirumala Tolappa Acharya 548
 Tirumalaraja. See Sriranga.
 Tirumala Raja Viceroy of Seringa
 patam 290 291 301 343 n. 1
 411 413 414 414 n. 2, 419 420
 421 435 504 505 506 n. 512,
 524 548
 Tirumalarasu 44
 Tirumala Raya of Vijayanagara,
 VII XIV XV 5 9 10, 11 13
 15 20 22, 22 n. 2 22 n. 6 24
 24 n. 1, 26 27 29 31 32 33 34
 36 39 40 43 50 76 86, 91 179
 n., 184 192, 193 194 202 202
 n. 1 204 204 n. 8 205 207 207
 n. 8 208 214 218 221 228 229
 326 230 231 232, 233 233 n. 1
 234 235 236 238 241 242,
 244 245 246 248 249 250 252
 257 258 259 260 262 263 264
 267 276 280 281 287 288 291
 300 300 n. 1 304 306 326 335
 340 343 n. 1 412, 419 476 513,
 515 516 532 544 545
 Tirumalayadeva Maharaja of Yera
 hudi 50
 Tirumalayadeva Maharayar son of
 Krishna Deva Raya, 4 n. 4
 Tirumalayadeva of Udayagiri 30
 184 n. 7
 Tirumali Nalcker See Tirumala
 Nayaka of Madura.
 Tiru Narayana Puram 537
 Tirunelveli Kulasekhara Perumal
 of Madura 135 135
 Tirunirmalai 305
 Tirupati 15 54 60 60 n. 3 61
 105 114 185 216 222 223 223
 233 249 300 302 303 310 314
 315 316 400 430 535 536 537,
 538 541 547 548
 Tirupattur 114 123
 Tiruppanimalai 117 n. 5, 167
 Tirupukkuli 304 305
 Tirupullani 104
 Tiruvadi 117 n. 5
 Tiruvadidem 150
 Tiruvadi Rajyasthapanaacharya 114
 Tiruvaiyazm Puranam 522.
 Tiruvaiyar 35
 Tiruvannamalai 45 103 n. 6 115
 174 237
 Tiruvadiraja (Travancore) 141
 Tiruvaramattamudinar 534
 Tiruvasi 105 n. 2.
 Tiruvengalanatha, 42, 43 44 193
 232 514 518
 Tiruvengalanatha 542.
 Tiruvesshkalam 237
 Tiruviraimarudur 147 155 283
 Tiruviakolavaram temple 493
 Tittagudi, 126.
 Tolar (Chief of) 296
 Tombo (Torre do) XXI.
 Topares 369
 Tondaimandala, 103 109 112, 117
 307 354
 Tortol 95
 Tosekhana Adhikari 121
 Tours (St. Gregory de) 65 n
 Toya Yadava, 511 535.
 Tranquebar 393 531
 Trapaty See Tirupati
 Travancore 2 n. 56 61 99 113
 113 n. 4 114 115 116, 117
 124 n. 3 125 n. 131 140, 141
 142, 143 145 n., 144, 145 146

- 147 n., 148, 149, 150, 153, 154,
155, 159, 162, 163, 179, 341, 347;
King of, 120 n., 131, 159.
- Tremele *See* Tirupati
- Tremil. *See* Tirupati.
- Tremul Raj. *See* Tirumala Raja,
Viceroy of Seringapatam.
- Trepeti. *See* Tirupati.
- Trichendur, 151, 157 n. 2.
- Trichinopoly, 155, 167, 284, 360,
361, fort of, 129
- Trideau (Fr. J.), 477 n. 3.
- Trimaragus *See* Tirumala Raja,
Viceroy of Seringapatam.
- Trimurti, 261.
- Tripadadyotini*, 521.
- Tripali. *See* Tirupati
- Tripeti. *See* Tirupati.
- Triplicane, 43, 280.
- Tripurantaka, 45.
- Trivandrum, 116.
- Trivikrama, 517.
- Troy of the East, 405. *See* Jinji
- Trukal, 243
- Tubaki Krishnappa Nayaker, 111,
112.
- Tuluva Dynasty, VI, VII, XIV,
13, 24 n. 1, 32, 218, 246, 248,
511, 514, 542
- Tumbichchi Nayaka Kumaralinga,
114, 131, 169
- Tumkur copper-plates of Tirumala
Raja, 249, 524.
- Tumkur District, 50.
- Tundira (Jinji), 107, 256, Lord
of, 404.
- Tungabhadra, 17, 28, 224, 266,
485 n. 3, 532, 541.
- Turaiyur-Rethiyar, 133.
- Turkal, 85, 257.
- Turks, 58, 187, 214.
- Turkie, 72.
- Tursellini (Fr. F.), 145 n.
- Turukas, *See* Turks.
- Turuvekere, 271.
- Tuscan missionary, *See* Nobili.
- Tuticorin, 118, 119, 120, 145 n.,
147, 149, 151, 152 n., 153, 161,
165, 352, 353
- Tuticurin. *See* Tuticorin.
- Tutocurin *See* Tuticorin.
- Tyagarajasvamin temple, 139.
- Ushe Timma Rao. *See* Salakam
Timma Raju.
- Udayar chief, 299.
- Udayan Setupati of Ramnad, 355,
356.
- Udayagiri, 28, 29, 184 n., 234, 251,
261, 263, 264, 273, 274, 275, 279,
280, 328, 329, 331, 335; Raja of.
329, 331, 335
- Udayagiri durgam, 42
- Udaygiri *See* Udayagiri
- Uddandar, 138
- Udgerrydurg *See* Udayagiri.
- Udipi, 424
- Udiripikonda, 172, 190, 191, 274.
- Udyan Sethopatti. *See* Udayan
Setupati
- Ujjain, 536.
- Ulabi, 50
- Ullal, 172, 188, 189, 424, 425, 549;
Queen of, VII, 190, 290, 298,
411
- Ulsur, 426
- Ummatur, 181, 422
- Unamanjeri plates of Achyuta
Deva Raya, 1 n. 1, 524.
- United Company (Dutch), 431.
- Unni Kerala Varma of Travancore,
141, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149, 153.
- Upamana, 527
- Upanishada Vacya Vivaram*.
534.
- Uraiyur, 534
- Urigola, 253
- Urputur, 518.
- Urrattur, 132
- Ushaparinayam*, 404.
- Utakur, 50
- Utappa Naique, 393
- Utkala King, 253, 267.
- Utramallur, 309, 310, 322.
- Utsabavari, 315
- Utsur grant of Ranga III, 24, 264,
278, 509
- Uttaramalluru. *See* Utramallur.
- Uttukkadu Kottam, 305.
- Utukur, 235
- Vadiraaja, 523.
- Vadiraaja Tirtha, 522
- Vaduquer *See* Badagas.
- Vahnipua, 423.
- Vaidika Advaita, 549.
- Vaijayan ta, 39.
- VaiparNayaks *See* Viranar Nayaks,
- Vaishnava Acharya, 535.
- Vaishnava Brahmans, 345.

- Valshnavas 314 513 515 519 531
 535 536 537 539 542 543 544
 545 546 547 548 549 553
 Valshnava temples 23ⁿ 305
 Valshnavism VIII XIV 301 519
 532 533 538 540 541 544 515
 551 55ⁿ 554
 Valyappa Krishnappa Nayaka 450
 Valyappa Krishnappa Kondama
 Nayaka 259
 Valyappa Nayaker 111 112.
 Valyappa (Kala) 324
 Vakataka Dynasty 54 n 4
 Vala Krishnappa 176.
 Valamora 45
 Valarpuram 2 n
 Valentyn (Francis) 337 n 3
 Valikondapuram 132.
 Vallabhacharya 542.
 Vallabha Narendra 348
 Vallabha Rajayya Deva Maharasa
 278 299
 Valladolid 436 436 n 2
 Vallalopuram 287
 Vallam 129
 Vallaprakara 236 341 314
 Valle (Fr Paolo del) 153
 Valle (Pietro della) 189 278 425
 549
 Valliyur 114
 Vambar 151
 Vanda Rayar 124
 Vanga 53 122
 Vanipenta, 44 46
 Van Sathagopa Swami 272, 546
 Varadadevi Ammal 3 6
 Varadambika, 4
 Varadambika Parinayam 3 3
 n 1
 Varadappa Nayak, 403
 Varadaraja 44 315
 Varadarasa, 48
 Varadappa, 48
 Varagunapattur 123
 Varanangaram Pandya of Madura,
 117 199 215 285 286 343 344
 Vas (Fr Mignel) 119
 Vasavakanyaka, 323 n 2
 Vashabta, 401
 Vasu 515
 Vasucharitramu 5 5 n 1 11
 73 254 259 260 515
 Vatta Gamanj of Ceylon 135 n 3
 Vayyamba, 173
 Vaz de Amaral (Dr Pero) 119
 Vaz de Sampayo (Lope) 60
 Vedala 156 157
 Vedam See Vedas.
 Vedanta 47 262 412, 514 5-4
 5-6
 Vedanta Desika (Sri) 175 537
 Vedas 24 47 262 349 357 375
 388 389 41ⁿ 421 514 524 534
 Vedas written by European writers
 389
 Veiga (Fr Manoel de) 433 467
 470 471 472, 459
 Velappa Raya 243 25ⁿ 258 259
 Vellangudi plates of Venkata 11
 40 55 123 131 171 220 229
 254 259 n 261 261 n 2 264
 65 66 283 300 334 346 347
 361 495 509 510 523 547 547
 n 3
 Vellala 44
 Vellore 40 11ⁿ 112 n 1 172
 19ⁿ 223 234 21ⁿ 280 283 289
 300 313 316 317 318 319 319
 n 1 320 321 409 441 n 1 439
 n 7 452, 473 474 476 477
 479 480 482, 484 486 489 490
 491 49 493 506 508 518 523
 5 4 529 549 Raja of 191 192.
 509 Nayak of 316 Viceroy of
 316
 Vellour See Vellore
 Vellalara 34
 Vellor See Vellore
 Velpucherla, 44
 Veludurti 43
 Velugoti 191 309
 Velugoti Pedda Kondama Nayadu
 321 324
 Velugoti Yachama Nayadu 309
 322, 409
 Velugutvaru Vamsavalli 309
 409
 Velur See Vellore
 Veluru See Vellore.
 Vemala Nayadu 191 274
 Vencapali See Venkata II
 Vencapatir See Venkata II
 Vencatapadin Ragiv Devamagan
 Ragal See Venkata II
 Vengadesya Bhatta 421 5 4
 Vengalamba (Sri) 302.
 Vengalamba mother of Surappa
 Nayaka of Jijji 177
 Vengalamba or Vengalambika, wife
 of Tirumala Raya 22, 249
 Vengalambapuram 288 323

- Venice, 58
- Venkata, 20 *See* Venkatadri;
brother of Rama Raya
- Venkata I of Vijayanagara, XV,
1-12, 13, 541
- Venkata II of Vijayanagara, VII,
VIII, XV, 18, 38, 39, 55, 74, 81,
123, 131, 171, 190, 191, 220, 233,
246, 248, 251, 256, 258, 265, 266,
269, 271, 274, 277, 278, 279, 280,
281, 283, 285, 286, 238, 291, 293,
300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306,
307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313,
314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 319
n, 1 320, 320 n 1, 321, 322, 323,
324 325 n 2 326, 327 328, 329,
332, 333, 334, 334 n 3, 335, 336,
337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344,
348, 349, 358, 359, 360, 361, 363,
368, 397, 398, 399, 401, 402, 403,
404, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413,
414, 415, 416, 418, 420, 421, 422,
423, 424, 426, 427, 428, 431, 432,
434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440, 441,
441 n 1, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446,
447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453,
454, 455, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462,
463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469,
470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476,
477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 486,
487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493,
494, 495, 496, 498, 499, 500, 501,
502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 506 n,
507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 511 n 1,
512, 513, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521,
523, 525, 529, 532, 546, 547, 548,
549, 551, 552, 554
- Venkata III of Vijayanagara, 20, 21,
23, 38, 55, 121, 123 n 1, 206,
220, 248, 251, 265, 279, 282, 290,
421, 506 n, 509
- Venkatachalapati (Sri), 302, 315
- Venkatadri Bhattar, 361
- Venkata Deva Raya *See* Venkata
II
- Venkatadri *See* Venkata I
- Venkatadri, ancestor of the Ara
vidu family, 19
- Venkatadri, brother of Rama
Raya, 9, 13, 15, 20, 24, 27, 29,
30, 31, 35, 40, 73, 74, 75, 78, 83,
84, 87, 90, 91, 95, 179, 179 n,
194, 202, 202 n 1, 204, 204 n 8,
205, 206, 207, 207 n 5, 216, 216
n 5, 228, 233, 242, 336 n 1, 517
- Venkatadri, father of Gangappa
Nayaka, 324
- Venkatadri or Venkatappa of
Bellur *See* Venkatappa Nayaka
of Bellur
- Venkatagiri, 96, 172, 191, Raja of,
322
- Venkata Giri Mahatmya*, 314 n 3.
- Venkatamba, wife of Venkata II,
494, 495, 496, 502, 504
- Venkatama, daughter of Krish-
nappa Nayaka of Vellore, 185
- Venkatapati, brother of Ranga
III, 239
- Venkatapati, Deva Maharaja *See*
Venkata II
- Venkatapati Deva Maharaya
(Vira) *See* Venkata II
- Venkatapati Deva Raya *See* Ven-
kata II
- Venkatapati, grand uncle of Rama
Raya, 19
- Venkatapati Nayanangaru, 321,
360
- Venkatapati pagoda, 548
- Venkatapati Raya *See* Venkata II
- Venkatapati (Rayasam), officer of
Ranga I, 267
- Venkatapati, son of Rama Raya,
22 n 2
- Venkatapati, uncle of Rama Raya,
19
- Venkatappa Nayadu (Dalavay),
276
- Venkatappa Nayaka of Bellur, 185,
298, 427
- Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikeri, 423,
424, 524
- Venkatappa Nayaka of Jinji, 403
- Venkatappa Nayaker, general of
Vijayanagara, 111, 112.
- Venkataramaswami temple, 176
- Venkatarama *See* Venkata II
- Venkatarama-varahans, 497
- Venkata Toravar, 315
- Venkataya, 44
- Venkatayasa Raya, 258
- Venkatesa (God), 3, 244, 314, 315,
316, 547
- Venkatesvara, 315, 541 n, 545,
548
- Venkatesvara Mahatmyam*, 314
n 4, 535

678 THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

Venkatesvara Perumal 223
 Venkatesvara Prabandha Baila
 Makima 314
 Venkatesvaraja, 16
 Venkatesvaraya Namah 548
 Venkayya 245
 Venkuttu Yesu Ray (Venkatayasa
 Raya) officer of Bijapur 243
 Venson (Prof Julien) 513
 Venugopalaswami temple 45
 Venur 350
 Verhoeven (Admiral Pieter Willem
 sen) 410 n 3
 Verido See Barid Shah
 Vesnu See Vishnu
 Vico (Fr Antonio) 360 361 363
 375 393 394 418
 Vidiadri 95 241
 Vidigueira (Viceroy Conde de) 423
 Vidjia Nagar 337 n 3
 Vidyadhari women 12.
 Vidyannagari See Vijayanagara
 Vidyaranya 103
 Vibuvada Nayaka, 334
 Vijaya 181
 Vijaya Bukkarayapuram 43
 Vijaya Gopal Nayak 170
 Vijayanagara (Army City Empire
 Emperors etc of) V VI VII
 XIII XIV XV 1 2 2 n 3
 4 n 5 5 6 8 8 n 4 9 9 n 1
 10 11 12 15 16 17 17 n 1
 25 27 28 29 30 31 32, 33 34
 36 37 38 38 n 2 39 40 43
 52 54 55 n 4 56 57 57 n 1
 58 59 59 n 1 60 61 62, 63
 64 64 n 1 64 n 3 66 66 n 2
 67 68 69 70 71 71 n 1 72,
 74 75 76 77 79 79 n 2 81
 82 82 n 1 83 84 87 87 n 2,
 88 89 90 91 92, 95 95 n 96
 97 98 99 102, 103 106 107
 108 109 110 111 113 115 116
 117 123 124 124 n 3 126 127
 128 129 130 131 139 140 141
 144 145 148 149 150 150 n 1
 151 161 162 167 172 173 174
 177 n 182 185 187 188 190
 191 192 194 195 n, 1 197 n 5
 198 199 201 202 204 205 n 1
 206 n 2 208 n 1 211 212 215
 216 217 218 219 220 222 223
 224 225 226 227 228 229 230
 231 232, 233 235 236 237 238
 239 240 241 245 246 248 249
 257 258 261 263 264 266 268

269 270 274 275 276 277 278
 279 280 283 285 285 n 6 286
 288 300 n 1 304 307 308 313
 316 318 320 n 3 321 326 327
 331 333 334 336 337 337 n 3
 339 340 341 346 360 361
 350 377 402 403 412 415 422,
 424 428 429 431 434 436 437
 441 n 1 442 444 445 450 463
 464 470 475 476 478 479 480
 n, 3 481 482 483 485 489
 493 501 502 506 509 512 514
 521 524 530 532 539 540 541
 542 544 545 547
 Vijayanagara Penukonda 235
 Vijayapali 312, 353
 Vijayapura 412.
 Vijaya Raghava Nayaker 111 112.
 Vijayindra 515
 Vijayindra Tirtha 257 521 522
 552, 553
 Vilapaka grant of Venkata II 18
 254 316 317 328 334 n, 3 425
 510 518 525
 Villapuram 358
 Vincent (St) 157
 Vinikondapura See Vinukonda.
 Vinukonda 255 274
 Vipranagandla, 3, 3
 Vipravindodi Brahmins 46
 Vipravindodins 45 46
 Vipravindodi Siddhaya, 45
 Vipravindodi Viramashu Virappa,
 45
 Vira, 100
 Virabhadra 323
 Virabhadradeva, 46
 Virabhadra pagoda, 46
 Virabhadresvara, 191
 Vira Bhayirarasa Vodeya 412.
 Vira Chama Raya Vodeyar of
 Mysore 243 n 5
 Viramashu people 45
 Viranar Nayaka, 119
 Virappa Nayaka of Madura 20 n
 280 283 285 286 286 n, 2 289
 317 341 342 344 344 n, 3
 346 361
 Vira Pandya 100.
 Virapratapa Sodasivaraya Maha
 rayn. See Sodasiva Raya.
 Vira Salva. See Salva.
 Vira Sekhara Chola of Tanjore
 99 124 125 125 n
 Viravahan 302.
 Vira vel 138

- Vira Vijaya, 539.
 Vira Virupana Udaiyar, 237.
 Viresvara temple, 43, 191.
 Virinjipuram, 121, 518
 Virupaksha (Sri), 540, 545, 547.
 Virupaksha of Vijayanagara, 19,
 107, 109, 304, 532, 540, 541, 547,
 547 n 2
 Virupaksha temple, 239.
 Virupanna, 544.
 Virupana Nayaka, 45.
 Vishnu, 35, 37, 42, 104, 150, 234,
 261, 276, 282, 300, 314, 315, 358,
 388, 426, 516, 519, 532, 533, 534
 n , 536, 537, 540, 541, 542, 543,
 544, 546, 547, 548, 549, 551.
 Vishnuvardha Raya, 546
 Visnaga See Vijayanagara
 Visvanatha (Mr. S V), 506 n,
 Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura, VI,
 99, 107, 117, 117 n.5, 118 n , 121,
 122, 122 n 1, 123, 123 n 2, 123
 n,5 124, 125 n , 127, 128 129, 129
 n 3, 130, 131, 131 n 1, 132, 135,
 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144,
 150, 154, 155, 158, 159, 163, 164,
 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 173, 198,
 282, 283, 344 n 4, 347, 355, 542.
 Visvappa Nayaka of Madura, 341,
 344, 345, 351
 Visvas Row, 200,
 Visvesvara temple, 45, 121 n 9
 Vitthala Deva, king in the Kar-
 nataka country, 537
 Vitthala (Rama Raya), 35, 51, 117
 n 5, 131, 131 n 1, 140, 141, 142,
 143 n , 144, 146 n , 147 n , 148,
 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155,
 156, 157, 160, 161, 162, 163, 245,
 257, 524, 541
 Vitthalaswami, 226
 Vitthala temple, 3, 41
 Vitthalesvara temple, 28, 541.
 Vitthalesvara Maharayar, 150. See
 Vitthala (Rama Raya).
 Vizianagaram-Penu-Kondaipat-
 nam, 238
 Viziapore See Bijapur.
 Vobalaraju, 44
 Vontimitta, 24, 42, 44.
 Vrddhachalam, 174.
 Vrishasada, 302
 Vyasaraya Tirtha, 521, 522.
 Warangal, 253.
 Wencatadrappa See Venkata II
 Wersicke (John Van), 454 n 1,
 456.
 Wheeler (Mr), 131 n 1
 Whiteway (Mr), 441 n 1.
 Wilks (Colonel Mark), 181 n., 415,
 419, 420, 421, 549
 Wilson (Mr Horace, H), 194 n. 1.
 Wodeyar of Ammatpur, 420.
 Wodeyar of Hadana, 181.
 Wodeyar (Raja) of Mysore 290,
 308, 343 n 1, 411, 414 n 2, 415,
 416, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 549.
 Wollwhich, 433
 Wurias Ray, 329.
 Xavier (Fr. Jerome), 338, 338 n 1,
 339
 Xavier (St Francis), VI, XIV, 65
 n 4, 67, 68, 70, 72, 120, 120 n ,
 1, 131, 142, 142 n 2, 143, 144.
 144 n 2, 144 n 4, 145, 146 n ,
 147, 148, 149, 149 n 1, 150 n 1,
 151, 152, 153, 157, 158 n 2, 242,
 252, 530
 Yachama Nayaka, 322
 Yacha Surudu, 322
 Yadava kingdom, 532
 Yadavas, 179, 311, 314, 535.
 Yadavabhyudaya Vyakha, 141 .
 Yadavamu-rari Kotikolahala, 179.
 Yagnanarayana Dikshita, 399, 402
 Yajur-Veda, 262
 Yajus Sakba, 518
 Yalanimapudu-Chennapalli, 261
 Yaldur, 44
 Yatiraja Chief, 310
 Yavanas, 215 335, 357. See
 Muhammadans
 Yazdani (Mr G), 95, 200 n 4.
 Ydalcao See Adil Shah.
 Yedulakhana See Adil Shah
 Yelahanka, 172, 183, 426, Nadu
 Prabhus of, 182, 184 n , 543.
 Yellamrasu, 48
 Yeltumraj See Tirumala Raya of
 Vijayanagara.

680 THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

Yempramanar 337	Yusuf Adil Shah 57
Yennimalachintala, 43	
Yeragudi 51 193	
Yera Timma Raja See Tirumala	Zamalin. See Nizam Shah
Raja of Vijayanagara	Zamorin of Calicut 119 159 295
Yereyur 421	Zangannatam. See Ranganata

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
33	4	Mamidipudi	Mamidipundi
50	7	manya,	manya—
54	36	Kaauj	Kanauj
75	10	Ibrahin	Ibrahim
102	23	in the woods escaping	in the woods
188	30	Portuguese	Portuguese ¹
32 ^a	note 3	Ibid., p. 243	S. Krishna- swami Aiyana- gar, <i>Sources</i> p. 243.
181	line 18	and then to proceeded	and then pro- ceeded.

Moreover the rebellions were not all confined to the West. Trouble also arose in the South of the peninsula. The country of Marava and its neighbours the Kallar tribes, had broken allegiance with the Empire; but Ranga, according to an inscription of Tindivanam "subdued the insolent Kallar and Maravar (tribes), inhabiting Kongu and Malai nadu, and their treasures he distributed (among the poor)"

3 In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had not yet ceased attacking the northern frontier. In the year 1575 to safeguard his new possessions Ali Adil Shah rebuilt the ancient fortress of Chandragutti Shimoga District, which was built upon a lofty hill². While here, he was invited by Shankar Nayak, probably one of those petty chiefs of Kanara who had rebelled against the new dynasty of Vijayanagara, to make a tour through his own country "Ali Adil Shah" says Ferishta,

accepting the offer left his army at Chandarguti, and with Mustafa Khan and four or five thousand men proceeded to the fortress of Karur (Kadur). This place is situated in a mountainous country full of forests, and so difficult of access that most of the passes allow only one horseman to enter at a time. The king disliking the appearance of the country returned to Chandarguti leaving all his possessions to the Nayak, but Mustafa Khan tried to make a virtue of his master's necessity by telling the Nayak that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it therefore, if he consulted his own safety he would submit and pay tribute and induce the surrounding rayas to do the same. Shankar Nayak, by these representations prevailed on Siva Nayak of Jerreh, the Rani of Barcelor (Baarur) and several other chiefs to pay their respects to the Sultan to whom they presented offerings of considerable value and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their state robes from the Sultan women's robes were prepared for Har Devi Bhar Devi the Rani of Barcelor and another Rani. But these they declined accepting saying that, though women in sex they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds upon which the Sultan presented them with men's robes

1. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri l. c., p. 183-4.

2. Ferishta, III p. 139

and applauded their high spirit After this the Sultan of Bijapur appointed a Brahman to superintend the revenue of the newly-acquired country, answering more or less to the modern districts of Shimoga and Kadur ¹

4 Ranga could not render assistance to his rebel chiefs of the Kanara country against the Muhammadans As a matter of fact, it seems that just at this time he was proceeding towards Chandragiri 'in the course of a royal tour' ² Ali Adil Shah, after his short campaign in the Kanara country, again joined the troops of Mustafa Khan and advanced towards Penukonda ³ When Sri Ranga learnt this he rapidly returned to his capital ⁴, but found himself unequal to the forces of Bijapur, so, perhaps even before he reached Penukonda, he despatched an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, demanding his aid against Adil Shah The Golkonda Sultan "readily agreed to the overtures of Sri Ranga Raya," says the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda, "promising him to oppose Ali Adil Shah, and to prevent him from making further aggression Accordingly he detached his general, Shah Muhammad Anju, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of Adil Shah's dominions, while he prepared to move to the South in support of Sri Ranga Raya On the Bijanagar frontier he was joined by Shah Muhammad Anju, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions He was shortly afterwards met by Sri Ranga Raya, and their junction induced Ali Adil Shah to raise the siege of Bijanagar (*viz* its capital Penukonda) ⁵ and to return to Bijapur" ⁶

1 Ibid, p 140-1

2 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p 231

3 Ferishta, III, p 141 Ferishta's following account of the attack of Penukonda is evidently out of place I shall prove in due course that facts narrated here by the Muhammadan writer could not have taken place except during the reign of Venkata II

4 *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, l c

5 The removal of the capital from Vijayanagara to Penukonda seems to be completely ignored by the anonymous chronicler

6 Ferishta, III, p 435